THE FORMS OF COLONIAL CHRISTIANITY AND ZAMBIAN CULTURES IN CONTEMPORARY ZAMBIA

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DECLARATION

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate Programme in School of Religion, Philosophy and Classic, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg, South Africa.

I, Yonah Mwampulo, declare that

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ABSTRACT

This study examined the influence of PEMS and LMS on the Bemba and Lozi cultures in contemporary Zambia using the theories of relative ontology alongside coloniality. The theories above underpinned the desktop and archival research methods that were qualitative and non-empirical in nature. The study holds that the PEMS and LMS as mission bodies represented a particular form of colonial Christianity which influenced the indigenous education systems, moral norms, and the liturgy in the missionary establishments within the Barotseland and Bembaland. It has been argued that PEMS and LMS influence on the Lozi and Bemba cultures has positively and negatively affected their people. The positive contribution of the forms of colonial Christianity was the repudiation of the boiling water test and the killing of twins in most African cultures.

However, the negative influence of the missional activities on indigenous rituals was the denunciation of all forms of sexual cleansing as pagan and barbaric. Furthermore, the findings showed that missional education via missional schools eroded the indigenous knowledge systems of the Lozi and Bemba people. The study argued that the new faith systems punctured the indigenous knowledge systems based on the cosmological worldviews alongside the new episteme of the LMS and PEMS. The study further argues that the indigenous knowledge systems in indigenous moral norms, education, and liturgy provided the vital knowledge tools that enabled the Lozi and Bemba to navigate their way through a maze of contestations of decoloniality in contemporary Zambia.

The study acknowledges that the Lozi and Bemba cultures can exist within the context of Christianity and maintain their uniqueness as places of doing theology, moral norms, and liturgy in the context of think-feel experiences. The study notes that cultural practices such as initiation ceremonies and rituals such as imbusa should be incorporated into Christian teachings because they believed them to be life-affirming rituals to teach young people to mature into responsible adults. In addition, when applied to practical theology and missiology, reviving indigenous knowledge systems of the Lozi and Bemba would provide the locus of inspiration in teaching young people about Biblical Christian values and moral norms. The findings revealed that missional liturgy could only be meaningful if it relates to the indigenous people's everyday experiences.

Keywords:

Missional education, liturgy, moral norms, coloniality, decoloniality, liturgy, culture, indigenous knowledge systems.

ABBREVIATIONS

ATR	African Traditional Religion
AIC	African Independent Churches
BBS	Boys Boarding School
BCE	Before Common Era
BSAC	British South Africa Company
CA	Central Africa
DC	District Commissioner
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
GBS	Girls Boarding School
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IKS	Indigenous Knowledge Systems
LM	Livingstonia Mission
LMS	London Missionary Society
MA	Master of Arts
MMD	Movement of Multi-Party Democracy
NIV	New International Version
PEMS	Paris Evangelical Missionary Society
PBM	Plymouth Brethren Missionary
UCZ	United Church of Zambia
UK	United Kingdom
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UMCA	Universities Mission to Central Africa
SOAS	School of African and Oriental Studies
UNIP	United Nations Independent Party
USA	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WCC	World Council of Churches
WF	White Fathers

Contents

Chapter One Introducing the study

1.1 Introduction

This study examines the socio-history of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society (PEMS) and London Missionary Society (LMS) as forms of colonial Christianity in Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia). Colonisation and decolonisation, coloniality and decoloniality, are increasingly becoming critical for debates that interrogate predominant race and theology in the political arena. Hence, this study examines the influences of PEMS and LMS on the Lozi and Bemba cultures via missional education, missional moral norms and liturgy. The study posits that these influences happened during the evangelisation and Christianisation of the Lozi and Bemba via the above mentioned activities that led to cultural diffusion. For this study to ascertain the causation of these influences, namely cultural diffusion, the examination of missional cultures of PEMS and LMS in the moral norms and practices must be paramount. Ajigbotoluwa (2018) asserts that Christianity and western civilisation were indistinguishable to the extent that people could not speak of one without implying the other.

The study argues that the history of the forms of colonial Christianity in Africa was done in collaboration with the colonisers and marked as a watershed moment in the way Africans live their lives and worship God. Okon (2008) claims that Christianity entered Africa simultaneously at the beginning of colonial domination of Africa. Sakupapa (2016:759) augments this point by explaining that Christianity in Zambia primarily results from the nineteenth-century missionary movement. Thus, the research aims to examine the influences of PEMS and LMS on the Lozi and Bemba cultures in Barotseland and Bembaland.

The chapter presents a general introduction to the study to achieve the above objective. First, it provides the background of the study. The background locates PEMS and LMS as subjects of academic interest both in the Global North and South. Second, it gives the socio-religious context of the study. It tapers to the Zambian context, exploring the influences of the mission societies and their activities in Barotseland and Bembaland. Third, it provides the motivations underpinning the circumstances for this research. Fourth, it presents the problem statement, the key research question, the sub questions, and the study's objectives. Firth, it discusses the location of the study. Sixth it presents the significance of the study. Seventh, it offers the delimitations of the study. Eighth it discusses the definitions of the concepts used. Ninth, it outlines the chapters upon which the thesis is built. Finally, it concludes the chapter.

1.2 Background of the study

PEMS and LMS are mission societies from Europe. They were both involved in the evangelisation and Christianisation of Africa from the 19th century. The aim was to carry out the *Missio Dei* to the perishing heathens. The study acknowledges that missional enterprise (and missional project will be used interchangeably) that came from the Global North to evangelise the continent of Africa is one of the controversial issues, especially concerning the influence of their missional activities on African cultures. It is crucial to note that when they returned home, many missionaries of Victorian Britain enjoyed a celebrity status compared to current top athletes. When Livingstone, for instance, returned home after his exploration in southern Africa, he filled the largest halls on his national tours with ecstatic crowds, and their activities were always headline news (Livingstone, 1857; Pettiffer & Bradley, 1990). This was the advent of the missional enterprise. The celebrity status of a missional enterprise is described in the following book titles:

> The Romance of Missionary Heroism, Heroines of Missionary Adventures and Heroic Deeds on Mission Field, among others, stressed the dangers, excitement and sacrifice of a missionary life (Pettiffer & Bradley, 1990).

Furthermore, these books stressed the piety, bravery and nobility of European missionaries and the savagery, heathenism, degradation and treachery of the 'heathen' world that is the non-white world. In contrast, critical studies in both practical theology and social sciences have criticised missional projects in Africa as being destructive, paternalistic, imperialistic and reactionary concerning the indigenous people and their cultures. For instance, the Primitive Methodist missionaries in Barotseland used derogatory and imperialistic descriptions of the Mashukulumbwe.

> *The Mashukulumbwe (Ila) are all filthy heathens, wild, savage and dirty people of liars. At times they were just average heathen… good-tempered, lazy, lousy and lying thieves….. Mashukulumbweland was a place where a man might go about first fearing he would not live six months and after that period of fear, he would not die* (Rotberg 1965:39).

The derogatory descriptions of the ethnic groups in Barotseland were a way of undermining and controlling their way of life to benefit the missional enterprise. This negative perception of African cultures persists, albeit in different ways, partly due to the colonial past. This past

colonial lives on as coloniality, that is, ideas, systems and structures that were still maintained in the North-America and capitalist world views. The study adds that this negative perception has morphed into racist chants, such as the monkey chant that Black footballers of African origin who play in Europe still experience in the 21st century.

It could be maintained that missional schools, churches and stations taught the Lozi and Bemba ethnic groups the missional message and culture. The PEMS and LMS lived at missional stations, which were used as homes for the children (PEMS) but also not far away from the Boarding schools (LMS). Owing to the arrangements mentioned above, the study posits that there was cultural interaction, knowledge exchange between teacher and pupil, and missionary and lay people in daily interactions. These human interactions became sites of the diffusion of cultures as Pettifer & Bradley (1990: 98) point out that most pupils at the mission schools were taught to march, to drill, to do press-ups, to play cricket and to run the sack race as a way of assimilation into colonial culture. The missionaries also introduced boys' brigades, scout troops and brownie packs to teach Africans [missional] culture and moral norms (Pettifer & Bradley, 1990:98).

In collaboration with the missional enterprise, Léglise and Migge (2007:1) reason that the cultural and linguistic practices that came with the colonial rule were instrumental in assigning low prestige to non-European languages and cultures. This is why, for example, one of the tasks of PEMS and LMS was to introduce formal missional education at royal palaces like in Barotseland with Francois Coillard and a Girls Boarding School (GBS) at Mbereshi with Mabel Shaw and a Boys Boarding School (BBS) in Bembaland. Hughes (2013) claims that the [missional] school not only educated numerous boys and girls but also served as a model for other mission schools in future. As a point of departure from Hughes, the study contends that missional schools served as models of coloniality of knowledge for future generations and, therefore, should be subjected to decoloniality, not celebrated. For Hughes, missional education was the best for the African child. Hughes's claims suggest that the knowing knowledge should only move from the Global North to the Global South for education to be perceived as authentic. It could be inferred from Hughes's claim that Euro-North-centric modernity can overcome all obstacles to human progress and promise civilisation and development. However, indigenous knowledge systems are missing in Hughes' analysis. Indigenous education has always existed in Barotseland and Bembaland before the advent of European missionaries. Shava (2020) underscores that indigenous knowledge is generated from interactions at the nexus between indigenous peoples and their lived environment over time.

Regarding the missional of education at Mbereshi boarding school, Shaw's intention to introduce an all-girls boarding school fell within culturally determined patriarchal structures (Siwila, 2017). The missional school emphasised the importance of a Victorian understanding of women and marriage that was heterosexual and monogamous in contrast to polygamous marriages, perceived as immoral and uncivilised. The study adds that all-girls boarding schools fell within Victorian Britain's culturally determined patriarchal structures that were perceived to be superior. This is what Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013) points out when he says that a colonial system of long duration that articulates an underlying grammar of domination continues to be the matrix that explains a multitude of stratifications and exclusions.

In addition, Siwila (2017) notes that young girls were educated to be civilised homemakers instead of pursuing future careers that will make them independent of men. This study departs from Siwila's point by arguing that boarding houses/boarding schools such as GBS and BBS at Mbereshi were also sites of commerce that promoted missional enterprise. This was exemplified by LMS in Bembaland training the indigenous young men in bookkeeping, welding and carpentry and young women were taught nursing, child care, needlework and arts and crafts. Simply put, missional schools were commerce-oriented, using cheap labour from the indigenous students.

Furthermore, the schools at the royal palace in Barotseland and GBS and BBS in Bembaland were sites of missional epistemological transmission that were well structured and organised under the guise of the missional model of PEMS and LMS. For example, the LMS missional mandate was, as Goodall (1954) puts it, "to carry the glorious Gospel of the blessed God to the heathens". The heathens refer to the Lozi and Bemba people who were regarded as unchristian and, therefore, sinners needing the missional message of salvation and deliverance.

Gann (1964:38-39) explains missionary's convictions as follows:

> The missionaries thought of themselves as a tiny army of God alone in the wilds of Africa, battling against Satan and felt convinced that colonial Christianity standards alone must prevail. They were rarely analysers; the men and women of action intent on changing the world; to the people as such, an aboriginal stamp culture merely represented a lower stage of human civilisation/human evolution and lying, stealing, gluttony, polygamy, licentious debauchery and cannibalism were thought to be deeply ingrained in the superstition and spirit worship.

Thus, PEMS and LMS were perceived as superior because they had the so-called superior missional epistemology, such as Biblical theology for young men and needlework, art and craft for young women that were geographically located at the centre of the Global North. Consequently, this led to a feeling of superiority and inferiority in relations between colonial missionaries and indigenous Zambians. Shaw's words exemplified the colonial/missional superiority mindset of her negative perception of young black women. She wrote, "Four little wild, untamed young women, unclean in person, in habits, thought and speech". Thus, the study argues that Morrow's (1986:624) observation of Shaw's perception of Africans was racist because she regarded them as non-human.

Thus, Ndlovu (2011:10) explains that coloniality as a power structure denies Africans the sovereignty to determine their future beyond being an object of colonial exploitation. Odora-Hoppers and Richards (2011:10) underscore that:

> Two centuries of politicised and scienticised denial of the existence of the metaphysics of indigenous people has not eradicated their knowledge systems, rituals, and practice……. at least not entirely. Whenever we look deeply at African society, or indeed most indigenous communities, the empirical fact that stares back at us is a reality of life lived differently, lives constituted around very different metaphysics of economics, law, science, healing, marriage, of joy, of dying, and of co-existence. Therefore, the problem is that the academy has not adapted to its natural context or resisted adaptation epistemologically, cosmologically and culturally—with immense ensuing cognitive injustice.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2018) explicates that although Africa suffered "dismemberment" due to coloniality, those who remained on the continent, unlike those kidnapped and transported to the New World as enslaved people, remained with resources of remembrance. The Africans remain with another source of social memory and another civilisation, which they can return to as a way of disconfirming the false projection of Eurocentrism as the alpha and omega of life (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2018). For example, PEMS and LMS taught Lozi and Bemba to look at the world through the lenses of missional ontology while silencing or making invisible African ontology.

Politically and economically, the consequences of colonialism on Africa were the promotion of economic globalisation and neo-colonisers' use of overwhelming pressure of homogenisation by discouraging indigenous political, economic, cultural and religious

knowledge systems, which were obstacles to progress (Mander & Tauli-Corpuz, 2006). This means that globalisation and homogenisation drive knowledge production and domination on the African continent. Thus, this research posits that globalisation in the form of the World Council of Churches (WCC) has led to the homogenisation of the Christian faith on the continent of Africa, which is an obstacle to the progress of the church in Africa. It is an obstacle because, epistemologically, the church in Africa is not free.

One of the additions in this research is that the African church fails to imagine a Christian world concerning the Global South. Ndlovu (2018) explains this point by stating that people without their ways of knowing are people without a history and a future of their own making. The Lozi and Bemba have long histories of established and successful Kingdoms and Chiefdoms in conjunction with their cosmological ontologies which their people celebrated. Before the forms of colonial Christianity arrived in Barotseland and Bembaland, the Lozi worshipped Nyambe (God), although *Mulimu* is now standard.

Meister (1981) elucidates that the faith of the Lozi people was expressed in ritual ceremonies marking special events or requests for protection and assistance. Meister (1981) further elucidates that the Lozi ceremonial play, dance and singing were closely related to their religion and kingship. Mainga (1972:95) argues that the Lozi corpus of beliefs has two somehow conflicting pictures of Nyambe (God) (Mainga, 1972: 95). Nyambe is conceived of as the creator and the source of all things. He is superior to all other spirits. Indeed, Lozi's proverbs present him as omniscient and omnipotent. Nyambe controls the universe. He guides the lives and fortunes of humanity. He is capable of punishing people. In Lozi's corpus of beliefs, Nyambe dominates their religio-cultural practices; that is, all prayers and requests are made to Nyambe (Johnson, 2012).

Meanwhile, the Bemba worshipped Lesa (God), a term still used today. It is crucial to note that Africans had always had their belief systems, albeit raw, before Christianity arrived on the continent. Mokhoathi (2017) argues that in the African's quest to understand and relate to God in their context, they contextualise their form of theology visa-a-vis—African theology. In contrast, the forms of colonial Christianity thought of the Barotseland and Bembaland as the sites of heathenism and paganism. These sites were viewed as a place of raw materials used by PEMS and LMS to evangelise and Christianise Lozi and Bemba to promote missional knowledge and cultures. This is exemplified in Coillard's address in 1899 at a missionary conference in London saying,

> The African, the heathen world is sunk in misery; they fell into animal life, and repeat, there seems to be a particular curse of malediction on the land of Africa. We see that even her children bear the symbol of unhappiness and misery (News from Barotseland, 1899:14. No.3).

It is clear from the aforementioned that PEMS and LMS were not simply evangelising the Lozi and Bemba ethnic groups. However, they were interested in spreading a Eurocentric culture they deemed superior to Africans. The Eurocentric views have led Mamdani (2011:5) to argue that the African intellectual challenge for the twenty-first century is that of:

> Interrogating the foundations of the prevailing modernity intellectual paradigms which have turned the dominant Europe/North American experience into a model under which culture and knowledge are conceived as nothing other than a demonstration that non-western societies around the world either conform or deviate from that model.

What is promising in the struggles for epistemic freedom is that younger African scholars still need to give up the laboratory agenda of rethinking thinking and even unthinking some ideas introduced to Africa by colonialism and hegemony (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2018). This is why African Independent Churches (AICs) formed a protest/resistant movement. Burgess (2006:16–17) explains that:

> The AICs' protest against verbal and cerebral Christianity represented a cultural renaissance in response to the cultural imperialism of the missionary representatives of the African historic mission churches.

Milderova (2014) and Öhlmann, Grab & Frost (2020) concur with those mentioned above that the African Independent Churches (AICs) played an essential role in the anti-colonial movements by resisting the eradication of indigenous knowledge systems and practices underpinned by African ontology such as Mchape. Mchape combined traditional methods, such as divination through magical mirrors; *kusamba* (ritual cleansing), with Christian traditions, such as prayers, sermons and beliefs Milderova (2014). Mander and Tauli-Corpuz (2006) reason that indigenous practices, worldviews, belief systems and stories affirm their surrender to this mystery and magic.

Primitive Methodists, as forms of colonial Christianity among the Valley Tonga, were more strongly opposed to African ways due to their puritanical views.

> They insisted on the Tonga people being clothed; their nakedness signifies heathenism. Hogg was delighted when he could report that the people are now dressed instead of being naked as they were nine months ago; one feels it difficult to realise that we are in the heart of heathenism. Josefa is dressed in white trousers, a shirt and a jacket, while his wife is wearing a dress and cloak at Kanchindu Mission station (Primitive Method, The Record, 1902:156).

Troeltsch (1999) asserts that Christianity and western civilisation were indistinguishable to the extent that people could not speak of one without implying the other. (Bediako, 1992) posits that the colonial missionaries tended to perceive and treat everything pre-Christian as either harmful or valueless. They are dangerous and worthless because they do not fit within the western epistemological paradigm underpinned by a scientific worldview. Bediako (1992) contends that missionary work had the idea that providence specially designed the western cultural dress, such as a suit and tie, to go hand in hand with Christianity, whether suited to the Zambian people's hot climatic conditions or not. Ellie further argues that this colonial practice was purely for the ultimate benefit of western tailors and not the natives in Victorian Britain. The author argues that this influence was not spiritually driven but materialistic driven.

A study by Siwila (2011) grapples with the issues of culture. It examines how traditional Zambian practices such as child marriage, widow inheritance, dowry and polygamy have negatively affected women by exposing women to the risk of contracting Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) infection within the context of Christianity. She elucidates that in the ontology of Zambian tradition, women are subservient to men (gender imbalance) and are fuelled by cultural and economic practices (Siwila, 2011). The study argues that despite years of cultural discussion, more is needed to develop a coherent normative concept to ground the link between colonialism and colonial Christianity. Kincaid (2017) argues that the current economic and educational disadvantage of Zambians is due to past colonial weaknesses current disadvantage is due to discrimination perpetuated by the class system in Zambia. In other words, the current economic and educational disadvantage is due to the coloniality of power and the coloniality of knowledge. The class system replaces race in Barotseland and Bembaland.

The study posits that PEMS and LMS, as the forms of colonial Christianity, had political and religious (theological) powers to shape the Lozi and Bemba history and cultures through interaction via mission schools, mission stations, Bible study, language, dress and the arts.

Maldonado-Torres (2007) posits that colonisers created the binary and hierarchy, whether that being in terms of gender, race, culture, religion, arts and ethnicity. Maldonado-Torres further argues that the colonisers constituted this binary that white is superior. To be black is not to be fully human because they were considered not intelligent by the colonisers and colonial missionaries using the Cartesian paradigm, I think, therefore I am (Maldonado-Torres, 2007). These factors, as mentioned above, sought to assert the supremacy of colonial knowledge and culture through evangelisation, liturgy and education aided by colonialism. Coloniality and decoloniality are increasingly critical for debates that challenge predominant racial, conservative, homophobic, liberal and neoliberal politics (Torres-Maldonado, 2007).

This study draws on archival materials (ecclesial, media and government) and desktop to interrogate PEMS and LMS's influence on Lozi and Bemba cultures underpinned by the ontology and coloniality theoretical frameworks. Relative ontology is incorporated in this research as an ontological paradigm as it doubts the objectivity and veracity of the colonial historical data (Gray, 2014:6). According to Winston Churchill, history is written by the victors, and the truth of the past is not shaped by reasoned interpretative historical scholarship or accurate understanding of the past visa-vis the history of Lozi and Bemba ethnic groups' culture by the colonisers (Hartman, 2015).

1.3 The context of the study

It is vital to note that the copper industry has dominated the mining scene in Zambia for more than seven decades since the first commercial mine was opened in 1928 (Simutanyi, 2008). At its peak in the late 1960s and early 1970s, copper mining accounted for over 80% of the country's foreign exchange earnings, over 50% of government revenue and at least 20% of total formal sector employment (Simutanyi, 2008). However, its performance declined from the mid-1970s and by the end of the 1980s, copper mining was no longer the 'golden cow' which had been the engine of the country's industrial and social development. This was caused by developments on the international stage, such as the collapse of commodity prices in the mid-1970s and the unprecedented increases in oil prices, coupled with poor political decisions, which contributed to the industry's poor performance (Burdette, 1984).

In 1969, the copper industry was nationalised to maximise the returns to the Zambian people. It was then envisaged that, under state control, copper revenues would be used to benefit the nation (Simutanyi, 2008). Simutanyi further notes that during 1969–1975, the country saw unprecedented investment in constructing new schools, hospitals and roads, using surpluses from copper revenues. However, the

copper industry faced several challenges after 1975 due to under-capitalisation, overmanning, poor technology and low copper prices on the international market. As the Zambian economy experienced a prolonged recession in the 1980s, exacerbated by the balance of payments deficits and reduced earnings from the copper industry, the government sought the assistance of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (Simutanyi, 2008).

Nonetheless, the loans granted were tied to specific conditions, including devaluing the country's currency, trade liberalisation, reduction in the mine labour force and a general wage freeze. In 1984 the government implemented most of the recommendations the IMF and the World Bank proposed. The measures included reduced labour force through retrenchment, voluntary retirement and dismissals. The crisis occasioned by the poor performance of the copper industry was felt in Zambia's inability to finance social welfare programmes, such as education and health. People's living standards deteriorated, and real income dropped as hyperinflation reduced the purchasing power of wages (Simutanyi, 2008). Thus, shortages of essential commodities were the order of the day.

Consequently, workers' protests were frequent through strikes and demonstrations during these developments. In December 1986, in particular, there were food riots on the Copperbelt and parts of Lusaka due to an increase in the price of a bag of maize meal.

The Zambian state's fiscal crisis coincided with adopting neo-colonialism structures such as structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) that the World Bank and IMF encouraged. These SAP measures included, among others, the removal of subsidies, trade liberalisation and the reduced role of the state in the economy. It could be argued that these neo-colonialism structures, IMF and World Bank continue the legacy of colonialism in what Anibal Quijano (2000) calls the coloniality of power. Quijano (2000) argues that the coloniality of power constitutes

> a matrix that operates through control or hegemony over authority, labour, sexuality, and subjectivity -- that is, the practical domains of political administration, production and exploitation, personal life and reproduction, and world-view and interpretive perspective. The forms these have taken are the nation-state, capitalism, the nuclear family, and eurocentrism.

The Zambian government provided large subsidies as the state mining conglomerate Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines Limited (ZCCM) was loss-making. The collapse of the Zambian economy in the 1980s was intimately related to the poor performance of the copper mining industry (Simutanyi, 2008). For example, some unprofitable mines and shafts were shut down in Ndola, Mufulira, Luanshya and Chililabombwe. This was when the author's father working for one of the mines in Chililabombwe, lost his job. This went hand in hand with retrenching mine labour and scaling down ZCCM's social

responsibilities to the communities (Simutanyi, 2008). It must be pointed out that the power of coloniality, as a structure of control, is that it speaks for us so forcefully that one sees no recourse but to represent it, to uphold its existence, to ratify its dispensing with ethics and with the sanctity of human life in everything we say and do as labour and resource. As more and more miners lost their jobs, dissatisfaction with the UNIP government grew.

The Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) government, ushered into office in November 1991 on a platform of greater transparency, good governance and economic liberalisation (Rakner, 2003), inherited an economy that had virtually collapsed. The unstable economy pushed the researcher to leave the country for studies in the United Kingdom (UK). In line with its policy of economic liberalisation, the MMD government was committed to privatisation. In 1992, the passage of the Privatisation Act saw the creation of the Zambia Privatisation Agency (ZPA), which oversaw the privatisation of 273 state-owned companies by 1996 (Simutanyi, 2008). Simutanyi further notes that the government also passed other laws encouraging private-sector development, including the Investment Act and the Mines and Minerals Act of 1995. It could be argued that privatisation was part of the overall economic reform and was seen to have been spearheaded by the neoliberalism of international financial institutions.

The mining industry's performance, which was in a slump since the mid-1970s, has dramatically improved since 2004 (Simutanyi, 2008). It is crucial to note that while the privatised mines have recorded large profits, the Zambian government acknowledges that revenue from copper as a proportion of government income has been meagre. The copper mines continue to benefit the Zambians and the neo-colonisers from this one-sided trade agreement. In this context, the study emerges to interrogate the influences of colonial Christianity on the Lozi and Bemba cultures. Bemba-speaking people predominately populated the Copperbelt, and most were in positions of power in mines and ruling parties. It is indisputable that the Bemba people and culture have tremendously influenced Zambia today.

1.3.1 Histo-religious context of Zambia

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, several missionary societies began to make inroads into the country. The Plymouth Brethren Missionary (PBM) under Frederik Arnot were the first protestant missionaries to settle at Lealui (Barotseland) in 1882 (Chuba, 2016). Arnot lived at the palace until he was forced to leave due to his poor health (Arnot, 1914). The study acknowledges that the Catholic missionaries had made initial contact with the Lozi people before the protestant missionaries. This is evidenced in Mackintosh (1907), who states that until the visit of Mr Arnot and the Jesuits, so far as known, no white man except Major Serpo Pinto and Mr Westbeech had visited Lealui since Dr Livingstone's visit to Sibetuane in 1851.

Bolink (1967:33) notes that Coillard of PEMS established a mission at Lealui in 1887 following successful approval by the Lozi King, albeit during a period of political upheaval within the kingdom. PEMS were the first missionaries to secure a deal with the Litunga (Lozi King), which permitted them to establish mission schools and evangelism (Johnson, 2012). John (1984:143) Kondolo (2015:87) notes that Coillard's counsel and his influence on Litunga Lewanika, the mission initiated the missional hymn book *Lipina Za Keleke* (meaning hymns of the church. On the other hand, the London Missionary Society (LMS) had made initial contact with the Bemba through missionary explorer David Livingstone in 1867 (Sakupapa, 2016, p. 759). The LMS came to Zambia via the East Coast of Africa and established their initial mission at Niamukolo by Lake Tanganyika (Kondolo, 2015).

Due to President Chiluba's declaration, Zambia has over 19 million people and is generally considered a de facto Christian nation.
(https://www.worldometers.info/world-population/zambia-population/). This has led Zambia to have a mosaic landscape of churches that represent the social-structural components of cities, towns and villages (Hansen, 2008).

The nineteenth century is widely known as the period of the colonial powers' scramble for the continent of Africa and colonisation. The Berlin Conference encouraged colonial missionaries to accelerate the scramble for Africa for the benefit of the Global North. Macpherson (1976) underscores that PEMS and LMS as mission societies began to make inroads into Northern Rhodesia partly because of David Livingstone's missionary work in southern Africa and partly because of the Berlin Conference in 1884. Combining the above two factors created a marriage of convenience where they rely on each other for survival.

The nineteenth-century missionary movement's hostile stance towards indigenous cultures and religion has attracted criticisms from some African scholars (Sakupapa, 2016:760). Akeje (2016) concurs with Sakupapa, who, for example, defines missionary Christianity as Christianity imposed through evangelism, coercion and military power. As a point of departure from Akeje, the study posits that [missional] Christianity is the coloniality of Christianity and a new phenomenon in studying the forms of colonial Christianity. The recent phenomenon is exemplified in the words of David Livingstone, one of the first LMS missionaries in Barotseland and Bembaland, 'I go to Africa to bring Christianity, Commerce and Civilisation (Livingstone, 1876). Several studies focus on commerce (Trade) as the coloniality of power (Mignolo, 2000; Maldonado -Torres, 2002) and civilisation as the coloniality of being (Grosfoguel, 2002). However, only some studies on colonialism and post-colonialism have

focused on the forms of colonial Christianity that are missional enterprises working alongside colonisers as agents of the modernity/coloniality matrix.

The Lozi and Bemba people were not spared from interacting with PEMS and LMS through missional education, moral norms and liturgy. To this end, the study interrogates the influence of PEMS and LMS as forms of colonial Christianity on the Lozi and Bemba cultures underpinned by ontology and coloniality theoretical frameworks. It also posits coloniality as the new phenomenon in the form of colonial Christianity. It refers to structures of the custodian of (missional) knowledge production and domination that still lives on today. In this instance, the researcher uses 'missional knowledge' and 'the forms of colonial Christianity' as concepts that run through the study. Chakraborty (2007:27) reasons that the Global North remains the sovereign, theoretical subject of all histories, including the ones we call "Indian," "Chinese", and "Kenyan," and would add "Zambian". In other words, the Global North controls knowledge systems and hastens to add even the Lozi and Bemba knowledge systems.

Some of the critical questions confronting contemporary Lozi and Bemba people in Zambia are, is it possible to experience the present without being trapped in the domination of the colonial past? How much of PEMS and LMS influences in education, theology and liturgy knowledge domination still linger on in church structures, government structures and community structures in contemporary Western and Northern Provinces? The question is very pertinent and deserves a critical investigation. It is important to note that knowledge, either in education, moral norms or liturgy as metaphysics concepts are invisible but compelling phenomena that could positively and negatively impact a nation for generations to come (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2018).

1.4 Motivations for the study

1.4.1 Personal Motivation

The motivation for the study is twofold, first, personal and second, academic. My inspiration for this study is twofold. First, as a researcher, I came to this study as one born and bred in Zambia until 1991, when I upped sticks and left for the United Kingdom (UK) to pursue my studies where I currently reside. Human cultures fascinate me a great deal. I grapple with questions, such as whether there is a supreme culture if God created humans in his image. Is there a common human culture? Are there certain human cultural features that are static despite modern technologies? Is there a distinct culture? Is culture a hybrid? Does culture as a concept

exist? Is religion a foe or a friend of culture? Is religion responsible for the statics of culture? These difficult questions have led me to examine the role and influence of the forms of colonial Christianity on Zambian cultures.

Second, living in the diaspora brings some complex issues concerning my cultural identity. How much of Britishness and how much of Africaness is still in me? Am I a cultural hybrid? These internal tensions and insurmountable questions propel one to explore these internalised human complexities and dilemmas. Living in the UK, one cannot escape the issues of Christianity, race and sexuality contested in religious and secular public spaces. For example, same-sex marriage (homosexuality) in the UK has ramifications worldwide.
For instance, in a 2017 interview, when asked for his views on "gay sex", the Archbishop of Canterbury Justin Welby said, "I have to struggle to be faithful to the tradition, faithful to the scripture, to understand what the call and will of God are in the 21st century and to respond appropriately with an answer for all people … that covers both sides of the argument. Moreover, I have not got a good answer, and I am not doing as much work as I would like" (The Guardian, 2017).

In the UK, particularly in social science, there is an obsession with culture and sex. In an African context, when we look at religion from a patriarchal perspective, for instance, Bawa (2017), in a study, found that patriarchal interpretations of religious or cultural beliefs marginalised women. The forms of colonial Christianity reinforced cultural beliefs about women's subservience. Moyo (2004) and Rwafa (2016) concur with Bawa (2017) that patriarchal Christian beliefs disempowered women's position in society. Perhaps it has become my journey and mission as I embarked on this study to learn more about the Lozi and Bemba cultures and my cultural identity as a researcher living in the diaspora.

1.4.2 Academic Motivation

In the United Kingdom, I pursued a Master of Arts (MA) degree, and the dissertation focused on the role of Christianity in helping the poor in society. The study's findings revealed a lack of church involvement in alleviating poverty and corruption in El Salvador, Latin America, in the 1960s. El Salvador, for example, had many social problems, such as extreme poverty and corruption in the government and police force. Freire elucidates in his book *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* how Latin America was a battleground during the cold war ideology and propaganda between USA and USSR (Freire, 1996). The competing ontologies of capitalism

and communism had affected El Salvador negatively, cumulating into violence fuelled by drug dealing and criminality (Freire, 1996). The continued contestations of the two competing ontologies of capitalism and communism are mirrored in the Zambian context, where the contestations of the forms of colonial Christianity and African Christianity about Lozi and Bemba cultures.

Macpherson (1976) notes that the British annexation of Northern Rhodesia shows the backdrop of this contestation. MacPherson further highlights the impact of colonialism and imperialism legacy in post-colonial Zambia, for good or for ill, depending on which spectrum of the debate one takes. On the one hand, Macpherson (1976), citing Mulford, notes how colonialism negatively influenced Zambian cultures and reveals that the region has been subjugated not by war but by the treaties concluded by white men and unsophisticated chiefs. PEMS and LMS enabled these white men (the colonialists). Positively, on the other hand, Macpherson (1976), citing Hanna, says the forms of colonial Christianity introduced Christianity, Commerce and Civilisation in an attempt to eradicate the horrors of the slave trade.

1.5 The research problem

The PEMS and LMS, as forms of colonial Christianity in collaboration with colonialists are perceived as the prime agents in eroding the Lozi and Bemba cultures in Barotseland and Bembaland. This by no means excludes the contributory influences of other missional bodies such as Catholics and Plymouth Brethren Mission among others. However, for the purpose and limitation of the research, it seeks to explore and interrogate the extent to which PEMS and LMS influenced the Lozi and Bemba cultures.

The assumption that the study draws its research problem is that the PEMS and LMS in conjunction with the colonisers, may have influenced the Lozi and Bemba cultures more than other missional bodies. For instance, during the Kuomboka ceremony, the Litunga begins the day with traditional dress. During the journey, he changes into the full uniform of a British Admiral given to him by King Edward VII in 1902. The colonial legacy elucidated in Litunga British regalia resulted from the Lochner Treaty signed between Litunga and BSCA mediated by Francois Coillard of PEMS in 1890 (Mainga, 2014).

The first Litunga to have worn the Admiral's uniform was Litunga Lubosi Lewanika I (1848-1916), given to him by King Edward VII at his coronation in 1902 (Bosman, 2002). The colonial legacy perpetuated by Lewanika 1 predecessors originates in the Lochner Treaty

signed in 1890 between Litunga and BSCA, mediated by Francois Coillard of PEMS (Mainga, 2014). François Coillard arrived in Lealui, the Capital of Barotseland, on 17 July 1834 and ministered there until 27 May 1904 (News from Barotsi-land, 1898).

In contemporary Barotseland, every successive Litunga gets his uniform tailor-made in Britain. Thus, the Litunga's ceremonial British Admiral uniform is now a part of Lozi culture. It is not farfetched to postulate that coloniality is alive and well in Litunga royal palaces. The problem of wanting to be British in Lozi culture plagues the relationship between the Barotseland Kingdom and the Zambian government. However, the Paramount Chitimukulu and his subjects in Bembaland seem contented to be part of the Zambian government rule albeit, it wearing western clothes but not the full uniform of a British Admiral. Francois Coillard (1891:71) of PEMS also illustrates this point when he describes the Lozi as a den of thieves and a hotbed of the grossest, shameless immorality, as people who impudently rode donkeys to death in broad daylight, stole clothes, food, tools and even barometers.

In Bembaland, LMS missionary Mabel Shaw's words exemplified the cultural-missional superiority mindset toward young black women. She wrote, "Four little wild, untamed young women, unclean in person, in habits, thought and speech" (Shaw cited in Morrow, 1986:624). In Shaw's modernity worldview, the young girls' civilisation and acceptance are linked to missional culture. Shaw like other LMS missionaries, the only for young women was to be white in culture and mannerisms.

Given this research problem, the main research question that this study seeks to answer is:

In what ways did PEMS and LMS as forms of colonial Christianity influence the Lozi and Bemba cultures in contemporary Zambia?

1.5.1 Research Sub Questions

What might be the influences of the forms of colonial Christianity on religion and culture in Barotseland and Bembaland?

How did these forms of colonial Christianity influence religio-cultural norms (belief) and practices (praxis) in Barotseland and Bembaland in contemporary Zambia?

Why would these forms of colonial Christianity influence religio-cultural norms (beliefs) and practices (praxis), and how is it reflected in Western and Northern Provinces in contemporary Zambia?

1.6. The Objectives

The objectives of the study are:

To assess what forms of colonial Christianity influenced religion and culture in Barotseland and Bembaland.

To examine how these forms of colonial Christianity influenced religio-cultural norms (beliefs) and practices (praxis) in Barotseland and Bembaland in contemporary Zambia.

To analyse the effects of the forms of colonial Christianity on religio-cultural norms (beliefs) and practices (praxis) and how it is reflected in Western and Northern Provinces in contemporary Zambia.

1.7 Location of the study

This study is in Practical Theology and Social Transformation and draws on sociological and philosophical perspectives. Pattison and Woodward (2000) view practical theology as a place where religious beliefs and practice meet new experiences, questions, and actions and conduct dialogue that is respectively enhancing, skilfully analytical, and practically transforming. It is a critical, constructive, and grounded theological reflection of communities of faith carried on consistently in the contexts of their "praxis," which denote a combination of knowledge born of analytical objectivity and distance, practical wisdom, and creative skills. It draws on and responds to people's interpretations of normative sources from scripture and tradition and helps ongoing modifications and transformations of their practices to adequately respond to their interpretations of the shape of God's call to partnership. Hence, Practical theology is a vital theological and missiological reflection on the [missional] traditions as they interact with the world's practices [Lozi and Bemba] to ensure and enable faithful participation in God's redemptive ways into and for the world (Swinton & Mowatt, 2006).

In addition, adopting modernity and coloniality worldviews from a sociological perspective enables the study to interrogate the rationality behind the social transformation of the Lozi and Bemba cultures due to missional influence.

1.8 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the research goes beyond the current perspectives on the spread of missional messages by PEMS and LMS in Barotseland and Bembaland. It also provides a critical

interrogation of the nature and character of the influences of PEMS and LMS as forms of colonial Christianity on religio-cultural norms and practices of the Lozi and Bemba via missional education, moral norms and liturgy underpinned by modernity/coloniality matrix.

1.9 Significance of the Study

The study attempts to contribute to the phenomenological approach on the influences of PEMS and LMS as forms of colonial Christianity on Lozi and Bemba cultures. The research is motivated by a coloniality position that seeks to silence the indigenous cultures and indigenous knowledge systems in favour of the absolute colonial cultures and knowledge. This is done by paying attention to PEMS and LMS activities in Barotseland and Bembaland. The African voice is missing in much of the post-colonial literature, particularly in the forms of colonial Christianity and Lozi and Bemba kingdoms and cultures. By critically exploring and interpreting the desktop and archival data, the research aims to contribute to an interpretive phenomenological approach that could enhance practical theology and missiology. Thus, the research study's findings aim to contribute knowledge to the current knowledge of practical theology, missional education, and missional moral norms. It also aims to add knowledge to the ongoing discussions on the development of discourses on decolonisation and decoloniality in areas of missional education, missional liturgy and missional moral norms, among others, in African academic institutions. It is hoped that the missing African voice in the literature will be heard in practical theology, missiology and social sciences.

10. Limitation of the Study

This study is confined to the PEMS and LMS as forms of colonial Christianity in Barotseland and Bembaland. The study recognised that the PEMS and LMS are broad missional bodies whose influence on Zambian cultures may not be exhaustively and wholly represented by the missionaries of PEMS and LMS who evangelised the Lozi and Bemba people.

However, considering Francois Coillard of PEMS, who came to Barotseland and David Livingstone and Mabel Shaw of LMS, who came to Bembaland, their negative perceptions of the Lozi and Bemba cultures could be argued to be vital in demonstrating the general perceptions of the forms of colonial Christianity's on these cultures from a broader perspective. Those referred to as forms of colonial Christianity in the study are missional bodies from the enlightenment period that began in the 16th century from the Global North. Although the study

alludes to the influences of PEMS and LMS on Lozi and Bemba cultures, it also seeks to interrogate the influences of the Plymouth Brethren Mission (PBM), White Father (WF) and Livingstonia Mission (LM). Through this analysis, it would be meaningful to describe if possible limitations exist regarding the influence of PEMS and LMS on the Lozi and Bemba cultures.

The study is a qualitative and non-empirical research that uses desktop and archival data in its discussion and analysis. Furthermore, the study was conducted during lockdown restrictions due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Due to border closures, the COVID-19 regulations in the United Kingdom and globally did not allow the researcher to visit many archival rooms and libraries. Archival data was limited as it was sourced from the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) at the University of London under very restricted time and regulations. The other archival data was also limited, sourced from the internet and historical books on PEMS and LMS mission societies. Although there are minor caveats and limitations associated with using desktop research methods and historical books as research methods for collecting data on the forms of colonial Christianity, the data sources proved to be sufficient in answering the research questions.

11. Definitions of the key concepts of the study

11.1 Culture

Etymologically the definition of culture is less problematic. The meaning of culture ranges from complex to simple definitions among scholars. Kroeber and Parsons (1958:583), cited in Parsons (1972), define culture as transmitted and created content and patterns of values, ideas and symbolical meaningful systems as factors in shaping human behaviour. Mulholland (1991) defines culture as a set of shared and enduring meanings, values and beliefs that characterise national, ethnic or other groups and orient their behaviour.

Culture is used in this study to refer to the ways of life of the members of society or groups within a society (Giddens, 2005). This way of life is learned behaviour (Nida, 1975). Thomas (2005) views culture and religion as intertwined, noting that religion, from an African perspective, is a cultural phenomenon within which a person cannot simply join; it is a part of one's unique culture. Thus, Imbusa is part of the Bemba traditional religion which in Mbiti's (2002) view, may be termed an innate phenomenon within which people are born. This innate

phenomenon is perceived in Lozi and Bemba's distinct ways of life peculiar to their community members. Thus, the study understands this as culture.

11.2 Colonialism

The term colonialism in this study refers to the period of imperial domination, where the imperial power establishes and guarantees authoritative control over a colonised territory (McClintock, 1994; Jack et al., 2011). Hence, colonialism refers to the direct and overall domination of one country by another based on state power being in the hands of a foreign power (Ocheni & Nwankwo, 2012). For instance, colonisers' direct and overall domination of Zambia happened from 1889 - 1964. The study acknowledges that when colonialism is discussed in Africa, it refers to the phenomenon between the 1800 and the 1960s. It is important to note that this phenomenon was part of another phenomenon called imperialism. Thus, colonialism is a direct form of imperialism (Ocheni & Nwankwo, 2012). Hence, all colonialism is imperialism, but not all imperialism is colonialism.

Accordingly, Nwauwa (2014) states that colonisation was seen as a cure for the primitiveness of the people of Africa. Christianity played a role in its attempt to change African ontology and culture to their presumably advanced way of life. In contrast, the African continent was being exploited for its precious resources. Colonialism has a devastating impact on Africa, like Zambia, as it is responsible for the dark side of modernity, and this is represented poignantly in Walter Rodney's book (1972), *How Europe underdeveloped Africa* (Ocheni and Nwankwo, 2012:53). Nwauwa (2014) similarly asserts that African people and their cultures were suppressed on multiple fronts, while the language and mentality of the time enabled the colonisers to see their efforts as civilising missions. Ocheni and Nwankwo (2012) contend that colonialism introduced the dichotomy between the Global North and Global South. In other ways, colonialism leads to coloniality.

11.3 Coloniality

In social science, colonisation and decolonisation, as well as coloniality and decoloniality, are increasingly becoming critical terms for movements that challenge the predominant racial, sexist, homo and trans-phobic conservative, liberal, and neoliberal politics of today (Maldonado-Torres, 2007). It is important to note that colonialism is different from coloniality. As aforementioned, colonialism means a political-economic relation in which the sovereignty

of a nation rests on the power of another, making such a nation an empire (Maldonado-Torres, 2007).

However, coloniality is defined as the long-standing patterns of power that emerged because of colonialism but that define culture, labour, intersubjective relations, and knowledge production well beyond the strict limits of colonial administrations (Maldonado-Torres, 2007). Thus, the study defines coloniality as an idea still maintained in academic books, religious and secular institutions, cultural patterns, church liturgy, moral norms, aspirations of self, and so many other aspects of our modern experience. Thus, coloniality subsists colonialism.

11.4 The Forms of Colonial Christianity

According to Gladwin (2019), the reach and influence of Christianity likewise increased exponentially during the nineteenth century, both within and beyond colonial boundaries in Africa, Asia, Oceania, and the Americas. Nwauwa (2014) concurs that during the earlier periods of colonisation in Africa, Christianity was spread along with explorers and merchants. According to Gifford (2012), missionary societies facilitated the spread of western ideals, belief systems and culture while preaching the gospel among Africans. This study understands that missional activities prepared and weakened the African cultures due to increased contact with western ideals and culture. Nwauwa (2014) concurs with Gifford that Christianity was seen as a force of pacification that helped to enable colonisation and the cultural assimilation of Africans. Nwauwa further explains that certain aspects of Christianity initially encouraged a sense of passivity among Africans, as it taught them the virtues of forgiveness, submissiveness and patience. Hence for most Africans, their suffering at the hands of the colonisers was meant to be propitiatory as they patiently waited for a better life in the afterlife.

It is the study's understanding that the European missionaries were fellow travellers with the colonisers. Pettifer and Bradley (1990:19) bemoan this association as one of the accidents of history. Thus, for the research, the European missionaries are known as the forms of colonial Christianity, including the London Missionary Society (LMS), Livingstonia Mission (LM), Paris Evangelical Missionary Society (PEMS) and White Fathers (WFs), among others. These missionary establishments introduced missional education, such as Lubwa Mission School and Mbereshi Boarding Schools for boys and girls, to evangelise indigenous Lozi and Bemba. The study understands the missional phenomenon of evangelism by LMS and PEMS to modernise the Lozi and Bemba cultures into Eurocentric culture while denying them social mobility.

For the research, colonial Christianity refers to the agents of missional faith alongside colonisation that began in the Global North underpinned by the modernity/coloniality worldview. Thus, the modernity/coloniality worldview refers to the European project of rationality that started in the 16th century and holds to the white race's superiority and the veracity of objective western epistemology such as theology, sciences and arts, among others, while silencing other subaltern epistemologies.

11.5 Western Christianity

According to van Klinken (2017), Western Christianity refers to the established or mainstream Christianity of the Western World that is intricately related to Western cultural, political and economic powers, both in history and now. Hall (2002) explains that the 'West' refers to a historical or geo-political entity or a cultural construct, and most refer to the collusion of these aspects. Thus the terms 'West' and 'Western' are used as codenames primarily for Western Europe's powerful geo-political and economic regions in our world (van Klinken, 2017). In the study, Western Christianity refers to Christianity from the Global North underpinned by the rationality of the enlightenment period known as modernity and capitalism world views.

11.6 Missional Education

Education is a means of transmitting one's culture from one generation to another vis-à-vis a process of bringing about a relatively permanent change in human behaviours Adeyemi and Adeyinka (2002:2) cited in Okoro (2010:8). According to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO, 2019) education refers to the entire process of developing human ability and behaviour. Education elaborates Nazlev (2017) is a socially organised and regulated process of continuous transference of socially significant experience from the previous generation to the following. It is a process of transmitting one's culture from one generation to another. In contrast, Hegel, cited in Nazlev (2017), states that education is not a transfer to an individual's duty of an individual to elevate himself into conformity to universal nature. Furthermore, Fafunwa (1979), cited in Odia and Omofobmuan (2007) concur with Hegel that education is the aggregate of processes by which an individual develops the mental ability, positive attitudes and other forms of good behaviour that are of positive value in the environment in which he inhabits. For Hegel, education is the active contribution of an individual to the learning process (Nazlev, 2017).

It is crucial to note that schools as educational institutions (primary, secondary, college and University) allow learners to interact with new knowledge. Hegel shows the interaction with new knowledge as an elevation to reasonableness, making man's rational side his guiding principle (Nazlev 2017). Thus, missional education is defined as a concept used to denote missionary education, such as boarding and non-boarding school institutions established by missional societies to educate learners in both Barotseland and Bembaland.

For instance, in former British colonies like Zambia, the missionaries founded and managed the first schools on behalf of the imperial power (Gallego and Woodberry 2010:2). The degree of missionaries' responsibility varied across colonial powers; for example, missionaries provided over 90% of Western education in sub-Saharan Africa during the colonial period, and Zambia was no exception (Woodberry, 2004). Msila (2007) asserts that school is a defendant sector of society that can reproduce alienated consciousness. Msila (2007) further points out that it is an arena of contention for inequality and the democratic learning process. Ashiru (2016) traced education in Africa back to Euro-Christian missionaries, who intended to give what he described as minimal education. According to Ashiru (2016), it is to produce literate that can serve as a catechist, interpreters, junior clerks and messengers, and aid the colonial administration, the capitalist firms and the church. According to Vallgarda (2015), Euro-Christian missionaries' education was to 'shape the next generation' before heathen religious and African cultural practices corrupted them.

Thus, missional education refers to a particular phenomenon of education underpinned by modernity from the Global North during Victoria Britain. Resultantly, these missional schools were spread to Barotseland and Bembaland through the efforts of PEMS and LMS.

11.7 Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IKS)

The term indigenous is problematic because it collectivises many distinct populations whose experiences under imperialism have been vastly different. The term indigenous could describe any group native to a specific region. Indigenous knowledge is the knowledge system embedded in the cultural traditions of indigenous people, in which information is received traditionally as opposed to knowing knowledge. Hence, indigenous refers to people who lived before the colonisers, namely the Lozi and Bemba and resided in Barotseland and Bembaland. When the term indigenous knowledge is referred to knowledge, it is used as what Shava (2020) refers to as the cumulative body of knowledge such as understandings, meanings, interpretations, explanations, experiences, philosophies, pedagogies, methodologies, practices, skills, and

strategies of an indigenous people, in its diverse representations, that has developed through their interactions with the land (lived environment) and is sustained over time through culture and practices. This is known as indigenous knowledge systems.

11.8 Indigenous Education

Indigenous education differed from missional education in the following way. Traditional education is an informal system of education that takes place within the communities of Africa. Farrat (1980:30) states that traditional education was informal compared to traditional mission schools. It must be pointed out that indigenous education and knowledge differ from the colonial education and knowledge style of the Global North. The study acknowledges that indigenous education had no formal schools, buildings or local educational systems. The study contends that before the arrival of missional education, Africans had carved out their version of the education system. Hence, Mara (2006) asserts that the educational system existed in Africa before the scramble for Africa. Mara (2006:2) argues that African societies were known for their cultural heritage, passed on from one generation to another through the oral African education system.

For instance, the indigenous knowledge system was passed on through an informal education system outside the house under the fire while hunting game meat or tilling the land and fetching water. Mara (2006:2) claims that African education had a philosophy based on its ontology, although the primary goal of the education system was for cultural transmission and social reproduction.

Okoro (2010:8) elucidates that the education process in African societies is intimately ingrained in the community's social, cultural, artistic, religious and recreational life. It should be noted that the African traditional education system has been described in many ways, such as indigenous, pre-colonial, informal and community-based education. This ontological description of the African education system was predicated on the fact that there were no school buildings and professional teachers based on the modernity criterion. However, as mentioned above, the indigenous education system was a vehicle for transmitting the indigenous knowledge systems prevalent in many African societies. Ezeanya-Esiobu (2019) defines indigenous education as local knowledge resulting from interactions with the environment by community members within a geographical area. Thus, indigenous education refers to

indigenous knowledge systems, including but not limited to agriculture, pharmacology, health, trade, economy and political systems.

11.9 Civilisation

Roger (2005) defines civilisation as the refinement of thought, manners and taste. Roger further explains that this normative notion of civilisation is heavily rooted in the thought that urbanised environments such as cities and towns provide a higher living standard, encompassed by both nutritional benefits and mental potentialities. According to Roger (2005), civilisation requires advanced knowledge of science, trade, art, government, and farming within a society. This understanding of civilisation led to the forms of colonial Christianity to view colonial civilisation as superior to African civilisation. Hence, African cultures were perceived as primitive and pagan, needing redemption by a white saviour. The term civilisation means refinement of thought, manners and taste. The study notes that understanding civilisation in this manner sheds light on colonial missionaries' negative attitude towards Lozi and Bemba civilisation and cultures and their subsequent conquest to change them in the colonial image.

11.10 Decoloniality

The term decoloniality does not propose a nostalgic and ethnocentric return to traditions but an engagement in the present with forms of knowledge discarded by colonial modernity (Mignolo, 2000). Decolonial turn is not about augmenting and elevating Western episteme with new content. Instead, responding to Chakrabarty's (2005) call to "provincialise", as cited in Gallien (2020), clears a space for other epistemologies and cosmologies to circulate in modernity. Thus, it entails a recognition of one's positionality as a scholar, critic, and speaker, recognises the necessity to decentre and pluralise knowledge formations, and finally offers alternative ways to conceptualise and experience the world. Hence, decoloniality is best described as a gesture that de-normalises the normative, problematises default positions, debunks the a-perspectival, destabilises the structure, and as a program to rehabilitate epistemic formations that continue to be repressed under coloniality Gallien (2020). Ramón Grosfoguel (2012) insists that the key function of decolonial critique is to go beyond both hegemonic and marginal, Eurocentric and Third World, fundamentalisms. Hence, coloniality and decoloniality are better understood as ongoing conditions. It is this understanding of decoloniality that the study adopts.

11.11 Decolonisation

Decolonisation refers mainly to the political and historical end of European powers' territorial domination of lands, primarily in the global south. This study's term decolonisation or decolonialism refers to relinquishing Western epistemology. It aligns with other modes of thinking belonging to groups undermined, repressed, discriminated against, or massacred under colonial, imperial, neo-liberalism, patriarchal and secular rule (Gallien, 2020). Thus, colonialisation and decolonisation. The latter terms refer directly to the systemic exploitation of lands and resources and the subsequent process of liberation from this system. In a sense, one can see both colonialisation and decolonisation as time-bounded and geographically-defined.

11.12 Zambian cultures

The terms Zambian cultures are limited to two ethnic groups: Lozi and Bemba. The term is used restrictively about two ethnic groups that occupied two of the most powerful kingdoms in Barotseland and Bembaland before the advent of European missionaries in the 19th century. Africans, like Zambian cultures, regard culture as essential to their lives and future development. Zambian cultures embody their philosophy, worldview, behaviour patterns, arts, and institutions, such as initiations like Imbusa, Ichisungu, Sikenge and sexual cleanings. African culture and customs incorporate such essential aspects as religion, worldview, literature, media, art, housing, architecture, cuisine, traditional dress, gender, marriage, family, lifestyles, social customs, music, and dance (Taylor, 2006).

11.13 Contemporary Zambia

Contemporary s used in the study referring to “cultures and practices that are modern and relate to the present time. Contemporary society is characterised by technological innovation, increasing human interconnection, and globalisation. This is, in the sense, modernity and capitalism matrix. It brings about changes such as increased life expectancy, coloniality of knowledge, power and being (Mignolo, 2000). Thus the term contemporary Zambia is used to contrast pre and colonial Zambia. The term is synonymous with post-colonial Zambia.

1.12. The outlines of the chapters

The study was organised into seven chapters.

Chapter 1: Introduction and background to the study

The chapter focused on the background of the study, the research problem, sub questions and objectives and limitations. It also introduced the history of the forms of colonial Christianity, namely the PEMS and LMS and its influence on Lozi and Bemba cultures. Lastly, the chapter introduced all the other chapters to prepare the reader's mindset.

Chapter 2: Positioning Lozi and Bemba's religio-cultural context within the literature

This chapter reviewed the literature that underpinned the Lozi and Bemba cultures. It discussed the influences of PEMS and LMS in Barotseland and Bembaland, and it first discussed the Lozi and Bemba cultural background exploring their religion and cultural practices. The chapter also reviewed the activities of PEMS and LMS and their subsequent erosion of the Lozi and Bemba religio-cultural norms and practices.

Chapter 3: Methodology of the study

The chapter explained how the phenomenological approach was employed in this study. It also discussed how data was collected using archival research and desktop research methods. The chapter also elaborated on how the data collected was analysed using thematic analysis.

Chapter 4: Theoretical Framework of the study

The chapter focused on the theoretical framework on which the study was anchored. It specifically introduced the theory of ontology namely absolute and relative ontology and coloniality. The chapter further described ontology and coloniality tenets or characteristic traits and justified its relevance to the study.

Chapter 5: Locating the History of PEMS and LMS in Barotseland and Bembaland

The chapter located the history and nature of the forms of colonial Christianity introduced by PEMS and LMS. It focused on how and why it shaped and influenced the Lozi and Bemba cultures and religio-cultural norms and practices in missional education, immoral norms and liturgy that were arenas of contestations between missional ontology vs African ontology.

Chapter 6: Shaping the Lozi and Bemba Cultures in contemporary Zambia

The chapter presented the study findings that shaped the Lozi and Bemba cultures. To give them meaning, it provided an in-depth evaluation and analysis of data on the forms of colonial Christianity and its influence on the Lozi and Bemba cultures. The findings and analysis were classified under the three main themes, namely missional moral norms, education and liturgy, to give clarity and brevity to the study.

Chapter 7: Conclusions

This chapter presented summarises of the findings of the study. Then it concluded the study and gave points for future research.

1.13 Conclusion

The chapter presented a general introduction to the research. It provided a synopsis of the study in which the current deliberations within the focus of the study were highlighted. It was noted that the influence of PEMS and LMS as the forms of colonial Christianity on Lozi and Bemba cultures continued polarised academic, ecclesiastical and public debates, among others. The forms of colonial Christianity and Lozi and Bemba cultures as case studies are not peculiar to Zambia but are new phenomena in post-colonial studies. The study has also indicated that it is informed by personal and academic motivation. The chapter presented the key concepts of the study. It also presented the research key question, sub questions, and objectives that assist the researcher in eliciting data for the study. Finally, it presented a research problem and an outline of the chapters of the study. The next chapter reviewed the literature on the Lozi and Bemba cultures.

Chapter Two

Positioning Lozi and Bemba's religious-cultural context within the literature

2.1 Introduction

The previous chapter introduced the background of the study. It also presented a synopsis of the study by introducing the roadmap of the study and establishing the motivation for undertaking the research. This chapter presents the literature that underpins the Lozi and Bemba cultures. The study holds that for the investigation to interrogate the influences of PEMS and LMS in Barotseland and Bembaland, it first discusses the Lozi and Bemba cultures. It is crucial to discuss these indigenous cultures because it enables the study to answer the research question, did PEMS and LMS influence the Lozi and Bemba cultures? Furthermore, it aids the study in ascertaining a research gap that this study seeks to fill.

Thus, the following themes are explored and discussed: The first section of the chapter focuses on the cultural background of the Lozi, exploring their religion and cultural practices. The second section presents Bemba's cultural background, focusing on their religion and traditions. The third section discusses the erosion of the Lozi and Bemba cultures in Barotseland and Bembaland by the forms of colonial Christianity. In terms of the erosion of indigenous, it first examines the erosion of African cultures to paint a broader context and then focuses on the Lozi and Bemba cultures. For clarity, the study refers to Zambia throughout, though it was called Northern Rhodesia until 1964.

2.2 The religious-cultural background of the Lozi people

This section presents the Lozi ethnic group and their culture within scholarly literature to establish the research gap the study seeks to occupy. Many academic discussions on the history of the Lozi people focus on politics, notably the Lochner Concession Treaty of 1890. Still, more literature needs to be on the influence of the PEMS on Lozi culture. It is cardinal to mention from the outset that this study does not attempt to do a comprehensive literature review of the Lozi people and every aspect of their culture, politics and religion but presents the Lozi concept of God, Sikenge initiation rite for girls, the Litunga and their celebration of Kuomboka ceremony. This limitation allows the study to have clarity and depth to ascertain the extent of the erosion by the forms of colonial Christianity.

2.2.1 The Lozi religion and culture

In this section, this study discusses religion, namely the concept of God, Litunga and the culture of the Lozi ethnic group about the research question, that is, in what ways did PEMS influence the religion and culture of the Lozi people?

2.2.2 The concept of God (Nyambe) in Lozi culture

The concept of the divine is fundamental to the identity of African cultures, and the Lozi culture is no exception. The idea of God in African indigenous religions permeates every aspect of their cosmological ontology. Meister (1981) asserts that Luyi (Lozi) were monotheists and believed in Nyambe, a name given to God. According to Lozi's oral tradition, Jalla (1958:14) notes that Nyambe himself and his wife Nasilele lived in Libonda village. According to Turner (1970), Nyambe is credited for creating everything in the universe. Turner further elucidates that Nyambe created a man (man and woman), Kamunu, who became so skilled in hunting that Nyambe fled the world to Litooma, a village in the sky, lest Kamunu's weapons strike him down.

Turner (1970) asserts that Nyambe was a deistic god who created the world and fled to a village in the sky. This is illustrated in the Lozi oral tradition that says the Nyambe fell in love with his daughter Mwambwa and had sexual relations that led to the birth of a daughter called Mbuyu or Mbuymwambwa (Akufuna, 1959:13). Akufuna further notes that this caused a quarrel between Nyambe and Nasilele during which the angry Nasilele beat her daughter, Mwambwa. Akufuna further explains that Nyambe was very upset about this incident and called his servant Sasisho and told him that he would return to heaven. According to the Lozi oral tradition, Sasisho asked how he would return to heaven. Still, Nyambe asked the spider to spin the web via which Nyambe and Sasisho ascended to heaven and left behind Nasilele, who later died of anguish (Akufuna, 1959:17-19).

It is important to note that Lozi's account of Nyambe varies remarkably within scholarship, perhaps due to the insufficient historical evidence to support the oral tradition claims. Due to the passage of time, reports appear to be the fusion of oral traditions by early tribes and fabrications aimed at placing the Litunga above scrutiny (Caplan, 1970:2). However, Turner (1970) links the early conception of Nyambe with the Litunga, one who is fundamentally human and flawed in many aspects. Is this a syncretic way of life? Even in the United Kingdom, Queens and Kings were perceived to be chosen by God with divine power. Is this another

representation of the same divine rights of the Litunga, albeit in an indigenous way? Hence, Johnson (2012) views Litunga as a symbol of the Lozi people that unites people under one authority.

It is important to note that within the Lozi culture, there is a prevalent belief in good and evil spirits. Holub (1976) asserts that Lozi people exorcise evil spirits through charms made of bones of men and women or breasts among others. It is evident that like the Bemba people, the Lozi people also believe in life after death. Thus, calamities and natural disasters such as floods are attributed to the work of evil spirits that have to be appeased through various sacrifices (Holub, 1976). Holub further notes that prayer was also prevalent within the royal palace; for instance, when a royal family member was ill, the king may intercede for them at the nearest royal grave. In 1885, for example, Coillard and his fellow missionaries arrived in Barotseland to settle their first mission station in Barotseland. Still, they were denied an audience before making an offering at the royal grave (Coillard, 1902:217). However, despite his protestations, Coillard was persuaded to provide items for offering to divinities of subterranean consisting of white calico. King Lewanika made offerings and prayers on behalf of Coillard (Coillard, 1902).

In her discussion on religion, Meister (1981) notes that Mbunda magic practices and divinisation adulterated the religious beliefs of the Lozi Meister further argues that the significance of the adopted cult appears in the *(litaola),* the *(mwati)* test and trial by boiling water. The Lozi incorporated the *Mbunda* magic practices in their religion to uproot witchcraft practices through trial by boiling water to test whether one was guilty or not. It is those religious practices the forms of [forms colonial of Christianity] sought to eliminate among the Lozi. However, Johnson (2012) argues that when missionaries arrived in Africa, they found nothing in African ontology that resembled Christianity and therefore, categorised religions into higher [forms colonial of Christianity] and lower (African forms of religion) strata. Bediako (1999) explains that missionaries and colonisers often called African religions. The term ".animism" referred to any religious system lacking a textual basis, appeared superstitious in practice, and belonged to lower, ignorant, and immoral races of people (Bediako, 1999).

Notwithstanding, Meister (1981) explains that Lozi's faith was expressed in ceremonial rituals such as Kuomboka, marking special events or requesting protection and assistance. The Lozi ceremonial rituals incorporated play, dance and singing closely related to their religion and kingship (Meister, 1981). The following section discusses the enigma of the Litunga.

2.3 The Enigma of the Litunga

The Litunga's supremacy and control over the land was affixed in the belief in his divine ancestry and the mediating functions of all dead kings between Nyambe (God) the creator and the Lozi as his people. According to Gluckman (1941), the royal ancestry worship with dispersed shrines throughout the country was the fulcrum of the political system and cohesion of the central government. Taylor (2006) concurs with Gluckman (1941) that the Litunga claim a privileged, respected and often revered position within the larger community. Coillard elaborated on the divine descent of the Lozi royalties saying that the deceased kings were venerated and their graves were converted into sanctuaries where offerings and prayers took place (Coillard, 1902:224). From his unique position as a living representative of all mediators sprang, as it were, the Lozi king's obligation to provide for his people by securing arable land and building sites for individuals (Meister, 1981). Scott Taylor (2006), in his book, Culture and Customs of Zambia, notes that the king (Litunga) of the Lozi people presides over an array of chiefs affiliated with the royal house. Taylor further laments that many of the historical powers of leaders like the Litunga have been curtailed under the prevailing Westernised political structures; the Lozi kin and traditional chiefs retain considerable authority and influence within their communities.

Meister (1981) explains that Lozi rulers and members of the royal family had permanent individual titles to land, which were frequently worked by national labour. The argument that is being made is that the Lozi people under Litunga were a prosperous Kingdom before the arrival of the forms colonial of Christianity and colonialism. In her study, Meister (1981) found that before the arrival of the missional enterprise and colonialists the Lozi had a lively prosperous indigenous economy. The development of the Lozi peaked under Litunga Lewanika in the 19th century. This is unsurprising because this was the same period that Lewanika signed the Lochner Concession Treaty with the British South Africa Company (BSAC). The enigma of the Litunga was eroded by the signing of the Lochner Concession Treaty which stripped his divine powers. Unlike Meister who attributes the decline in economic development to human indifference to agriculture, this study argues that the Lochner concession Treaty was the catalyst for the decline of the indigenous economy of the Lozi. In other words, when one criticises the Lochner Concession Treaty, it becomes glaringly evident that it was the effects of coloniality in the Barotseland Kingdom that punctured indigenous economic development and the effects are still felt in contemporary Western Province in Zambia.

The partitioning of Zambia accelerated the destruction of Litunga powers into different areas, some of which were absorbed by neighbouring countries. It is important to point out that colonialism supported by the forms of colonial Christianity, driven by economic greed, territorial conquest, and, to a lesser extent, Christian missional zeal, had little regard for traditional territories occupied by Africa's ethnic groups. Therefore, Nyanja speakers are found today in Zambia as well as Malawi. Tonga speakers are in Zambia and Zimbabwe. Other groups are similarly divided by Zambia's many different contemporary international borders. Even ethnic Lozi, whose kingdom was left substantially intact by the British, have relatives in parts of Namibia and Botswana. The following section discusses the Kuomboka ceremony.

2.4 The synecdoche of Lozi Culture: The Kuomboka Ceremony

One of the key features of the Lozi cultural identity and practice is the Kuomboka ceremony celebrated annually in the Western province. Johnson (2012) points out that the origins of Kuomboka are debatable. Jalla (1909), cited in Sikayomya (2013), states that Kuomboka entails getting out of the water, lake or depression. For Meister (1981), the term Kuomboka in Silozi means to get out of the water and is an occasion to unite around Litunga as he escapes the floodwaters and moves to higher grounds in dramatic fashion. This is because the Lozi culture is influenced by the flood plains of the Zambezi River in Lealui, with annual migration that takes place to higher ground in Limulunga at the start of the rainy season. Johnson (2012) affirms that Kuomboka occurs annually between February and April.

It is important to observe that there was no consensus among scholars when the first *Kuomboka* took (Hermitte, 1973) nor when the first barge, *Nalikwanda* was made nor what material it was made from (Sikayomya, 2013). In addition, it is important to point out that scholars have different opinions about who was the king (Litunga) at that time due to the need for collaborative oral tradition evidence. However, according to Lozi mythology, *Kuomboka* developed as a way to evacuate people and their property from the floods when Nakambela collected the seeds and the dung of all animals and birds and put them in the boat (Barotse Royal Establishment, 1989. Furthermore, according to the myth in Barotse Royal Establishment, when the flood fell, Nakambela threw the dung upon the veld and the animals and birds reappeared. This was how the ceremony of *Kuomboka* became an integral part of the Lozi culture. Nakambela perhaps represents the antiquity and legend of *Kuomboka* but is told from within a narrative framework that would be appreciated by Barotseland's growing international audience Sikayomya (2013).

According to Meister (1981) and Sikayomya (2013), *Nalikwanda* were accompanied by boats with people with similar customs and traditions to the Lozi even before regular transhumance. Transhumance is an act of moving livestock from one grazing field to another according to the seasonal cycle that was practised. Sikayomya (2013) notes that people assemble at both ends of the journey, with eating, drumming, and dancing lasting a few days. In Lealui, the Litunga boards the signature vessel, the *Nalikwanda*. Floods are sometimes desirable. However, given the predominant concept of them historically has been that they are hazardous that devastate or threaten people's lives and property (Sikayomya, 2013). Additionally, given this metaphorical understanding, Kuomboka is a ceremony that illustrates the escape from dangerous floods to safer highlands.

Picture: Kuomboka Ceremony

Source: Lusakatimes.com, 2022.

The picture above shows the celebration of the Kuomboka ceremony with the *Nalikwanda* (boat) that carries the Litunga crossing the river from the flood plains to the highland, under the tent with the statue of the elephant, the Litunga and his possession. Sikayomya (2013) points out that an elephant statue is positioned in the middle signifies the authority of Litunga. In contemporary Western Province, the cultural practice of Kuomboka consists of the voyages of the *Nalikwanda* (boat). Mainga (1966) cited in Sikayomya (2013) observed that *Nalikwanda* entails for the people meaning that it was for the use of all those who could not paddle and who lived in vulnerably low areas.

Meister (1981) asserts that the ritual [Kuomboka ceremony] strengthens the unity of the Lozi ethnic group under the Litunga and sends the cultural and political message that their identity is intimately tied to his status. The agreement of the Lozi under the Litunga could explain why

they still see themselves as a distinct ethnic group from the rest of Zambia and therefore wishes to remain separate from it by cessation. This illustrates how the effects of coloniality, that is, the Lochner Treaty, still linger in Barotseland today. The Kuomboka ceremony is a synecdoche for the Lozi culture and the Litunga (Johnson, 2012). As Sikayomya (2013) points out, the Litunga is central to Lozi culture.

According to Jalla (1909), the colonial missionary of the forms of colonial Christianity in Barotseland recorded a short version of the Kuomboka myth in his account of the Lozi traditions without mentioning the missional influence which could have been evident to him if they were present. Furthermore, Brown (1984) contends that despite the striking resemblance to the biblical story about Noah, this legend did not seem to be the result of Christian influence. The ceremony of Kuomboka demonstrates one of the Lozi cultural practices that has survived the influences of the forms of colonial Christianity and their effects of coloniality, albeit adapted during and after colonialism. In other words, the Kuomboka ceremony has become the emblem of the Lozi hybrid culture consisting of indigenous tradition and modernity. Thus, this ritual further illustrates that only some were lost in the Lozi culture during PEMS missional activities in collaboration with the coloniser in Barotseland. Against this backdrop, the Litunga and Kuomboka ceremonies help this study to examine whether or not these cultural practices have been impacted by the influences of the forms of colonial Christianity, in particular PEMS that operated during the period of pre-colonialism and colonialism. In doing so, the objectives of the study are achieved.

The following section presents the Sikenge rite of passage for girls.

2.5 The Sikenge Ritual and Initiation Ceremony

The Sikenge ritual is one of many cultural practices among the Lozi people that have survived the influences of the forms of colonial Christianity and the effects of coloniality, albeit with some modifications. The Sikenge ritual is a specific initiation for girls in which girls go into seclusion to learn about adult life in preparation for womanhood. The ritual used to last from six months up to a year but was shortened to a month to accommodate the western education calendar (Mundumuko, 1990). The author further notes that most parents preferred to send their daughters into seclusion during school to avoid interfering with school. Mundumuko explains that the introduction of formal colonial education has impacted the schedule for initiation ceremony for girls. It is clear from Mundumuko (1990) that there were contestations between

indigenous initiation practices that lasted six months up to a year with modernity, that is, colonial education/missional education.

Like other Lozi rites, Sikenge was linked to religious, social and economic sectors of life (Mundumuko, 1990). Regarding religion, Sikenge celebrated the first menstruation, viewed as a sacred and divine occurrence in which the initiate received the gift of sexuality from her ancestors. At this stage, a girl's life becomes closer to their ancestors to receive the gift of motherhood. Any Lozi girl who failed to go through this rite of passage was doomed to become barren and not bear any children, a curse among the Lozi and other Zambian ethnic groups at that time. Failure to go through the rite meant that the girl initiate *(Mwalanjo)* would be ridden with misfortunes. In addition, the *Mwalanjo* was viewed as an outcast who would contaminate girls who had not yet gone through the rite. Thus, Lozi viewed seclusion as not only a way of facilitating learning but also a way of reducing the risk of contamination from the uninitiated girls. It is important to note that the belief in ancestral spirits and worship of them is an integral aspect of being an African. The Africans believe in unity and communion between the living and the dead. This African ontology underpinned by relative ontology theory informs the practice of Sikenge among the Lozi. It could be argued that if anyone grieves or upsets one ancestral spirit commits an act of sacrilege.

A *Ma-mwalanjo* (principal tutor) or mother of the initiates performed the rituals because they had a close relationship with *a Ma-mwalanjo*, were of good character had a living firstborn. This qualification criterion showed that the ancestors had already blessed her with the gift of motherhood (Mundumuko, 1990). A woman with a child and good conduct was venerated by the Lozi and seen as one that could communicate with the ancestors to bring fecundity among the initiates.

On the first day of the seclusion, initiates received beatings to symbolise respect for the elders. On the second day, they had to go through a food ritual. Food was a religious ritual for the Lozi and was performed by women as they were the bearers of the future generation and closer to the ancestors. For example, the *Ma-mwalanjo* performed the *kulumisa* (take a bite) ritual where the initiates ate a small amount of *nshima* (thick maize porridge) and spat a small piece to the east, north and west from a broken clay pot. For this ritual to be effective, the Ma-mwalanjo had to tap on the chest and back of an initiate with the fractured pot while the initiate clapped their hands. Food spitting is a typical religious ritual performed by different African ethnic groups to share with ancestors and ensure they are not forgotten. Some ethnic groups drink

wine and pour it to symbolise having a drink with their ancestors. Mundumuko (1990: 20) lists the following three functions of *kulumisa* first, to express to the initiative the type of behaviour expected of her, second to provide the initiate with a medium through which she could get in touch with her ancestral spirits and third,,, to request the spirits for successful completion of Sikenge.

Sex education plays a significant role in the Sikenge ritual of womanhood. This is done through *ku kwalula Mazebe* (cutting of ears) on the third day of the initiation. Although the passage to womanhood among the Lozi emphasises sex education, it has been criticised for encouraging and promoting immorality among the initiate graduates at a tender age. However, authors like Mundumuko (1990) have studied the Lozi culture in detail. They claim that despite criticism, Sikenge instilled a high level of discipline, leading to the initiates refraining from sex before marriage. In other words, Sikenge, as an aspect of Lozi culture has enabled young ladies to reclaim their femininity. They can resist child marriages to pursue their education and marry at their chosen time. This explains why many teens below eighteen are less likely to enter into child marriages in Western Province (UNFPA, 2017:2).
The following section discusses cultural practices and religion in Bemba culture.

2.6 The Bemba Culture

There is a plethora of studies that have examined and interrogated cultural practices among the Bemba. The study will not delve in depth but will make references to what has been said elsewhere, such as Richards (1982), Kaunda (2013), Kangwa (2017) and Siwila (2011), Saguti (2016), Mukuka (2018) and Upendo (2022) unpublished thesis among others and their studies include such as initiation ceremony (Ichisungu and Imbusa) and child marriages and the ritual of sexual cleansing. It is important to reference these cultural practices to help understand the cultural identity of the Bemba and how some of these practices were made silent or changed by LMS. This section makes an exclusive but inclusively focus on the sexual cleansing, Ichisungu, Imbusa and child marriages to help us understand their importance in Bemba culture.

2.6.1 Sexual cleansing ritual

This section discussed the ritual of widow sexual cleansing among the Bemba people albeit with limited literature. Kalinda and Tembo (2010) cited in Sikayomya (2013) in their research on the *sexual practices and levirate marriages among the Aushi and Bemba speaking people*

of Mansa district found that the Aushi and other Bemba speaking tribes of Mansa believe that a woman must be sexually cleansed after the death of her husband because if the widow is not cleansed, any intercourse with another person is dangerous on the basis that it angers the spirit of her deceased husband. The reason for examining the ritual of sexual cleansing is because there is evidence in the archives documenting the banning of Bemba sexual practice by the LMS, as discussed in chapters five and six. In a sense, the rarity of the ritual of widow sexual practice among contemporary Bemba people illustrates the erosion of this practice due to the influence of LMS on Bemba culture. In doing so, the study answered the key question and achieved one of its objectives.

The death of any spouse is a painful and traumatic experience. The rituals accompanying the deceased are equally unsettling and traumatic for all involved particularly for the young and uninitiated surviving spouses. This is the point Siwila (2011:55) makes when she states that the death of a spouse in many African communities marks a new stage of life for the partner left behind that demands separating rites to terminate the coitus rights with the deceased. It is important to note that in Bemba culture, a widow is given almost a year to mourn for her dead husband while the family and community members are up to the funeral day. It is believed that during the mourning period, a widow is considered unclean and has to go through the ritual of sexual cleansing (Ayuku and Sidle, 2007). In contrast, men are not given such a long period when their spouses die. This is due to the patriarchal tendency of most ethnic groups in Zambia, such as Lozi, Bemba, Tonga and Tumbuka.

For example, Malungo (2001), Moyo (2009) and Siwila (2011) explain that the cultural practice of widow sexual cleansing among the Tonga ethnic group, albeit now relaxed due to HIV/AIDS. Traditionally. Sexual cleansing is understood as a ritual that requires a woman whose husband has died to have sexual relations with a male relative of the deceased, usually a brother, nephew or cousin or in rare cases, a son, female cousins and sisters of the late husband (Ayuku and Sidle, 2007). The reason why the sexual cleansing ritual is performed in Bemba communities is to re-integrate a widow/widower back into society after the death of their spouse so that she/he can remarry (Ayuku and Sidle, 2007). The ritual of sexual cleansing helps the study investigate the influences of LMS on Bemba culture. One may ask what remains of the sexual cleansing ritual in the context of decoloniality discourse in contemporary Zambia.

Therefore, it is essential to note that the widow's sexual cleansing rituals are performed to complete the purification practice. Saguti (2016) observes that both purification rituals and sexual cleansing rituals differ from one society to another society. Kalinda and Tembo

(2010:11) and their research on sexual practices and levirate among the Aushi and Bemba in Mansa District found that the ritual of sexual cleansing was done by the relative of the deceased, known as the cleanser to enable him to inherit the widow despite her consent. Furthermore, Kalinda and Tembo explain the ritual of sexual cleansing as follows:

On the death of either spouse, the survivor must have sexual intercourse with a relative of the dead partner. If this act is omitted, intercourse with any other person is believed or held to be dangerous by the anger of the deceased person's spirit.

Nevertheless, with the advent of HIV and AIDS, the Aushi, Bemba, and other tribal groups have devised alternative methods of sexual cleansing (Kalinda and Tembo, 2010). This is supported by Siwila's (2011) research on entitle*: Culture, Gender, and HIV and AIDS: United Church of Zambia's Response to Traditional Marriage Practices* carried out on the Copperbelt. The change to alternative sexual cleansing from sexual intercourse is, according to Siwila, necessitated by the dangers of HIV/AIDS. Alternative cleansing is a symbolic ritualist phenomenon that includes jumping over the leg of the spouse or jumping over the husband's walking stick or hunting spear (Saguti, 2016).

According to Nyanzi, Nassimbwa, Kayizzi and Kabanda (2011:563) and Saguti (2016) in jumping over the legs, the widow sits down with the legs stretched in the doorway of the main house and the cleanser jumps over the outstretched legs of the widow three times to symbolic the sexual act. The question to pose is, why three, not four times? What is the symbolism of three jumps in Bemba culture? Kalinda and Tembo (2010) explain that the alternative method that does not involve the widow or widower includes the selected married couple of the deceased spouse to perform the ritual. According to Kalinda and Tembo (2010), the couple chosen performs sexual intercourse in their homes with a bead bracelet smeared with bodily fluids exchanged during copulation. This beaded bracelet is given to the widow or widower until wear and tear take their full course; then, the widower or widow would be sexually cleansed and free to marry again. Moyo (2006:206-7), writing about the Tonga ethnic group, notes that although people were aware of alternative sexual cleansing rituals, many male cleansers still preferred sexual intercourse as an act of sexual cleansing with the widow. The reason for this preference is what Siwila (2011) identifies as the dilemma facing widows with alternative cleansing noting that widows are uncertain whether the use of alternative sexual cleansing has sexually cleansed them. The question to ask is, are all aspects of Bemba culture

permissible? Did the forms of colonial Christianity positively influence Bemba culture regarding the ritual of sexual cleansing?

For this reason, the Bemba believe that the ritual of sexual cleansing is both cultural and religious because of their perception of the ritualistic act to avert vengeance from cosmological forces of the ancestral spirits. The spiritual element of sexual cleansing is an essential aspect of indigenous cultural and religious practices. This is what Madiba (1996:270) claims when he points out that religion is the human enterprise in which the sacred cosmos is experienced. The study adds that this human experience of the sacred cosmos is perceived through the lens of relative ontology that respects Bemba culture as a valid way of expressing their understanding of their cosmology that is life-affirming. Magesa (1996:25) explains it in the following way:

For Africans, religion is far more than a way of believing, "a way of life" [culture] or "an approach" [ontology] not directed by the book. It is a "way of life" or life itself, where a distinction or separation is not made between religion and other areas of human life.
If one is to speak of "revelation" or "inspiration" is not to be found in a book, not even primarily in the people's oral tradition, but in their lives. … African religion does not have a specific founder, no churches or mosques, no trained priests or pastors or sheikhs, no written books or scripture

This is the exact point Mokhoathi (2017), and Naaman (2015) make when they say that African traditions [like Bemba tradition] cannot be separated from African cultures [like Bemba culture] since the African cosmology is holistic and constantly changing. In so doing, it also helps one recognise the Bemba culture within the context of an African traditional religious worldview. African ontology encompasses beliefs passed down from generation to generation through oral tradition (Lugira, 2009:16). Thus, cultural beliefs, moral norms and practices are passed on through word of mouth, not written text. It was incumbent upon community members to memorise these cultural beliefs and practices to preserve their posterity. Like other African societies, Mupeta (2014:5) explains Bemba people "have a rich cultural heritage transmitted by word of mouth from one generation to another". This is how indigenous learning, including the ritual of sexual cleansing, happens in indigenous communities and spaces. In these spaces, the study seeks to interrogate the influences of the forms of colonial Christianity on the Bemba culture.

The discussion on sexual cleansing as a cultural practice of Bemba culture aids the study in achieving the research objective: what constitutes Bemba culture and how the forms of colonial

Christianity influence it, as already alluded to above. According to Oduyoye (2006:11), African religions play an essential role in the rite of passage before birth to death. In this context, Baloyi (2017) and Nyanzi (2011) state that traditionally, it is believed that a widow or widower who is not cleansed is a danger to herself and the community. The study adds that in the Bemba context, it is a danger to themselves because by not doing this ritualistic act, they expose themselves to the cosmic forces that are not appeased by the action of sexual cleansing. This is the point that Magesa (1990) makes when he explains that good and moral behaviour maintains one's life force. Bad and immoral behaviour weakens one's life force leading to punishment from the spirits of the ancestors exhibited in the form of diseases or misfortunes.

This study's point is that Bemba culture, like many Zambian cultures, perceives any human calamity or misfortune as having a causality linked with human actions. Simply put, human activities have karmic consequences. The cultural ritual of sexual cleansing should be understood in this context. As explained elsewhere in the study, in contrast to LMS cosmology, Bemba cosmology articulates that there is an interaction and communication between the living and the dead and hence dire repercussions if one chooses the path of disharmony and disobedience in this life.

This is reflected in research done by Kalinda and Tembo (2010) among Aushi and Bemba, who found that they still believe that a woman must be sexually cleansed after the death of her husband because if the widow is not cleansed, any intercourse with another person is dangerous on the basis that it angers the spirit of her deceased husband. Among the Aushi and Bemba communities, it is believed that the ancestral spirits hold the authority to uphold moral order within the community. From this background, Bemba culture maintains that sexual cleansing has efficacious healing and restorative power for a community that is healing from death and destruction and restoring harmony between the living and the dead. This is supported by Richards (1968:27), who states that in traditional Bemba society:

The identification of men and women is with particular ancestral spirits. The name of every adult who dies is preserved by a simple rite of succession (*ukupyanika*), which transfers the spirit (*umupashi*, *imipashi*), the status or office of the dead man or woman, and his or her position in the kinship group to a living descendant—the system I have called 'positional succession'.

In the same vein, Malungo (2001:317) explains that the ritual is done to stop the spirit of the deceased partner from wandering around [the living]. The living communicates with the

departed spirits through rituals, prayers and venerations. Mbiti (1997:78) asserts that the veneration of the ancestors is an act of communion and remembrance which constitutes bringing together the living and the dead. Mbiti further states that the ancestor and their descendants are in constant communication, and this communication 'strengthens the life force of the world for the sake of the living community'. Thus, sexual cleansing understood in this way explains why some widows perceive alternative sexual cleansing as inadequate to appease the spirits of the ancestors. The following section discusses ichisungu and imbusa.

2.6.2 Ichisungu and imbusa Initiation Ceremonies

In her 1982 book Ichisungu, Audrey Richards detailed the Bemba initiation ceremony for girls and brides-to-be. Richards highlights Bemba's ontology and alludes to the importance and the danger of sex, fire and blood. According to Richards, sex, fire and blood are dangerous because they can have disastrous consequences when brought into wrongful contact with one another. Furthermore, Richards (1982) posits that since sex, fire, and blood are women's responsibilities, a woman must receive instructions on handling these three complex experiences through the *imbusa* ceremonies. In addition, Rasing (1995:56) explains that blood, sex and fire symbolise constant danger because failure to comply with societal warnings and norms is believed to cause diseases. Hinfelaar (1994) observes that *imbusa* in the pre-colonial as a Bemba culture was the basis of gender balance and was not silenced [the forms of colonial] Christianity. The following section discusses the *ichisungu* cultural practice.

2.6.3 Ichisungu Ritual

It is generally held among the Bemba that young girls will soon get married; therefore, they must start preparing for this during puberty. The puberty initiation rite is called *ichisungu.* It is generally understood as transitioning from one age (child) to another (adult). In other words, it is the coming of age. Kangwa (2011:11 & Turner 1982:105) explain *ichisungu* in these terms:

At puberty, the term used to describe the girl is *akula (*grown or matured) or that she is *kumaluba* means that she has bloomed. This means that womanhood has been endowed on her by Lesa. Bemba girls were isolated at puberty to cleanse them of childhood and then they were initiated into adulthood. A girl was given food that had been cooked such as fruits when the blood had ceased.

According to Kaunda and Kaunda (2016:161), it is at ichisungu that girls are perceived as having matured because Lesa (God) has endowed them with the ability to procreate at this stage. Thus Hinfelaar (1994) notes that the existential East-West orientation also formed an essential part of the initiation ritual of Bemba girls. In her book Initiation, La Fontaine (1986: 11) observes that the performances of initiation rites are full of symbolism; it is in the symbolism that the meaning of the teaching is found. In this context, Macola (2000) explains that the perpetual travelling *umupashi* (spiritual double of a person in this life and life after) from the West to the East is the root experience of Bemba tribal history. Each novice faces the rising sun at the beginning of the initiation ceremonies, signifying that the East holds the "future, hope and expectation, light and happiness (Hinfelaar, 1994:3). Hinfelaar (1994:5) illustrates this idea by a following prayer to Lesa,

The High God and the divinity of the East, of the future.

Hinfelaar further argues that during prayer, initial ceremonies stress the perpetual travelling of the family, clan, and tribe as they move towards this future during their pilgrimage on earth. It is important to note that during the ichisungu ritual, the young woman is taught how to look after her marriage and in-laws. Mukuka (2018) argues that without undergoing Imbusa teaching, a girl is seen as unfit to handle marriage; she can never become a *nacimbusa* and can never be invited to a place where the imbusa teaching is taking place as she is *chitongo* that is uncultured. This perhaps explains why the Girls' Boarding School at Mbereshi incorporated ichisungu in their education to stop young girls from leaving school for initiation ceremonies. From this ichisungu rite of passage, phase awaits imbusa. The following section discusses imbusa.

2.6.4 The tale of the imbusa ritual in Bemba Culture

Marriage among the Bemba is considered sacred; however, careful preparation through the imbusa ritual is paramount. Mukuka (2018), in her thesis entitled, '*A quest for embracing indigenous knowledge systems in the United Church of Zambia* has dealt with Imbusa extensively and this study will not repeat the debate; however, this paper made references where applicable. Equally, Mutale Mulenga Kaunda (2016) has written extensively on the issue of imbusa in the entitled '*Negotiated feminism? A study of married Bemba women appropriating the imbusa pre-marital curriculum' at home and workplace*. Hence this study doesn't wish to repeat the arguments of the relevance of imbusa in Bemba culture made else in

the studies mentioned above. Suffice it to say that imbusa still is a crucial feature of the Bemba culture.

It is important to note that ichisungu is/was the initiation ritual that girls at puberty went through to prepare them for marriage, while imbusa was the teaching that took place. The imbusa tradition is also called *ukuombela ng'anda* (ritual performance for a viable home), which follows after *ukucindila* ichisungu (dancing for the wonder of initial menstruation) recognised by Bemba, known as women's rituals (Kaunda, 2013). Mukuka (2018) reveals that imbusa is a symbolic activity taught through action, language, and images to explain and affect Bemba's worldview and precisely what it means to be an adult and a married woman in the community. Kaunda (2013), Kangwa (2011) and Siwila (2011) have dealt with the issue of imbusa extensively and this study does not repeat what has been discussed in detail elsewhere.

According to Kaunda (2013), women take part in *imbusa* and receive its teaching to become competent in home management. It could be argued that the instructions and guidelines they receive from Imbusa empower the Bemba women to own their sexuality rather than diminish their sexuality in marriage. Simply put, they are not married at the behest of their husbands' pleasure. Kaunda and Kaunda (2016: 174) explain it in the following way:

In some cultures, the argument that in women-only spaces such as ichisungu and imbusa, women are instructed to give pleasure to their husbands may be true. Nonetheless, in imbusa, women are also taught proactive sexual agency—they have to be tactical in the sexual act regardless of who initiates it-the husband or the wife.

Following the above, it could be argued that a Bemba woman believes that only her husband's needs matter most, and she must meet them (Kaunda, 2016). The family is like in the army, you do what you are told and no questions asked if you want peace and harmony in the house.

Songs are the medium of imbusa as Corbeil (1982), in his book Imbusa: Sacred emblems of the Bemba, has also recorded songs sung during the imbusa ceremony. It is important to note that songs mediated through dance have always been integral to imbusa. This is the point Kaunda and Kaunda (2016:170) make when they explain that the "*Bemba Sexual.*

Dance as Women's Sexual Agency" known as *"infunkutu"* (sexual dance), provides women with liminal spaces for unregulated sexual dialogue and uncensored explicit demonstrations of sexual mastery while also creating their agency. It is in this context that the women are taught how to manage their marriage by looking after their husbands' needs and also thanking those husbands after an act of lovemaking. Owing to this is the Bemba indigenous teaching and

demonstration given to the Bemba brides to assist the husband in coupling by making food that is believed to increase their libidos, such as cassava and peanuts (Kaunda, 2016). It could be argued that imbusa places sex and procreation at the centre of happy marriage. This is why Mukuka (2018) asserts that the imbusa fulfils the Biblical teaching on morality. To illustrate the point, Mukuka (2018) notes that Bemba indigenous Christians, based on their cultural beliefs, teach young women and men before marriage that marriage is for life and that couples should live happily after their wedding. Hence the premarital counselling given to the prospective couple mirrors the Bible teaching.

Thera Raising (2001) is an anthropologist who has focussed on Bemba initiation customs, and in her book, *The Bush Burnt; the Stone Remain, Female Initiation in Urban Zambia,* she notes that despite the influences and changes of life in contemporary Zambia due to the forms of colonial Christianity and colonialism, Bemba initiations rites are still practised among the Bemba people. However, the study asserts that some modifications have taken place within the Bemba initiation rites due to the process known as cultural diffusion. As stated in this study, culture is dynamic, not static. Lumbwe (2009) makes the same point when he argues that despite political, socio-economic and socio-cultural changes in Zambian society, Bemba indigenous knowledge systems (IKS) still exist. However, they have yet to be in their original state. The contents of teaching adapt with time, but the processes and methods of imbusa persist in contemporary Zambia.

The reason may lie in what Corbeil (1982:6) explicates in his book the Bemba's great love for their family and pride in their customs is evidenced in their perception of the sacredness of family life and their marital obligations. This sacredness of marriage and family life are interwoven in their religion and holds the key to the resistance of Bemba initiation rites to the influence of the forms of colonial Christianity as Tamale (2005:9) explains that at the core of this elaborate socio-cultural practice is *banacimbusa* (mother of sacred emblems to be handed down /bearers of traditional teaching aids/symbols), whose role is to mentor young women *muntambi ne fishalano* (time-honoured social values) in a wide range of sexual matters, including pre-marriage practices, pre-marriage preparation, erotic instruction and reproduction.

Perhaps another reason why imbusa continues to survive the influences of the forms colonial of Christianity may lie in what Dallistone (1986:219) explains,

> A ritual like *imbusa* is meant to stir action and bind together a social group. Thus, there is a way in which the practice could be utilised to promote social transformation rather than be a mere cultural preservation or maintaining of the status quo.

Despite many influences from colonialism and the forms of colonial Christianity, imbusa, like other initiation rites, continues to be practised in the same process as before the modernity project arrived in Barotseland and Bembaland. Hence, Mulenga (2016) and Mukuka (2018) explain that imbusa has been perceived to be necessary for maintaining an intricate balance of life in the community. It is meant to preserve the regular order of societal life. More importantly, this study argues from a decoloniality lens that imbusa remains an integral cultural aspect of the Bemba culture because it gives women the tools they need to navigate their sexual freedom and well-being. Sexual freedom is their cultural heritage and well-being to enter marriage, not from the point of weakness but strength.

This is why anthropologists like Richards (1956) and some missional agents like Corbeil (1982) are fascinated with the rite of passage that transforms Bemba girls into women, while modern scholarship like this research is curious to ask why despite the many influences from the colonial forms of Christianity and colonialism the Bemba still hold *imbusa* teachings in high esteem in contemporary Zambia. However, Rasing (2010:1) noted, "in urban areas, there is a mixture of traditions, modernity, western ideas, western-based education, and influence of Christianity." All these have been incorporated into *imbusa* teachings. Perhaps Raising is explaining that the ability of the Bemba culture to adapt its cultural practices, such as the imbusa ritual in the environment of modernity/coloniality matrix, has saved it from being silenced. Hence, this helps t achieve one of the objectives: despite the effects of coloniality on Bemba culture, some Bemba cultural practices persist in contemporary Zambia.

However, the contestations of imbusa practice still linger in most contemporary churches in Zambia. The issue is whether the imbusa ritual is demonic because of its connotation to ancestral spirits. In the same reasoning, one would argue that we shall ban praying to the saints in the Catholic Church because the worshippers are praying to the departed saints. The author argues from a decoloniality perspective that to say that imbusa is demonic because it has an association with ancestral spirits is tantamount to saying that Africans should break all links with their departed ancestors—simply acknowledging that the imbusa ritual has roots in ancestral spirits (relatives). In other words, it has been passed on from one generation to another doesn't make it demonic. The following section discusses child marriage.

2.6.5 Decoloniality of the child marriages

This study notes that one of the indigenous customs that plague young women during colonialism and contemporary Zambia is the custom of a girl child being in a marriage without her consent. Muslim and Asian cultures still practise child marriages, but the west does not interfere as much as they do with African child marriages where Christianity is practised. Child marriages existed in their innocence and were wholly accepted until the advent of colonial forms of Christianity. In most African cultures, child marriages occur at their parents' behest. Hence, the forms of colonial Christianity, such as PEMS and LMS, were appalled at child marriage practices because these marriages did not align themselves with the British Victorian model of Christian marriage. Child marriages were contrary to the missional moral norms and were perceived as immoral. The question to pose is what becomes of the girl child in the decoloniality of child marriages? Do Bemba and Lozi people return to the practice of child marriages before the advent of the forms of colonial Christianity, or do they uphold the criticisms of child marriages from the colonial forms of Christianity and abandon these practices? Are child marriages inherently immoral in themselves?

The argument on decoloniality demands that we return to the practices, customs and indigenous knowledge systems before the arrival of PEMS and LMS. The study holds that the debate on decoloniality is incomplete on what it retains and what it abandons of the influences of forms of colonial Christianity on child marriages. For decoloniality discussion on child marriages to be consistent, it must leave all the influences of the forms of colonial Christianity and colonialism in Barotseland and Bembaland and retain their indigenous ontology and cultural practice of child marriages. The author posits that aspects of the influence of PEMS and LMS on child marriages should be included since these marriages happen without young women's consent. It could be argued that the cultural practice of child marriages contravenes the essence of young women's human rights, which are alienable and inherently encapsulated in the concept that humans are made in the image of God. This means that the dignity and worth of the girl child should be valued and respected regardless of their social status in society.

The Population Council of Zambia and the United Nations Population Fund Agency (UNPFA) (2017:3) outlined the three types of child marriage in the following way:

> Peer to peer marriage – children decide to marry each other

Intergenerational marriage – an adolescent girl is married to an older man. Intergenerational marriages are caused by poverty, among others, where marrying off a girl will save her from lifelong poverty, and the family will finally benefit from the payment of lobola.

Marriage happens to rectify a situation to avoid shame and dishonour (Mann, Quigley & Fischer, 2015). In other words, child marriage is done for the family's honour. For instance, teenage pregnancy leads to a child bride as a way of avoiding family shame. Coldham (1990), cited in Mann et al. (2015), explains that although some of these marriages could be celebrated in church, such a blessing had no legal consequences. Siwila (2011) points out that customary marriages determined how the marriage regulations would be carried out, not the legal system. Siwila further explains that the marriages were in the hands of the local courts that had no legal age for girls but instead used puberty as the requirement for marriage. It is important to note that culturally, in most Zambian ethnic groups, age disclosure is not encouraged, especially when a person has to discuss the age of someone older than themselves. This is why some girls could not give their partners a specific age.

Furthermore, Siwila claims that most traditional communities still practise child marriage because it is down to the parents' jurisdiction that a girl child is married regardless of what the law says about marriage. Although there is a decrease in the child marriage phenomenon, Siwila (2011) found that some girl children wanted to get married to older men because they wished for financial security. This is further evidenced in the UNPFA report of 2017. This is the point that Richards (1982) makes when he explains that child marriage took on different forms within different ethnic groups in Zambia.

It is important to note that the demand for financial security is reflected in how most parents behave towards paying *lobola* (Siwila, 2011). According to Siwila (2011), this term is used in most Zambian cultures to define the sources paid to the bride's family after the marriage negotiations. The sources may include cows, hoes, spears, clothing, money, chickens and goats. It is essential to point out that *lobola* should be understood in the context of marriage. Lumbwe (2009:67-98) devotes a whole chapter to explaining the four steps before marriage is consummated in Bemba culture. First, *Ichisumina nsalamu* is the acceptance of l*obola* by the bride's family, which means that the family accepts the groom's request to marry their daughter. Second, in *ichilanga mulilo*, translated as "showing the fire", the groom is introduced to the bride's family's cuisine; there is traditional food and drinks at this ceremony. Third, *ubwinga* is the wedding, a public display of how the family has raised their daughter well and

with good morals. Fourth is the *amatebeto*, which is the feast of appreciating the groom by the bride's family for taking good care of the bride in marriage.

These steps also apply to child marriage because it is equally perceived as legitimate in Bemba culture. However, in Lozi culture, there are fewer child marriages but more teen pregnancies, according to UNPFA (2017:2). The question to ask is, why is child marriage a rarity in the Lozi culture? In Districts like Mongu, Lukulu, Senenga and Sesheke, among others, teen girls are less likely to be married until they reach the age of 18 (UNPFA, 2017). The study posits that the reason for less child marriage in the Lozi culture may be their effective preventive sex education among adolescents. Is this the legacy of the effect of the influences of PEMS in Barotseland? Is there a profound explanation for fewer child brides among the Lozi? Complex questions like these do not yield a simplistic answer to this complex issue. There are multi-layered reasons for the case of why child marriages are less prevalent among Lozi than Bemba people that are beyond the scope of this research.

One may ask, what becomes child marriages in the context of decoloniality in contemporary Zambia? Using the lens of decoloniality, are child marriages morally unacceptable even though the law allows a High Court Judge to rule in favour of child marriages under 16? Owing to this backdrop, how do contemporary Lozi and Bemba societies facilitate the decoloniality of child marriages without harming children's opportunity to realise their full potential and enjoy their human rights? Could missional enterprise and its missional message redeem the child brides? At what point does the missional message become succour for child marriages, and indigenous cultural practices become a foe of child marriage? These are not easy questions to resolve, but they sow seeds that form the basis of an open dialogue on the decoloniality of child marriages within contemporary Zambia. These questions form part of what the study interrogates to establish the influences of colonial forms of Christianity in Barotseland and Bembaland. However, it should be pointed out that these are complex issues rooted in indigenous cultures and this study admits that it may not have all the answers to the above questions. The study argues that girl children should not be used as a means to an end and that they are not the sources of income for financially disadvantaged families. However, a girl child should be perceived and treated as an end in themselves with inherent worth and value because they are created in the image of God.

2.7 Religion in Bembaland

It is essential to mention that the Bemba religious cosmology that is their beliefs and spiritual practices are similar to other ethnic groups in Zambia. Thus, Werner (1972) notes that the Bemba share with other groups tutelary spirits who are the guardians of their lives and belief in witchcraft and sorcery. It is not an exaggeration to say that religion and God are integral to Bemba culture.

The religious traditions and beliefs in a deity followed them from Luba-Lunda albeit with new adaptations and innovations within their religious systems. The words and their symbolism have evolved with time and find their expression in the Bemba religious system. In his article Douglas Werner (1972) states that the Bemba believe in a supreme distant god called Lesa, who is considered the creator of men. He further explains that Lesa is so distant from the Bemba's religion that he is rarely involved in their everyday life experience. Nevertheless, the Bemba still worship Lesa without intermediaries or cultures (Werner, 1972).

One may ask, has God always existed in the kingdom of man? It is realistic to postulate that Lesa has always existed in the Mwata-Kazembe and Chitimukulu kingdoms. This is because Lesa is visibly evident in the Bemba's cosmology that is the handiwork of his creation that consists of awe and wonder, as David in Psalm 19 and verse 1 writes:

> The heavens declare the glory of God and the skies proclaim the work of his hands. Day after Day, they out his speech and night after night, they display his knowledge (Psalm 19:14 NIV, 1996).

The point that David makes in Psalm 19 verse 1 is that God has revealed himself in creation and therefore, man/woman regardless of the lack of their level of intellect could know and experience God in any part of the world. Hence, it could be argued that God lived in Bembaland before the arrival of the forms of colonial Christianity. God was never absent in Bembaland as long as God's natural beauty and design surrounded them. The question to ask is, what kind of God did LMS introduce in Bembaland?

2.7.1 The Concept of God in Bembaland

God was/is usually conceptualised as an all-powerful and all-loving supernatural being that created the cosmos and we question whether this conceptualisation of God in this way led LMS and other forms of colonial Christianity to be agents of change in Bembaland. Was it because they believed in their minds that God was white like them? Could this explain why the

prediction of God being white leads to the belief that the white person is the only one fit for leadership? This is evident in the LMS belief that they were the agents of the Kingdom of God sent to convert the barbarians in the kingdom of man from worshipping and serving idols. However, they could carry out their missional activities among the Bemba with the help of the colonialists. Macola (2017) explains why LMS was favoured in this way, following the foundation of the Plymouth Brethren mission of Johnston Falls, the White Fathers reached Mwansabombwe, the capital of the Kazembe kingdom, in 1900. However, they were forced to leave Bembaland that same year due to the BSCA's preference for the LMS.

Therefore, this section discusses the place supernatural beings occupy within the Bemba cultural canon before the arrival of LMS and other forms of colonial Christianity. God in African cultures has always existed in their thoughts and ways of life. Africa. In doing so, the study investigates and analyses the extent to which the effects of coloniality linger in Bembaland, thus, answering the study's research question. Like other African ethnic groups, the Bemba people believe in a high divine called Lesa. According to Hinfelaar, the creation myth by Lesa (God) buttresses Bemba's cosmology and worldview as the following explains:

> "In the beginning, there existed two genderless beings. Lesa gave one of them two parcels with an order not to open them before they had reached mutual understanding and friendship. In these parcels were hidden feminine and masculine attributes of the Divine respectively. After some time, one of the parcels began to smell bad, so the being that carried it threw it away and decided to open the other. At once, it was endowed with Divine maleness and became umwaume. This new status caused a desire for the other being, who could not respond. Realising that the desire resulted from opening the parcel, the second being returned to Lesa, who bestowed on it Divine femaleness. This is how the beings were reduced into two sexes. Therefore, the quest to become whole (full person) is through realisation and acquisition of the other" (Hinfelaar, 1994:6-9).

For the Bemba, Lesa is never a person; Lesa as mentioned above is perceived as a creator of the universe, who controls the rains, the environment, animals and people. This is what Kaunda (2012) argues that God is perceived as the life which is present in all existence. It must also be appreciated that according to Bemba's indigenous knowledge systems, Lesa is the source of creative power in the roots used for healing in Bemba rituals. According to Chammah Kaunda (2012), the Bemba God is the Ultimate source. Furthermore, as Kaunda (2019) argues, the Bemba notion of God seeks to strike an intricate balance between femininity and masculinity.

Kaunda further argues that God is conceived as complete, possessing both a male and a female model of being. In other words, God is immutably and radically reconciled within Mayo and Tata (Mother-Father; Female- Male) – the intricately balanced one. Lesa means the ground of a life-giving relationship, of all mutuality and excellent existence (Kaunda, 2010). Kaunda (2019) further argues that in this perspective, Lesa sent them on the *missio humanitas* of releasing the intricate relational balance by becoming like Lesa. Becoming like Lesa meant radically, inherently, and intrinsically connecting and the mysterious embodiment of the essence of the other, thereby becoming the manifestation of the nature of God (Kaunda, 2019). It has been established that the concept of the divine underpinned Bemba's cosmology. This concept of the divine is known as Lesa the creator of all living things. One may ask a question, do ancestral spirits hear us?

2.8 The veneration of ancestral worship in Bembaland

The belief in the spirits of the departed is one of the core beliefs within African religions, including religion within Bemba culture. It is important to note that in Bemba culture, for instance, ancestors are the guardian of the communities (Mukuka, 2018). The ancestral spirits are integral to cultural practices such as initiation ceremonies. Notably, these spirits are believed to be immortal as they have entered the spiritual realm. Magesa (1997) asserts that human or spirit ghosts are the spirits of the deceased who have not received a proper burial and have gone out the memory of the living. The questions to ask are, what constitutes a proper burial? How are the living know whether they have conducted an appropriate burial of their deceased? Is there a gradation of the deceased tombs? Magesa (1997) asserts that these ghosts' spirits consist of those who have died as children or at puberty without proper initiation or adults who died without children.

Lugira (2009:50) argues that when one dies, one's soul is believed to be separated from the body and one's soul becomes a spirit. Magesa (1997) explains that human spirits are sometimes considered to be created powers or gods. From this backdrop, in Bemba's cosmology, some spirits are associated with places such as rivers, mountains, trees, and animals. Thus, praying to these things is seen as an act of veneration. According to Adamo (1983:66), spirits are believed to be capable of taking the shape of anything, like objects or humans and can also melt into vapour and disappear or appear anytime. It is important to note that good spirits are associated with good fortunes, good harvest, good health and evil spirits are associated with misfortune, calamities, poverty, diseases and death (Nwonkoro, 2014:5).

Hence, the benevolent spirits of the deceased bring blessings to the community and vice versa. This is because these spirits are remembered by the living and are therefore happy that they protect the individual, family and community from malevolent spirits (Malungo, 1999:3). In this sense, the cult of ancestors has ecological significance," *ifikolwe* (ancestors) who are sought at different occasions in the life of the living (Kaoma, 2015: 43). This echoed by Mbiti when he argues that ancestors do have concerns over the affairs of the living and have continued to interact with their living relatives. Hence, the study asserts that the living is at the mercy of the ancestral spirit, which explains why the Bemba cultural practices carry colossal significance. This is significant because, in the kingdom of man, the sacredness of all the rituals mentioned above and ceremonies such as imbusa and ichisungu might lie in the belief that the ancestral spirits are fully involved in their observance and performance. In this sense, it could be argued that cultural practices take on a socio-religious dimension and their compliance of them become a religious rite of passage. One could infer that the experience of the socio-religious extent could be a form of a *katharsis* for participators and all the people involved.

2.9 The Concept of Personhood in Bemba culture

It is important to note that personhood forms part of Bemba's culture and identity. This is particularly important when discussing ancestral spirits, worship, and belief in witchcraft and sorcery. Macola (2000) argues that the concept of the soul in Bemba thinking is connected to the outstanding characteristics of a particular body area or body part which comprise three elements: first, the seat of emotions; second, the faculty of intellectual processes, and third, the sole reference to personality. Macola further contends that these three components are combined in Bemba culture to form *umutima* (heart) from which the psyche is derived. Macola claims that physical and spiritual elements make a person in Bemba culture. A person's spiritual aspect comprises three parts: motions, intellect and personality.

Willoughby (1924) asserts that the kind of psyche a person possesses reflects one's behaviour in public life within the community. A person's psyche is subject to change and triggered by countless experiences of everyday life; these as temporal psychical dispositions and may either be positive or negative (Willoughby, 1924). According to Macola (2000), a person's psyche is perceived as umutima (heart), *uusuma* (good, = beautiful, friendly) requires *imibele usuma* (good, beautiful, nice character traits) which come out through the umupashi (spirit) at the beginning of one's life. *Imibele* is neither of genetic origin nor anyone's labour and efforts during a person's life cycle but has a transcendental origin (Macola, 2000). The line of

intersection, where umupashi (personality or spirit) and *umuntu* (person) meet, is the moment of reception of the name. This point of intersection is so vital that only a newborn baby (*katuutuu*) will become umuntu, a human being (Macola, 2000).

Two aspects of the concept of umupashi are; first, *umupashi* is the being that survives the body's death. Second, *umupashi* is the being that retains and continues a person's personality (Lang, 2002). The first aspect is a commonly accepted idea belonging to the category of "ancestral spirits," a widely distributed concept among Zambian cultures (Magesa, 1997). The latter has not yet received the full attention it should be given. The reason might be the neglect of the subject by colonial scholars who viewed African Religions as anthropocentric. Until recently, colonial scholars have failed to appreciate the extent to which African religions are founded upon systematic anthropology and ethics (Ray, 1976:132).

Macola (2000) argues that *umupashi* retains and continues a person's personality after death and *umupashi* is a person's "spiritual double" in this life and life after. As early as 1934, authors such as Audrey Richards found that every Bemba must be succeeded at death and that the heir takes, next to his name, status, and social obligation, his u*mupashi*. Richards observed that "in this case, the identification between the dead man and his heir seems complete [compared with other Bantu tribes]. It invades every aspect of daily and ceremonial life" (Richards, 1970:269). Barnes (1922) criticises Richards (1922:41) for saying that the spirit of a living person was *'umupashi'*. Barnes (1922) points out that *'umupashi'* is a spirit of the dead.

The idea of perpetuity threads continuously and remarkably through Bemba's worldview (Macola, 2000). It governs descent and succession (clan-communal and state-communal), imprints meaning and value on the rites of passage, and incorporates the individual into the whole of community life, whether the one formed by non-humans in the spirit world or the community constituted by humans in the physical world (Macola, 2000). Furthermore, the quality of the relationship between the umupashi and his human companion is the decisive factor in granting access or pronouncing denial to the world of the *mipashi* at death (Macola, 2000).

2.10 The tale of Two Kingdoms in Bembaland

It is vital to mention that several scholars have dealt with the colonial, socioeconomic, and religious histories of the two kingdoms in Barotseland and Bembaland. However, the effects of coloniality on these kingdoms curiously need to be noticed. There needs to be more literature

on the influences of the PEMS and LMS in collaboration with the colonialists and their effects on the colonial Bemba Kingdoms (Chitimukulu and Kazembe) and Lozi Kingdom (Litunga). The study acknowledges the near impossibility of producing a comprehensive precolonial historical account of the Mwata Kazembe and Chitimukulu Kingdoms. Suffice it to point out that the study presents a precolonial overview of the history of these two kingdoms to illustrate the effects of colonialism in conjunction with the forms of Christianity. The study examines the link between the forms of colonial Christianity and colonialism and their influences on Bemba culture. It seeks to fill the research gap by interrogating why chief Chitimukulu survived the effects of coloniality, albeit modified. At the same time, Mwata Kazembe could not survive the impacts of coloniality. One may ask, what were the contributing factors that led to the decline of the kingdom of Mwata Kazembe?

2.10.1 Mwata Kazembe Kingdom in Bembaland

History demonstrates that two kingdoms under Chitimukulu and Kazembe that developed in Bembaland came from the established kingdom of Luba Lunda Kingdom. Kazembe, also spelt Cazembe. The Luba Lunda Kingdom was the largest and most highly organised Lunda kingdoms in central Africa and the title of all its rulers. Mwata Kazembe was the son of Mwata Yamvo from the established kingdom in the Congo basin; he had been sent to extend the realm of the Lunda people (Macola, 2002). They had been informed that the land around Lake Mweru was fertile and had plenty of fish. Mwata Kazembe took his Lunda people to the area with an established political system and good trade links through his father around 1700 (Chama, 2012).

Chama (2012) notes that at the height of its power, the Lunda kingdom of Mwata Kazembe is shown to have stretched from the Lububuri or Lualaba River in the west to the Chambeshi River in the east. Mwata Kazembe's influence through conquest and annexation spread almost all of the territory, including the Katanga region of the Democratic Republic of Congo and Bembaland. Mwata Kazembe's way of dealing with conquered people was to allow them to continue their usual way of life as long as tribute was paid to Mwata (Chama, 2012).

It is important to note that there are different accounts of why the kingdom of Mwata Kazembe declined. It is beyond the scope of the study to examine every postulation of the decline. First, Kazembe IV, known as Kibangu Keleka who reigned from 1805–1850, encouraged contacts with Portuguese traders from Angola because this enabled him to collect tributes as a form of tax from the traders (Gordon, 2006; Macola, 2002). These two authors further note that Mwata

Kazembe Kingdom became an important trade centre between the people in that area and the Portuguese and Arabs on the eastern coast. These contacts with the colonialists and Arabs sowed the seeds of erosion of Mwata Kazembe and his kingdom. Therefore, it is possible to argue that the trade links with the Portuguese gave way to capitalism and capitalism is a child of the modernity/coloniality matrix.

Langworthy (1890) bemoans that the decline of the Lunda kingdom began with increased trade and internal conflict. Langworthy (1890) further explains that one of the reasons for the Kingdom of Mwata Kazembe's decline was Mwata Kazembe's failure to maintain a large court and to reward indigenous chiefs for their tribute. Additionally, Langworthy points out that Mwata Kazembe compelled the remaining tributary chiefs to more tribute in exchange for less imported cloth which only encouraged secessionist sentiments exploited by Swahili merchants. For instance, Langworthy (1890:65-67) explains that,

> The temptations of the subject chiefs to break the monopoly of tribute, which was the basis of Mwata Kazembe's power were very significant, especially when encouraged by the Swahili and the Yeke.

Vansina (1966) cited in Chama (2012), argues that the withdrawal of support destroyed the kingdom of Mwata Kazembe because the Yeke under their leader King Msiri managed to penetrate the copper-producing area to the west and cut the link to the original Lunda kingdom in order to trade with the Portuguese Swahili (Chama, 2012). Hence, Yeke and Swahili could destabilise the Lunda kingdom by persuading the subject chiefs under Mwata Kazembe to trade independently. The Mwata Kazembe kingdom declined due to the divide and conquer strategy and the emergence of capitalism (missional enterprise) underpinned by the modernity/coloniality matrix. The author contends that capitalism was supported by colonialists and colonial forms of Christianity as the modus operandi for developing the indigenous communities, of which Bembaland was no exception.

In his book, *A Political History of the Kingdom of Kazembe: The History and Politics of North-Eastern Rhodesia* Macola (2002:77), he comprehensively studies the Mwata Kazembe kingdom and warns the functionalist-inspired historians who exaggerate the tribute exchange as an index of political centralisation. Macola points out that the collapse of the Mwata Kazembe kingdom should not be reduced simply to the collection of tribute but also to internal factions.

Macola (2002) notes that tribute was given to Mwata Kazembe in two ways. One in material form from ivory. Second in service form from labour. Macola further claims that the British colonialists instituted the ground tusk tax of giving Mwata Kazembe at most minuscule one tusk of any elephant killed near his palace (Macola, 2002:130-131). Macola notes that the Mwata Kazembe kingdom had an embedded colonial centralised tax system that served them well and ruled out tribute as the causality of the kingdom's decline. However, Macola's analysis of the exchange of tributes in the Mwata Kazembe kingdom should be treated with caution because other evidence from Livingstone's journal (Livingstone, 1874:358) paints a different picture in the following way,

Kazembe (Cazembe) did not demand the tusks; his counsellors have probably heard of the Portuguese self-imposed law and wish to introduce here both tusks as secured.

It is evident from the above that there has yet to be a historical consensus on the decline of the kingdom of Mwata Kazembe. Historians are divided over two-pronged arguments, tributes or internal conflicts.

Perhaps the research could reopen Pandora's Box on the decline of the Mwata Kazembe Kingdom and posits a causality of its decline within the modernity/coloniality matrix. This ultimately answers the research question and achieves the study's objectives. This of course warrants further explanation. The introduction of capitalism and the colonial centralised government systems supported by the forms of colonial Christianity weakened most of these chieftainships in both Bembaland and Barotseland.

This is evidenced in Thomson's report on the tour of Kawambwa on 30th September 1947 in the following way:

> Throughout the 1940s and 1950s, the rivalry between eastern Lunda and Bemba was kept alive by the colonial government's decision not to award the Mwata Kazembe the same title - 'Paramount Chief - as the Chitimukulu. In 1947, for instance, the District Commissioner (DC), Kawambwa, was forced to tour the unruly Bena Mbeba section of the Lunda Native Authority to dispel 'widespread rumours that [Mwata Kazembe Chinymta Nankula was no longer a senior chief [arid] that he had [...] been put under Chitimukulu.
>
> (E.C. Thomson, 1947, NAZ, SEC2/874).

Furthermore, on 9th August 1954, Brown Ng'ombe reports also in the following,

> Mwata Kazembe XV wrote to the then DC to remind him of his kingdom's 'very long history' and the Government's unfulfilled promise that 'the name of a Paramount be proclaimed on me as it was in the past before Europeans came in this country.'
>
> (9-10 August 1954, NAZ, NP2/6/10).

While other scholars dismiss the accounts mentioned above with scepticism, this study argues that the above archival evidence sheds light on the decline of the kingdom of Mwata Kazembe. This highlights the extent of the destructive effects of coloniality on the kingdom of Mwata Kazembe in contrast to the kingdom of Chitimukulu. It could be argued from the above evidence that colonialists and some forms of colonial Christianity used capitalism and colonial centralised government systems underpinned by their strategy of divide and rule; this is what Macola (2002) alludes to the divide and rule strategy when he argues that a direct consequence of the internal and external wars which shook the kingdom of Kazembe in the latter part of the 19th century was the settlement of foreign communities in the lower Luapula valley. Macola (2002:44) demonstrates this by adding that,

> British [colonial] officials, with their subsequent efforts to perfect the administration of the kingdom's heartland, often upset the delicate balance between these circumscribed communities and the eastern Lunda elites.

A similar destabilising phenomenal approach to disturb the delicate balance of chieftainship was also seen in Barotseland when Litunga Lewanika signed the Lochner Concession Treaty that stripped him practically of all his powers and gave the BSAC the rights to exploit its natural resources. PEMS mediated this treaty under the overnight of Coillard. The BSAC promised to pay the Litunga tributes for their presence in Barotseland but it has yet to materialise. In Barotseland, PEMS were complacent in exploiting its natural resources and the erosion of the Litunga chieftainship. Similarly, in Bembaland, the perceived disputation between the two kingdoms was exacerbated by the colonialists and the forms of colonial Christianity way of life that eventually contributed to the erosion of the kingdom of Mwata Kazembe. The divide-and-rule strategy cemented the erosion of both chieftainships and their kingdoms. From this backdrop, the study posits that the forms of colonial Christianity preferred the colonial rule in both Barotseland and Bembaland because it guaranteed their safety and allowed their missional activities to be embedded within these indigenous communities.

2.11 The Kingdom of Chitimukulu

In his article, *Some Developments in Bemba Religious History*, Werner (1972) states that the Chitimukulu kingdom and Bemba religious cultic systems survived the effects of wars and coloniality because of their ability to adapt and innovate. This adaptation and innovation resulted in the growth of a solid central ancestral cult surrounding Chief Chitimukulu that provided political legitimacy. Hence, it enabled Chitimukulu to withstand destabilising colonial influences, unlike Mwata Kazembe. Richards (1951) points out that the clan organisations and leadership were of primary importance only to the royal class Chitimukulu belonged. Richards claims that Chief Chitimukulu's hereditary rights were reserved for a specific clan and were not open to other relatives. This was done to consolidate his royal power within the family lineage. Werner (1972) asserts that various chiefs from different clans were incorporated into religious ritual positions surrounding the kingship of Chitimukulu to consolidate his political and religious power. This made him create a consolidated kingdom underpinned by sacredness. His kingship was thus, regarded as divinely ordained. Chief Chitimukulu also used religion to enable his royal family lineage to remain in political power during the colonial era. Hence, in Bembaland, religion was an integral part of the culture and the mainstay of Chief Chitimukulu's political power.

The following section discusses the erosion of the Lozi and Bemba cultures.

2.12 The forms of colonial Christianity in Barotseland and Bembaland

Due to similar experiences of the effects of the forms of colonial Christianity and colonialism in Africa, this study draws on various contexts to paint a bigger picture of the missional impact on cultures in Africa in Barotseland and Bembaland. This section emphasises the influences and effects of colonial Christianity and colonialism in formal education, moral norms, liturgy, and chieftainship. Missional enterprise and colonial civilisation were the phenomenon of coloniality that eroded the Lozi and Bembaland cultures. It is this phenomenon that this research study interrogates more specifically in the Lozi and Bemba contexts.

In explaining the influences of the forms of colonial Christianity underpinned by the phenomenon of modernity/coloniality matrix and how it works in the African context, Manala (2013) explains that while [colonial] missionaries brought holistic human development in sub-Saharan Africa in terms of education, it also led to the demise of the African customs and cultural practices that were viewed as pagan and evil. The destruction of indigenous African cultures and ontology was prevalent during the colonial era. In his book Black Skin, White

Mask, Fanon (2008) discusses how the enslaved Black person was allowed to assume a master's attitude to raise him to a supreme rank of a white man. Fanon points out that Africans are only accepted at the levels of colonialists when they adopt their culture. The failure of Africans to adopt the colonial/missional culture led to rejection and separation of all aspects of life experiences. This racial separation found its expression in apartheid South Africa in particular.

Manala (2013) asserts that [missional] religion in South Africa led to the implementation of apartheid supported by the coloniser's theology of the Dutch Reformed Church. The South African black man lamented that both the oppressor (colonialist) and the oppressed (the colonised) would sit in the same church. At the same time, the colonial Christian policeman and soldiers would beat up the colonised Christian children while other colonial Christians stood by and pleaded and prayed for peace (Bigras, 1986). Ironically, in the preamble of the South African constitution, the colonial Christian scholars implied that God approved apartheid. Bigras further notes that the ideology and theology of the colonial Dutch Reformed Church had allowed Nationalist Party to rule with a clear conscience, convinced that their power to rule came from God. Thus, the study focuses on the influences of the forms of colonial Christianity with the aid of colonialists to impact the way of life for the Lozi and Bemba justified by colonial missional message and its theology.

One of the ramifications of the previous missional theology/message is emphasised by Manala (2013) who argues that [forms of colonial] Christianity bedevilled race relations [between blacks and whites] in African societies. The study contends that the bedevilling of race relations affected the core of being a person/personhood as a black person. The root cause of bedevilled race relations is explained as follows:

> These two axes were: The codification of the differences between conquerors and conquered in the idea of 'race', a supposedly different biological structure that placed some in a natural situation of inferiority to others. The so-called blacks were not only the most essential exploited group since the principal part of the economy rested on them, but they were also the most colonised race (Quijano, 2000: 534-535).

Quijano points out that black people as enslaved people in America had similar experiences to black people in apartheid South Africa. One even dares argue that it persists today in the form

of coloniality. For example, Black South Africans fail to identify themself with the rest of the African continent. Black South Africans still struggle with the issues of xenophobia. Why is this the case? The racial axis has a colonial origin and character, but it has proven to be more durable and stable than the colonialism in whose matrix it was established (Quijano, 2000:533). Is it that the soul of one Africa has been destroyed by the modernity/coloniality matrix? African cultures have always insisted on communitarianism anchored in their African ontology. An individual belongs to the community, and the community belongs to the individual, as they say in

> Nguni *'umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu'*. Thus, the idea of the oneness of Africa has always been the founding father's vision.

The forms of colonial Christianity's metaphysical understanding of a black person were skewed due to its epistemological influence of the modernity/coloniality matrix. The study holds that the forms of colonial Christianity were successful in their missional enterprise in aiding the colonisers to control Africa. Quijano (2000) notes how the colonialists' and missionalists' discussions about whether the Africans (Americas) had souls were commonplace. The question to ask is, what becomes of the black person if they don't have a soul? Are they a person? If one doesn't have a soul, one is not a person, and if one is not a person, it follows that one doesn't have culture and therefore his identity is what the superior powers give. This is the premise of the research investigating the influences of colonial Christianity on Africans and their cultures that needed holistic redemption.

Quijano (2000) explains that new identities, namely European, white, Indian, Black and Coloured were created in the context of colonisation. The author argues that it was not only the period of colonisation that happened in Africa but also the period of erosion of the personhood of Africans and consequently their cultures. Quijano further points out that the feature of this type of social classification is that the relation between the subjects is not horizontal but vertical in character; that is, some identities depict superiority over others. In addition, Quijano argues that such power is premised on the degree of humanity attributed to the identities in question such as the 'lighter' one's skin is, the closer to full humanity one is, and vice versa. It could be argued that when the personhood of the Africans was destroyed, their culture was also killed because the modernity matrix punctured the trajectory of African civilisation. This is because

modernity's understanding of a person is based on an ontological objective based on Renes Descartes. This was reflected in the forms of colonial Christianity towards Africans.

In contrast to the colonial ontology of personhood that is individualistic based on Descartes' ontology of being, I think therefore I am, Mbiti (1970) argues that African ontology and the concept of personhood says that 'I am because we are, and since we are. Therefore I am. This means that African culture is based on the communal understanding of one's self-being connected to the community, and culture arises from that community. Smith (2011) concurs with Mbiti that the culture of communitarianism was destroyed by introducing individualistic [forms of colonial] Christianity as exemplified above. It is important to note that the forms of colonial Christianity missional theology based on the individualistic understanding of the person or personhood owes its origin in Descartes' ontology of the person which says, 'Cogito ergo sum' translated as I think therefore I am (Smith, 2011).

The difference between the forms of colonial Christianity ontology of Descartes and African ontology is that I am before I think. This means that the essence of a person is not defined by their ability to think but by their association with their community. The African cultures celebrate one's achievement as their own, contrary to the missional view. Mbiti (1970) laments that [forms of colonial] Christianity introduced by missional enterprise mainly in the nineteenth century destroyed the safety nets for orphans, older people and the poor. This resonates with Gibson's (2011) description of African cultural values which centre on the tradition of sharing in contrast to the white liberal individualistic and materialistic culture. As already alluded to above, the influences of the forms of colonial Christianity on African cultures were premised on the assumption that the African had no soul and no history thus, sits at the same level as the rest of animals that needs to be domesticated that is civilised through the instruments of missional education, moral norms and liturgy. In this vein, this study interrogates these underlining missional prejudices and presuppositions in their colonial missional enterprise in Barotseland and Bembaland.

Pheko cited in Chuulu (2015) notes that [the forms of colonial] Christianity changed many aspects of culture in traditional Zambian communities. Chuulu further notes that certain cultural norms, values, customs and beliefs were abandoned in favour of new ones aligned with the new forms of [colonial] Christianity. For Christianity, in particular, this extended to matters as

diverse as church order (liturgy), cultural mores, social discipline, economic arrangements, and dress (Gladwin, 2019). Gladwin agrees with Maldonado-Torres and Mignolo's analysis which he describes as the 'colonisation' of mind, body, and culture. Maldonado-Torres (2007) and Mignolo (2002) refer to the colonisation of mind, body and culture as the coloniality of power, being and knowledge. The study coins a new phrase as it seeks to establish the missionality key factor in the erosion of African cultures in three main domains the missionality of body, missionality of knowledge and missionality of culture. The author contends that the missional theology and its message aided by colonialists or vice versa punctured the trajectory of African civilisation in knowledge, worship and culture. Furthermore, the colonial missionaries' derogatory comments about Africans make us question the beauty hosted in the black body.

Fanon (2008) asserts that the white man is a master who allows his slaves to eat at his table. According to Fanon (2008), the table is a metaphor for the white man's culture, knowledge, education and beliefs vis-à-vis the white man's way of thinking and life. The study illustrates Fanon's point about how black people were treated during colonisation in Africa. This similar racial prejudice and discrimination were replicated on many mission stations in Africa where black people were not allowed to enter the missional house. This was because the black African skin was a place of contestation of missional theology/message and its relation with racial category. Is the black African created in the *Imago Dei*? Are Africans descendent of the cursed children of Noah, namely Ham? It could be argued that the experience of racism by Africans at the hands of missional agents and colonialists damaged their perception of their personhood, failing to embrace and celebrate their indigenous cultures. In other words, the effects of coloniality were so severe that the Africans became ashamed of their bodies and way of life. What is true of the Africans' experience is true of the Lozi and Bemba experiences albeit in a different context. Thus, one would argue that the effects of coloniality have touched every corner of Africa and other parts of the world where missional enterprise and colonial enterprise set their feet. But one may ask, why are the effects of these influences of the forms of colonial Christianity so entrenched in African cultures?

Boff (2007) argues that Christianity [the forms of colonial Christianity] never arrived at the African shores naked that is free of any human culture. It was culturally clothed in missionary culture that proclaimed it. Hence, the forms of colonial Christianity lived with a colonial culture and cultural diffusion occurred through this medium. Simply put, the forms of colonial Christianity were transmitted in colonial culture clothes. Chung cited in Yacob Tesfai

(1995:11) concurs with Boff (2007) and explains that when mission societies tried to evangelise the indigenous people it was discovered that not all the ways of expressing themselves could ignore the cultural factor. Using the example of marriage, in his chapter*, "Making 'Modern' Marriage 'Traditional': State Power and the Regulation of Marriage in Colonial Zambia",* James Ault (1981) points out that the face of marriage was distorted by [colonial] ideas that were brought to Zambian cultures by [the forms of colonial Christianity] missionaries.

However, it is vital to note that despite influences from colonialism and the forms of colonial Christianity, for instance, the imbusa rite of passage in Bemba culture persists in contemporary Zambia. As discussed elsewhere in the chapter the imbusa rite of passage survives the coloniality effects due to the belief that Bemba culture holds marriage as sacred. The study posits that this Bemba belief in the sacredness of marriage is underpinned by its cosmology deeply rooted in culture. The Bemba imbusa resilience in the face of modernity articulates to the study's research question. In what ways did colonial forms of Christianity influence the Lozi and Bemba cultures? The experience of Africans is the experience of the Zambians. Despite these influences on African cultures, some have survived coloniality's effects, such as naming ceremonies. In many African cultures, it is important to note that the purpose of the naming ceremony is to announce and introduce the newborn baby to the extended family and larger community.

In most African cultures, naming ceremonies such as Akan in Ghana, Umtata in South Africa and Akamba in Kenya are important aspects of the rite of passage because the name given influences on their personhood/personality development. It is established that in African cultures like Zambian cultures, a person belongs to the community and a community belongs to a person. This African way of life is rooted in its tradition and ontology. The unity of the community is more important than the individual. It could be argued tan intrinsic sacredness in African communities engenders loyalty to one's cultural norms and practices. Thus, it is not stretching the point when the study posits that harmony is very important to the functionality of African traditional societies. Perhaps this explains why *imbusa* and naming ceremonies have survived the forces of influences of the forms of colonial Christianity. The following section focuses on the erosion of Lozi and Bemba cultures in Barotseland and Bembaland.

2.13 The Erosion of Lozi and Bemba Cultures

Like other African countries, Zambia was not exempted from the influences of colonial Christianity on its traditional institutions and cultural practices. This point has been established in the above section. On the erosion of the Lozi and Bemba cultures, Arowolo (2010) argues that missional activities [such as missional education, Sunday school, missional liturgy and theology] were the platforms on which the indigenous cultures were eroded. Arowolo argues that missional enterprise laid the groundwork for colonialism and the subsequent erosion of Lozi and Bemba cultures. Still, for the research objectives, it is the erosion of Lozi and the Bemba cultures. The missional education of the PEMS and LMS underpinned by missional theology was used to erode the Lozi and Bemba worldviews that impacted their cultures.

This is even though the Lozi and Bemba were not devoid of God and later of cultures. It is clear from precolonial history, for instance, that the Litunga, Kazembe and Chitimukulu were the most powerful kings of their time who ensured that law and order were followed within their jurisdiction. One would adduce from the well-established Zambian kingdoms that these monarchs were places of culture, civilisation, commerce and education. It is inconceivable for these indigenous kingdoms, with their kings who were educated in the Global North, to be devoid of cultural norms and values. The study argues that the influences of the Lochner Concession Treaty in collaboration with PEMS fractured the trajectory of Barotseland civilisation. In other words, the study contends in the words of Taylor (1965) that cultural values and moral norms in Barotseland and Bembaland preceded the advent of colonialism and the forms of colonial Christianity such as PEMS and LMS, among others.

The arrival of the forms of colonial Christianity eroded the indigenous institutions, education and style of doing church and worshipping God. This study contends that PEMS and LMS eroded the Lozi and Bemba cultures by introducing new missional ways of formal education, missional liturgical worship and missional moral norms because they believed their way of life and theology was superior to Lozi and Bemba people. It is vital to mention that although the forms of colonial Christianity and colonialists came at different times, they both came with their own cultures that had a dual influence on the Lozi and Bemba cultures either good or ill in the areas of religion, education and politics among others.

This duality of influences on Zambian cultures, particularly the Lozi and Bemba, is what this study interrogates to achieve the research objectives and examines how and why forms of colonial Christianity exact such influences on these two cultures linger on in contemporary Zambia. This delimitation answers questions like why not missionary Christianity or American Christianity? This study aligns with Maldonado-Torres (2007), who argues that the [arrival of the forms of colonial Christianity and colonialism] began the coloniality of power and knowledge. Mudimbe (1988:51) also concurs with Maldonado-Torres that part of the basic building blocks of the colonial episteme is Christianity discourse, where categories of religious and Biblical thinking entered the logic of civilisation. According to Mudimbe, this promoted the idea that faith gives sense to morality and ethics, not vice versa. These categories of religious and Biblical thinking are referred to in the study as missional thinking or missional theology is some of the influences that impacted cultures in Barotseland and Bembaland in areas of polygamous marriages among the Lozi and modified initiation rites like ichisungu at Mabel Shaw Girl's Boarding School at Mbereshi. The question to ask is, what becomes of decoloniality in the context of polygamous marriages? Are polygamous marriages an issue of cultural practice or morality? These are complex questions that decoloniality should begin to wrestle with in contemporary Zambia. This study does not pretend to have the answers.

Nel (2009) warns that there is an imminent danger in trying to portray morality in African thought in a homogeneous manner, thus continuing the missionary [forms of colonial Christianity] fixing of concepts of the indigenous according to the western canon. The study adds that the dogma of the west of the forms of coloniality of Christianity is modernity that leads to coloniality that silenced the Lozi and Bemba indigenous epistemologies in education, moral norms and cosmology (liturgy). This research uses the coloniality theory to underpin the influences of the forms of colonial Christianity on Lozi and Bemba cultures. Coloniality theory enables the study to interrogate assumptions embedded in postcolonial studies. African scholarship on decoloniality in Africa comes from a place of lived experiences. Maldonado-Torres (2007) and Grosfoguel (2012) define coloniality as the continuity of colonial forms of domination after the end of colonial administrations produced by colonial cultures and structures in the modern/colonial capitalist world system. Maldonado-Torres and Grosfoguel claim that learning institutions keep colonial cultures and structures alive. They are alive and well in their everyday experience of missional legacies in theological education, moral norms and liturgical worship.

The question that confronted missionaries was how much they should interfere with cases of native morality (Gann, 1964). Gann points out that African cultures were considered at a lower stage of human evolution as they did not fit into the western ontology and canon. For instance, Nel (2009) explains that indigenous moral norms and cultural practices, such as polygamy were considered irrelevant if not discarded because of their non-faith propensity. Gann (1964) asserts that [the forms of colonial Christianity] Christianity taught that polygamy, licentious and debauchery were deeply ingrained in African culture and required redeeming. In Bembaland for instance, Ipenburg (1991) points out that at Lubwa Mission Station some indigenous people protested against the suggestion by missionaries that beer-drinking, dancing, initiation ceremonies and polygamy were sins. The question to ask is, who defines what is sinful? Is dancing sinful? The Bible in Psalmist in Psalm 150 verse 4 paraphrasing commends God's children to praise God with dance. Is it the issue of racial prejudice at play at Lubwa Mission Station? This is why the study distinguishes between Bible teaching that is applicable today and missional education and theology that calls for decoloniality in Zambian churches. The Lubwa mission station illustrates the study's objective on how harmful some of the negative influences of LMS were on the Bemba people and their culture.

Gann (1964) also notes that [the forms of colonial Christianity] Christianity condemned the family systems grounded in polygamy as morally wrong and must give way to proper Victorian moral norms. In contesting the LMS's missional theology, the Bemba argued that all things God had created with His hands were good. God had given millet for beer-drinking and women to have many children and multiply and fill the land (Ipenburg, 1991 & 2017). 'Had God known these things to be evil, why did He give them to us?' Others ridiculed the teachers' preaching on 'hell fire' (Ipenburg, 1991). The Bemba people are arguing what God told Peter in Acts 10 when He showed Peter a vision about a Gentile Cornelius whom God had chosen to be part of the family of God. God said to Peter in a dream, "The voice spoke to him a second time, "Do not call anything impure that God has made clean" (Acts 10:15 NIV, 1996). The above example of Bemba demonstrates that the study's objective is to investigate how the influences of LMS on Bemba culture encountered some level of resistance to moral norms and cultural norms. This meant that missional influences were contested because they did not align with the Bemba way of life. This resilience of the Bemba could perhaps explain why some elements of their cultural practices have survived the effects of coloniality.

Gann (1964) explains that the preoccupation of Christianity [the forms of colonial Christianity] with moral ethics, such as social and moral norms, is located within the context of the British Victorian cultural morality rooted in the colonial canon. Gann (1964:39) further claims that indigenous ways of life and behaviour tended to be judged from the British Victorian morality perspective and were mostly condemned as evil. They were perceived as evil because they were said to be devoid of classical theism and missional moral norms. From this perspective, Gann adds that missionaries thought of themselves as a tiny army of God, alone in the wild of Africa, battling Satan. It is important to note that the forms of colonial Christianity held that only missional moral norms must prevail. This meant that these moral norms must stay because they are aligned with modernity. In contrast, African moral standards differ from the objectives and universal morality based on rationality from the Global North. No other morality is tolerated because modernity demands conformity. Hence, this study contends that this conformity destroyed Lozi and Bemba's cultures as they were perceived as evil.

The indigenous way of life was perceived as evil because the personhood of the Lozi and Bemba people was questioned. Dubow (1997) states that Christianity [the forms of colonial Christianity] considered itself a saviour in the absolute heathen and pagan world. Dubow further explains that Christianity saved the indigenous from gross immorality, such as procreating in the most unspeakable ways, such as upside down, bent over double, end-on-end, back-to-front and no self-respecting Englishman would ever use anything but the missionary position. In Bembaland, for instance, Ipenburg (1991:217) elucidates this by stating that

> According to the Chinsali District Council, Nkula had received a letter from Chitimukulu early in 1934 complaining about the interference of the fathers, especially in matters of divorce (NAZ KTQ 2 /1 DC Chinsali to Provincial Commissioner, Kasama, 7-2-1934). This was also the complaint of Chief Luchembe when the White Fathers established Chalabesa. Luchembe officially declared to the boma in Mpika that he did not want to have missionaries because they would not allow him to have divorced (WFA 215072 Fr. Feger, Chalabesa to Maison-MSre, 27-6-1934). The official rule with the White Fathers was that chiefs had a responsibility that Catholics would observe the 'Christian laws.' This meant that chiefs had to act against immoral behaviour.

The above example of the clash of two cultures on divorce demonstrates how the Bemba people perceived the missional message and culture as alien to their way of life. The Bemba were socialised in their own cultural and moral norms wholly accepted by their community. This also included the cultural practice of polygamy. The above further elucidates how the Bemba chiefs were told without question to toe the line of missional morality. As the quote says, the

chiefs had to act against immoral behaviour. The question to ask is, who defines moral or immoral behaviour? What constitutes immoral behaviour? In the diaspora, divorce is accepted as a way of life for most churches and religious people in the UK, although polygamy is perceived as immoral. The study would surmise from the abovementioned example that the forms of colonial Christianity imposed morality. The effects of coloniality in marriage linger in contemporary Barotseland and Bembaland. How does one begin the dialogue of decoloniality of missional moral norms? What becomes of the decoloniality of missional moral norms in contemporary Barotseland and Bembaland?

About the forms of colonial Christianity, Nel (2009) points out that with the Christianisation of the continent of Africa, Christianity started a textualisation (colonisation) of African religion. This began the colonisation of African religion under the guise of modernity. Nel further argues that Christianity provided the concepts and a frame of reference for interpreting the expression of African religion without an in-depth interrogation of the intertwined nature of aspects that the colonisers regarded as religion, culture, and ritual. This confusion was replicated in Barotseland and Bembaland as discussed earlier. Morality was codified into [the forms of colonial Christianity] Christianity worldview that Mbiti (1977) explains as the Christian naturalisation of African religions to what is assumed to be the generic categorisation of religion. Simply put, this was the genesis of the erosion of indigenous cultures in Barotseland and Bembaland. Lozi and Bemba cultures' erosion was exacerbated by their failure to understand their indigenous religion and cultural-moral norms and practice. Mudimbe (1988) argues that Christianity [the forms of colonial Christianity] systematisation and familiarisation of African indigenous religion should have taken cognisance of the African gnosis that is African ontology. The study argues that this led to the coloniality of African knowledge and culture. Using the newly coined phrase of the study, this is the missionality of the African body, knowledge and culture.

In disagreeing with missional objective morality, Fayemi (2011) argues that different cultures understand ethics regarding sexual norms, sexual positions, premarital sex, polygamy, sexual cleansing, homosexuality and prostitution. One of Fayemi's arguments is that human morality depends on culture, time and place. Accordingly, Fayemi repudiates missional theology and morality that asserts ethics is only missional moral truth that transcends culture, time and space. Fayemi's arguments resonate with the relative ontology theory of the study. Relative ontology theory holds that ethical norms and values are relative based on one's worldview.

Similarly to this study's relative ontology theory, Fayemi (2011) points to the plurality of understanding that constitutes moral behaviour. The question to ask is, Is morality like culture static or dynamic? According to the modernity worldview, Dubow (1997) affirms that the missionary's attitude towards black people regarding sexual and moral norms was negative. This was true of the Lozi and Bemba people regards to polygamy, divorce, bear drinking, initiation rituals, children's marriages and sexual cleansing. It could be argued that this missional negative attitude towards Lozi and Bemba was not an act accident of nature but an act of missional design underpinned by objective and universal missional moral norms. The PEMS and LMS's negative attitudes towards sexual practices were exacerbated by their lack of understanding of Lozi and Zambia cultures underpinned by the British Victoria moral norms. Thus the above factors aided in the erosion of the Lozi and Bemba indigenous cultures and indigenous education in Barotseland and Bembaland.

Westheimer (1995:171) points out that this problem was not unique to Africa but was also experienced in South Pacific. Westheimer illustrates the point by explaining that missional negative attitude to their moral behaviour regarding sexual preferences in the following way:

> South Pacific folk didn't limit themselves to one sexual position, and . . . colonial missionaries . . . were shocked by this 'sinful' behaviour. . . . Missionaries . . . advocated the use of the male-superior position.

This example demonstrates the influence of the forms of colonial Christianity that shared a similar missional theology owing to its origin in the Global North. It could be argued that this missional theology was underpinned by British Victorian conservative moral norms and cultural values that had no foundation in the Bible. The study argues that the missional enterprise drove this negative attitude towards indigenous cultures with a missional message that originates from the 16th century rationality worldview and found its expression in missional enterprise and colonialism. Accordingly, the missional enterprise silenced indigenous cultures and moral norms because they were perceived as unchristian and evil. This was the worldview imbibed by the forms of colonial Christianity in their missional evangelisation.

Partridge (1984) notes that the perceived peaked under Litunga Lewanika in the 19th century. This to other sexual positions that were considered sinful and pagan. The study argues that the sinfulness and paganism of the above sexual preferences were not an act but the position of that sexual act. In the missional message and worldview of the forms of colonial Christianity, it was

the sexual position that was wrong because it was contrary to British Victorian moral norms and sexual values and thus regarded as sinful and pagan. Priest (2001) points out that the supposed immorality of a non-missionary position was of a woman being in any position superior to that of a man. Priest further points out that missionaries taught the 'male above' sexual position was an indicator of God's order, God, Man, and Woman, hierarchically in that ranking order and position. In Bembaland, where matriarchy was celebrated, the patriarchal worldview became a place of contestation. The question to ask is, is it God's order, or is it patriarchal order? Who determines sexual preferences? Is a missionary sexual position holier than a non-missionary sexual position?

Wells (1997) notes that missionaries believed that the missionary position was the only one God endorsed and that the others were too exciting and likely to send you to hell, as most exciting things do. Accordingly, it was believed that the sexual position where a man is on top symbolises male dominance over a woman. The study adds the aforementioned the forms of colonial Christianity attitudes to missionary position sexual preference engendered a masculinity culture of woman domination entrenched and observable in contemporary Western and Northern Provinces in Zambia. Women still wrestle with the issue of misogyny and equal opportunities in places of work.

In contrast to the forms of colonial Christianity's ethics on sexual norms dictated by the missional message, African ontology perceives morality as a moral imperative based on a contract entered by the whole community, not just an individual (Setiloane, 1998). The research notes that the African communal morality underpinned by relative ontology informed moral and cultural norms practised in Lozi and Bemba cultures. It could be argued that communal harmony is greater than individual interests and preferences. Setiloane asserts that the success of life is found in the ability to maintain a healthy relationship with all. Setiloane (1998b:79*)* further expands this view by pointing out that community includes all life, including humans, animals, the habitat (the land), flora, and even the elements. According to Setiloane the term community in an African context like Lozi and Bemba incorporates the totality of all living things. In other words, an individual's meaningful existence is only possible if one maintains harmony with one's community and every living creature. For Lozi and Bemba, harmony with the community and nature was integral to their cultures. It could be argued that the arrival of colonial Christianity with colonialism destabilised the community's harmony and eroded their cultures.

Similarly to Setiloane's (1998) rejection of individualism (I think therefore I am), Bujo (2003) adds to the individualist idea and argues that the individual has obtained the ability to act responsibly merely by assenting to rational principles. According to Bujo (2003), individualism was the rational foundation of the ethical imperative. About Cartesian cogito ergo sum, Bujo (2003:22) formulates; *cognatus sum, ergo sumus* ("I am related. Therefore we are") to emphasise the difference in African ontology and missional ontology to highlight morality that relates directly to communal embeddedness and societal bearing. It could be argued that the African belief in, I am therefore we are, is underpinned by a relative ontology theoretical framework.

Magesa (1997) argues that the coming of [the forms of colonial Christianity] Christianity to Africa eroded most of its religious traditions such as indigenous marriages, education, worship and liturgy. Magesa further argues that the erosion of African religions created an environment in which many Africans converted to [the form of colonial Christianity] Christianity. Brown (1972) notes how missionaries celebrated the growth of the forms of colonial Christianity at the expense of the destruction of paganism in Africa. The study holds that the indifference to the destruction of the Lozi and Bemba cultures demonstrates negative influences of PEMS and LMS underpinned by modernity/coloniality worldview. Coloniality is a dark side of modernity that has always been destructive in its implementation of modernity. This was the case with the missional enterprise in Barotseland and Bembaland. In addition, the study contends that this destruction of the Lozi and Bemba cultures paved the way for the Christianisation and colonialism of the Barotseland and Bembaland. For instance, the effects of the influence of the forms of colonial Christianity among the Lozi and Bemba people find its expression in modern Pentecostal churches. For example, Ngosa (2014:192) points out how Pentecostal women have selected aspects of the *imbusa* teaching that they have removed because *"there is a tradition that is purely demonic, there is a tradition that is outdated and tradition that aligns with the word of God"* within *imbusa*. Kaunda (20,16) commenting on Ngosa (2014) notes that Pentecostal women have redefined imbusa to suit their context. However, this study departs from Kaunda (2016) and argues that the redefinition of imbusa by the Pentecostal women is due to the influence of missional theology that owes its origin to modernity/coloniality rationality. The study further contends that there is nothing demonic about imbusa cultural practice among the Bemba; it is a matter of a belief system.

The study argues that colonialism in tandem with missional enterprise, a consequence of the Berlin conference in 1878 hindered the pace of Lozi and Bemba's cultural evolution and civilisation. For instance, in the area of relationships and respect Lynette Schumaker (1996: 240) explains,

> Ruled by the British South African Company (BSAC) in the twentieth century, Northern Rhodesia gained an administrative and technological infrastructure built mainly to extract and export minerals and other products, including African labour for the more highly developed industrial areas in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. White settlers, both on farms and in the mining towns of the country's Copperbelt, brought with them distinctively southern African forms of segregation master-servant relationships on farms and in the domestic sphere, and an industrial colour bar and city planning style that allotted racially defined groups to segregated areas and occupations. These relationships followed British colonial patterns established earlier in India, and Afrikaner patterns established in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia.

Given the above, the Christianisation of Barotseland and Bembaland, underpinned by the modernity/coloniality matrix distorted human relations and resultantly hindered progress in its civilisation. According to Arowolo (2010), the traditional way of life paved the way for the forms of colonial Christianity's way of life. This is why missional culture was regarded as a frontline in civilising indigenous cultures within the context of colonialism. It made the indigenous Africans accept that missional culture was superior to theirs in education, central government systems, marriages, liturgy, moral norms, food and dress.

The influence of the forms of colonial Christianity was not limited to Lozi and Bemba cultures as alluded to above but extended into African Traditional Religion (ATR). In other words, religion in Barotseland and Bembaland was not exempted from the effects of the modernity/coloniality worldview. Mbiti (1975) on ATR laments that [colonial] Christian evangelism disturbed ritual practices such as making sacrifices and offerings. Mbiti (1970) further contends that religion to an African is an ontological phenomenon that pertains to the question of existence and being. It could be argued that what was destroyed in indigenous ritualistic religion was their ritual practices and their personhood of what it means to be Lozi or Bemba. The Lozi and Bemba religion is their culture, and eroding their religion erodes their way of life distorting their personhood. To this end, the study posits that distortion of their

personhood impaired their knowledge of the world and punctured the trajectory of their civilisation.

Stevens (1997) concurs with Mbiti (1970) that the evangelisation of [the forms of colonial] Christianity led to the erosion of traditional rituals in many African societies. What happened in other African communities happened in Barotseland and Bembaland. This study contends that some indigenous ritual practices were eroded or silenced because they lacked validation from PEMS and LMS. The question is, who gave these missional societies the right to validate other people's cultures? PEMS and LMS perceived indigenous as unscientific and irrational because they could not align themselves with missional knowledge that was considered scientific. This is why Fanon (2008) laments that those who witnessed the colonial situation were plunged into never-ending-agony. Using Fanon's analogy, it becomes clear that the PEMS and LMS viewed themselves as the civilising agents of missional theology/message that imposed their cultures on the Lozi and Bemba cultures resulting in the detriment of their personhood and civilisation. Mander and Tauli-Corpuz (2006:81-83) explain the impact of the forms of colonial Christianity on African cultures as follows:

> Christianity failed to understand that indigenous rituals, worldviews, belief systems and stories affirm a distinct ontology that points to a distinct set of relations to nature, social and cultural norms.

This is why coloniality as the consequent of modernity garbed in Christianisation should be understood, according to Maldonado-Torres (2007), as radicalisation and naturalisation of indigenous cultural practices, worldviews and moral norms. For Maldonado-Torres (2007), coloniality is an order of things that put indigenous people under the perpetual control of the colonialists. Following this, Lozi and Bemba people are influenced by the forms of colonial education, moral norms and their use of missional liturgy in their worship.

The author argues that the erosion of the Lozi and Bemba cultures went hand in glove with the destruction of the indigenous personhood that hindered their development. As Mbiti (1970) asserts above, to destroy African religion is to kill one's personhood and to destroy one's personhood is to destroy one's identity and way of life (culture) and thus one's community. However, on a positive note and to a certain degree, the killing of twins or considering childless marriages as a curse are no longer upheld by most Africans due to the influence of missional

messages (Hopfe, 2012) cited in Chuulu (2015). This way of life positively influences the forms of colonial Christianity reflected in contemporary Zambia. The key research question attempts to tease out the positive and negative influences of the forms of colonial Christianity on Zambian cultures, with particular reference to the Lozi and Bemba cultures. It could be contended that Christianity should be in the business of liberation and transformation (Britton, 2004). Missional activities of the churches in Western and Northern provinces should embrace and celebrate the Lozi and Bemba cultural norms and practices that are not harmful. Furthermore, by using the decoloniality lens or [*demissionality lens*], this study contends that the PEMS and LMS cultures aligned to the Bible's message should be adopted to create a new culture hybrid culture that is inclusive, not exclusive. One may ask, what becomes of the decoloniality of the Lozi and Bemba cultures in the context of contemporary Zambia?

2.14 Conclusion

This chapter presented the Lozi and Bemba cultures within the literature in the context of answering the research questions and achieving the study's objectives. It showed a litany of different cultural practices between the Lozi and the Bemba underpinned by their worldviews. Thus, for the research question and its objectives, the chapter discussed the Lozi culture consisting of religion, Litunga, Kuomboka and Sikenge rite of passage for girls. It was established that although these cultural practices are still being observed and celebrated, they have undergone evolution through adaptation to help them survive the effects of forms of colonial Christianity and colonisation.

In keeping with the research question, the chapter examined the Bemba and Lozi cultures and their cultural practices and norms, such as sexual cleansing, *ichisungu*, *imbusa*, child brides, and religion. For instance, it is established in the discussion elsewhere in the chapter that the practice of *ichisungu* and *imbusa* have also undergone modification on a practical and administrative level seen at Girl's Boarding School at Mbereshi and some Pentecostal Churches on the Copperbelt. The argument was that culture is not static but a dynamic phenomenon that allows for change through diffusion. The chapter also focused on child marriages and highlighted hotspots to demonstrate that the practice continues due to family poverty and irreconcilable customary and legal laws in contemporary Zambia. Lastly, the chapter discussed factors that led to the erosion of the Lozi and Bemba cultures through forms of colonial

Christianity in collaboration with colonialism. The following chapter presents the study's methodology that underpins the research question and the study's objectives.

Chapter Three
Methodology of the Study

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter positioned the Lozi and Bemba cultures within the literature. This chapter presents the methodology that guides the study. In this chapter, the focus is given on research methods, data collection and analysis. This study used desktop and archival research methods to solicit data. The chapter also discusses the methodology adopted for the study to achieve the main objectives of the study. It concludes by discussing how methodology communicates with the theory.

3.2 The Qualitative Research Method

This research study is a non-empirical research method that applies qualitative research methods to interrogate the phenomenon of PEMS and LMS' influence on Lozi and Bemba cultures. Creswell (2013) defines qualitative research as investigating and comprehending the meaning of people's or groups' credit to social or human issues. The qualitative research method, as Hancock (1998:2), explains, "Is concerned with developing explanations of social phenomena. That is to say, it aims to help us to understand the world in which we live and why things are the way they are". In the qualitative research method, "subjective experiences and meanings" of a social phenomenon play a crucial role (Strydom and Bezuidenhout 2016:172).

Denzin and Lincoln (2003) and Punch (1998) describe qualitative research as an approach, not a particular design or set of techniques. Lapan, Quartaroli, and Riemer (2011) state that qualitative research is an approach that enables researchers to explore in detail social and organisational characteristics and individual behaviours and meanings. This study employed a qualitative research approach using archives and desktops as research instruments. A qualitative method was utilised because the procedures are formalised and explicated in a relaxed manner and enable the researcher to explore, interrogate and comprehend the phenomena such as culture regarding the Lozi and Bemba cultures and PEMS and LMS using relative ontology and coloniality.

Wakefield and Fleming (2009: 64) state that a qualitative research method attempts to form a comprehensive concept of social conditions. Leavy (2013) states that researchers utilise this method to investigate, intensely explore and learn about social marvels; to unload the implications of individuals' credit to activities, circumstances, and occasions, to construct a

profundity of understanding around a few measurements of social life for example, Lozi and Bemba cultures (way of life). Leavy (2013) further asserts that the standards underpinning qualitative research incorporate the significance of people's subjective encounters and meaning-making forms and securing a depth of understanding. This research approach has, however, been criticised by some who state that its validity and reliability are questionable as different viewers observing the same phenomena will only sometimes come to the same results (Punch, 2005). Qualitative research may be located in one of three paradigms, positivism, interpretivism and critical analysis.

3.3 Discourse- Historical Approach

Wodak (2002:65) developed a discourse historical approach (DHA) out of this need after researching one such complex discursive discourse, believing in the tenet that research "in critical discourse analysis (CDA) must be multi-theoretical and multi methodical, critical and self-reflective". To minimise "the risk of being biased" (Wodak, 2002:66), DHA has one distinguishing feature, i.e. to incorporate other methods and approaches available to CDA, together with the "basis of a variety of empirical data as well as background information." Hence, DHA integrates all the avenues for research with vast empirical data and multiple sources of background information in the fields of historical, sociological and political to ensure that the discursive event under examination is dealt with as comprehensively as possible because the context of the said event has significant importance to the deductions of the findings. This study, thus, uses DHA to interrogate the influence of PEMS and LMS on Lozi and Bemba ethnic groups because this phenomenon happened in geographical space and time. PEMS and LMS are socio-historical phenomena with religious and cultural perspectives.

The justification for using DHA in this research is as follows: First, central to this particular approach is the historical context of the discursive discourse. The second is, that historical discourse always involves power and ideologies. Wodak and Ludwig (1999:12) argue that no interaction exists where power relations do not prevail and where values and norms do not have a relevant role. Third, the historical discourse is always recorded, that is, it is connected synchronically and diachronically with other communicative events which are happening at the same time or which have happened before (Wodak and Ludwig, 1999:12). Therefore, the correct interpretation does not exist. However, a hermeneutic approach is necessary. Interpretations can be more or less plausible or adequate, but they cannot be true (Wodak and Ludwig, 1999:13).

The above reasons demonstrate why the research used DHA because historical events are a complex phenomenon whose interpretations create scholarly debates. This is more so due to the emergence of decolonial theory within postcolonial studies in Africa and other parts of the formerly colonised world. Missionary activities in Africa during the 19th century left a negative legacy on African people and their cultures that demands investigating, hence DHA plays an integral part in the decoloniality project.

3.4 Phenomenological Approach

The research used a phenomenological approach. Robson and McCartan (2011:165) state that the approach focuses on understanding how humans view themselves and the world around them. This approach is adopted in analysing data on the lived experiences of Lozi and Bemba during the evangelisation process of the PEMS and LMS in Barotseland and Bembaland. It allows for indigenous religious systems to be understood on their terms. According to McKenzie, cited in Chitando (2005:307), the approach emphasises getting as close as possible to the believers themselves, categorising religious phenomena and recognising the integrity of African Traditional Religions as enduring values. It is vital to point out that the approach is against the dominance of Christianity and missionaries as the method to liberate the indigenous religious knowledge systems.

The phenomenological approach enables using archival material from PEMS and LMS to eliminate bias and bracket out value judgements. The research hopes to capture "the ways the world of the Lozi and Bemba worshippers presented itself" without modernity bias. The scholars of the phenomenological approach, such as Cox and McKenzie (2002:110), cited in Chitando (2005:308), maintain that despite colonial Christianity's condemnation of religious features, sacred symbols and sacred persons and, sacred actions found in African indigenous religions expressed in their cultures should be at par with colonial Christianity. This is why Cox (1998) argues that African religious systems should be religions of humanity. Cox (1998) further emphasises the need to expunge the theological interpretations of African ontology and for African scholars to embrace hermeneutical phenomenology. From Cox's clarion call, the research uses a phenomenological approach to examine the phenomenon of colonial Christianity's influence on Lozi and Bemba's religio-cultural practices. In this way, the approach allows the study to view reality from the participant's point of view, thus performing empathetic interpolation.

3.5 Research Paradigm

Kuhn (1970) is famous for being the first researcher to use paradigms in the context of a framework to understand inquiry. Kuhn sees paradigms as established rules and techniques discovered by a scientific community that help identify and illuminate a problem, give some reasonable direction to solve it and provide results and justifications acceptable to the scientific community for further reference. Guba and Lincoln (1994:107) define a paradigm as a set of basic beliefs (or metaphysics) that deals with ultimates or first principles. Sunders and Thornhill (2018) state that a paradigm is concerned with socially investigating phenomena from which a specific understanding could be expanded.

According to Saunders, Lewis, and Thornhill (2016), a paradigm is a repeatedly used term in the social sciences but can lead to misunderstanding because it tends to have several connotations. The authors add that paradigm is concerned with the approach of socially investigating phenomena from which a specific understanding can be expanded upon. These particular forms of colonial Christianity were introduced in Zambia by PEMS, LMS, Livingstonia Mission (LM) and Plymouth Brethren Mission (PBM) among others. Saunders and Thornhill (2016) define a paradigm as a structure or a set of suppositions and ideas that provides a pathway to see what the world looks like when its scientific aspect is related to its assumptions. Neuman (2011) adds that paradigm provides questions and puzzles to be revealed and interpreted and indicates the research methods to be used. Patton (1990) argues that it is a view or perception regarding the complex phenomenon of the real world, such as ontology and coloniality.

3.5.1 Interpretive and Explanatory paradigms

The study used an interpretive and explanatory research design. Interpretivism was adopted as the philosophical paradigm for the study because it is linked to the ontological position of constructivism. It prioritises subjective understandings and interpretation of social phenomena and is often coupled with a qualitative approach to research (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2018). In this instance, the researcher can explore the social world from the respondents' point of view and reflect on their subjective interpretations through the interpretivist approach (Saldanha & O'Brien, 2013:11-12). Here the social world refers to PEMS and LMS underpinned by relative ontology and coloniality that is subjective interpretations through

interpretivism approach such as cultural practices, rituals, ceremonies such as Sikenge mong the Lozi and Ichisungu among the Bemba.

The interpretivism paradigm is concerned with more than just descriptions of experiences but involves the in-depth exploration of "how subjects make sense of their significant life experiences" (Houston & Mullan-Jensen, 2011:268). Therefore, the interpretivism paradigm was selected to understand the subjective world of human experience. Interpretivism is based on a life-world ontology that argues that observation is both theory and value-laden and investigation of the social world is not, and cannot be, the pursuit of a detached objective truth (Golafshani, 2018:123). The viewpoint of the interpretivism paradigm is that our knowledge of reality is a social construction by human actors. In this study, the human actors are missionaries of PEMS and LMS who came out of the context of colonial Europe that collaborated with colonisers. The study is concerned with the forms of colonial Christianity as human actors who were actively or passively part and parcel of evangelism and Christianisation projects that expunged the idea of binary and categorisations of people based on race, inferiority, and superiority, among others.

The interpretivism paradigm helps the study to investigate and interrogate PEMS and LMS influence on Lozi and Bemba cultures underpinned by relative ontology and coloniality. Tobin & Begley (2004) claim that interpretivism seeks to account for the researcher within the research by enhancing credibility processes by transparently delineating the process of meaning construction. The interpretive research paradigm is characterised by a need to understand the world from a subjective point of view and seeks an explanation within the participant's frame of reference rather than the objective observer of the action (Silverman 2016:103).

The research is concerned with lived experiences and therefore requires a focus on subjective reflection and personal perspectives (Reid, Flowers & Larkin, 2005). According to Houston and Mullan-Jensen (2011), the interpretivism paradigm is underpinned by two theoretical traditions: hermeneutics and phenomenology, where hermeneutics is concerned with action and interpretation while understanding the intention of meaning. Houston and Mullan-Jensen (2011:269) state that hermeneutics [interpretivism] tries to understand the connections between "the context of action and its interpretation". The interpretivism paradigm was adopted for this research as it does not merely describe a phenomenon but also attempts to understand its meaning (Mottier, 2005).

In this study, the researcher used the relative ontology and coloniality theoretical frameworks in interpreting and explaining the texts from archives and desktop sources. Interpretivism was well-suited for exploring hidden reasons behind the complex African ontologies such as different interpretations of personhood, cosmologies and indigenous knowledge systems (Silverman, 2016:123). Tobin & Begley (2004) state that interpretivism seeks to explicitly account for the researcher within the research, by enhancing credibility processes by transparently delineating the process of meaning construction. Kynigos (2012) asserts that meanings are naturally generated in our social, intellectual and physical environment. Bada (2015) asserts that human learning is constructed and built on new knowledge based on previous understanding.

3.5.2 The epistemology and axiology in the research paradigms

The study used epistemology and axiology as they are significant differences and can influence the researcher's thoughts about research methodology. First, epistemology is the researcher's view regarding what constitutes adequate knowledge. Second, axiology is the researcher's view of the role of values in research. Hence, the study adopted a discourse analysis of the method as expounded by Descartes (2008), who developed a method for a free enquiry underpinned by his scepticism. Nicholas and Williams (1980:ix) define scepticism as a critical philosophical attitude that questions the reliability of a knowledge claim made. In his search for knowledge and what exists, Descartes stuck to four methodological rules strictly:

> To accept nothing for true, which is not known to be such, that is not presented to the mind so clearly and distinctly as to exclude all doubt.
>
> To divide every difficulty under examination into as many parts as possible and as might be required for its adequate solution.
>
> To conduct one's thought in an orderly manner, to begin with objects, the simplest and easiest to understand and ascend from them, step by step, to the knowledge of the more and more complex things. Assigning in thought a particular order over to those things which, in their nature, do not seem to stand about one another.
>
> To make enumerations to complete and review as comprehensive as to be assured that everything has been included.

The study also adhered to the initial doubt in Descartes (2008), whose sense of perception and imagination 'search for truth' is the central theme of his methodological theory. Likewise, the

study accepts the methodological rules for a free enquiry and validity of reason that pursues alternative knowledge instead of new knowledge that moves alongside modernity's other knowledge (indigenous knowledge systems and Subalterns knowledge systems) and their episteme and modes of being in the world. Hence, the study examined the text from the collected data using the lens of relative ontology and coloniality theoretical frameworks.

The study initially questioned all data collected, mainly historical data, which in many instances is loaded with racial bias and undermining overtones of indigenous ontology and Lozi and Bemba cultures. This allowed for rigorous testing of data collected to arrive like Descartes at some authentic knowledge of the nature and state of cultures in colonial and post-colonial Barotseland and Bembaland in Zambia. Murdock (1988: 161) informs us that Descartes used the Cartesian method which doubted whatever (ontology) was out there but sought the truth (epistemology) within the matrix of modernity and rationality. Hence, the study adopted the Cartesian sense of scepticism to interrogate historical data within the modernity/coloniality matrix. This was done to eliminate the researcher's beliefs and, like Descartes, questioned the study's modern/colonial scientific foundation and possible knowledge alternatives. However, it could be argued that research is value bound; the researcher is part of what is being researched, cannot be separated and so will be subjective**.** This is why the study interrogates the forms of colonial Christianity and its missional archival data to show how coloniality underpinned their knowledge of the Lozi and Bemba ethnical groups.

3.6 Data Collection Methods

3.6.1 Archival Research Method

Since the study is socio-historical, it uses archival research and desktop research methods which become the research instruments for the study. The research data was obtained from the Zambia National Archive online library, the British National Archive online library The School of African and Oriental Studies (SOAS) online library and the SOAS library. The copies of the archival text analysed ranged first, the letters of David Livingstone to his friends and London Missionary Society (LMS) in connection with his work as an LMS missionary in Southern Africa, containing letters, reports and journals in boxes 1 and 2. Second, the main body of original letters, mainly correspondence from David Livingstone to Robert Moffat (His Father in Law) containing letters, reports and journals rearranged to become Council for World Mission/London Missionary Society (CWM/LMS) Africa Odds Livingstone, in Boxes 1-2.

Third, the archive texts analysed were incoming/outgoing correspondences Central Africa (1915-1925) containing letters, reports and journals relating to Mbereshi Mission and other Missions in North-Eastern Rhodesia (Bembaland) in Boxes 16-18.

The study identified the archives of the London Mission Society located at the School of African and Oriental Studies (SOAS) library in London, Zambia National Archive online library, and the British National Archive online library, British Library in London and as well as National archives on the church in Lusaka, Zambia. Due to the lockdown restrictions on travelling, the study derived its archival data from the Online Zambia National Archives. The reason to investigate forms of colonial Christianity was that it situates itself in the colonial era underpinned by the modernity matrix before colonial Zambia gained its independence in 1964. The Council for World Mission/London Missionary Society (CWM/LMS) archival systems under the auspice of SOAS library contain all the information from former British colonies of which Zambia is part.

Kirsh & Rohan (2008) point out that archives provide historical and current narrative forms through access to old texts Bosi and Reiter (2015) assert that archives offer evidence of the past that is the PEMS and LMS in Zambia pre-1964. It is important to note that archives can turn a tale of research into lived processes that become intellectual and significant in a study (Sharer cited in Kirsch & Rohan, 2008). Wilder (cited in Kirsch & Rohan, 2008) argues that archives provide historical contexts for facing the subjects that research meets on a page in archives. Furthermore, archives are important in providing an in-depth insight into Lozi and Bemba's socio-history through analysis of often neglected people and how their stories disclose what conformist histories have concealed (Kirsh & Rohan, 2008). Likewise (Mohr & Ventresca, 2002) argue that archival methods involve studying historical documents from the distant past. Mohr and Ventresca (2002) further state that archive research incorporates various activities to investigate records and textual materials produced by and about organisations. The researcher believes the archival research methods were suitable for this study because the study sought to interrogate the influences of PEMS and LMS as forms of colonial Christianity on Lozi and Bemba cultures. It is important to note that archival data is readily available to the general public and can be accessed via an online booking system for example, SOAS. There is minimal university review; to some extent, the study can be exempted from being reviewed. This is because when archives are created, they are in the public domain, and access to the repository of materials is easy.

3.6.2 Desktop Research Method

In addition to archival research methods, the study also adopted desktop research methods. Desktop research collects secondary data from sources on the internet, libraries, associations, government agencies, published reports, books, journal papers and conference papers. Other data were solicited from literature from books, journal papers and conference presentations. This means that all data were requested from secondary data. Secondary data are data that have already been collected (McMillan & Schumacher, 2010). Hence, the study is qualitative research. The study's data were collected from archival data, books, ethnographic studies, peer reviewed journal papers and newspaper articles to respond to the research question, namely, in what ways did/do PEMS and LMS influence Lozi and Bemba cultures?

There are reasons for choosing secondary data. According to McMillan and Schumacher (2010), secondary data saves time. This means the researcher does not spend time designing the study and collecting primary data. Another reason is that it is cost effective as the researcher can skip collecting primary data. Many secondary datasets from reputable organisations and university departments are freely available in electronic form. Downloading is much cheaper than photocopying, phone call charges and personal time.

It could be argued that data quality tends to have reliability and validity. Reputable data collection from organisations, for example, has the fiscal and human resources necessary to develop and test data and data from the literature (books and journals papers) in particular are already reliable in terms of their findings. McMillan and Schumacher (2010) state that datasets usually provide extensive samples which provide greater flexibility in examining identified subgroups. Another significant reason for choosing secondary data is that there is no need for ethical review and approval. Finally, the reason for choosing a desktop was due to the national lockdown restrictions that made data collection difficult.

3.7 Document Analysis

Data for the study was analysed through document analysis. This method was selected because the researcher had some ideas about the dominant themes that are a privilege in the data that will be collected. Fairclough (2000) notes that the basic premise of critical discourse analysis is shaped by social groupings, culture and social constructs and has the power to limit knowledge and beliefs.

The researcher divided the analysis into three components. First, the study analysed the text representing facts, cultural practices, beliefs and events' identity construction and interpretation. Second, it examined discursive practices such as the rules, social norms, behaviours, speech, social identities and hierarchies that maintain power, such as colonial missionaries and create responses to the text. Third, it analysed the broad social context. Discourse analysis is always based on a detailed analysis of data. According to Bowen (2009), discourse analysis is a form of qualitative research where documents are interpreted to give voice and meaning to assess the topic under study, PEMS and LMS influence on Lozi and Bemba cultures.

For this study, the discourse analysis entailed analysing the language used in the text. This type of discourse analysis emphasises the intertextuality of meanings and the relationship of genres and discourses in broader historical and social situations or processes (van Dijk & Teun, 2001). In this instance, the study traced the history of forms of colonial Christianity, PEMS and LMS and their influence on Lozi and Bemba cultures in contemporary Zambia. Data were coded according to the objectives and research questions including the themes that emerged from the data collected.

3.7.1 Data analysis

Szilvia (2013:14) defines data analysis as "inspecting, cleaning, transforming, and modelling data to highlight useful information, suggesting conclusions, and supporting decision-making. Various data analysis methods are used in research such as thematic analysis, discourse analysis, narrative analysis and content analysis (Saunders & Thornhill, 2016:159). Thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analysing and reporting themes that are situated within a set of data (Nowell, Norris, White & Moules, 2017:2). In this study, the themes that were analysed were missional education, theology and liturgy. Discourse analysis covers a variety of approaches that analyse the social effects of the use of languages that is colonial languages introduced by PEMS and LMS. It determines how discourse constructs social reality and social by creating meanings and perceptions. Discourse analysis involves studying textual sources or passages of naturally occurring talk. Central to the narrative analysis is the collection of analytical approaches that analyse different aspects that may be combined in practice depending on the research question and purpose and the nature of the data to be collected (Saunders & Thornhill, 2016:600). Finally, there is also content analysis that categorises qualitative data to analyse data qualitatively. It is a research technique for the objective,

systematic and applies a quantitative description of the manifest content of communications (Saunders & Thornhill, 2016:608).

Thematic analysis was utilised for the analysis of the data for the study. Thematic data was used since it was helpful in summarising key features of the extensive data set and assisted the researcher in taking a well-structured approach to handling data in an effort to produce precise and organised (Nowell et al., 2017:2).

3.8 Validity and Reliability

Validity means that the researchers check the accuracy of the research findings by applying specific procedures, while reliability indicates that the researcher's approach was consistent across different researchers and projects (Creswell, 2014:251). Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2011:48) state that validity allows the researcher to win the reader's confidence that the research was done correctly. As far as qualitative data is concerned, validity is regarded as critical because the study's objectives must be relevant to the researcher's investigation (Welman, Kruger & Mitchell, 2005).

Merriam and Tisdell (2016) state that research studies are thoroughly conducted to make conclusions and present correct data to the reader and other researchers. This is why the study adopted the archival research method to get to the source to collect the first data to provide the researcher with the correct information. Merriam and Tisdell (2016: 238) state that "validity and reliability are concerns that can be approached through careful attention to the study's conceptualisation and how data is collected, analysed and interpreted and how the findings are presented". This ensures that no data is accidentally lost. Mohajan (2017:71) describes validity as the truthfulness of findings and how researchers discuss the extent that results represent reality. Mohajan (2017:71) views validity as the extent to which an instrument measures what it asserts to measure. Validity means the "appropriateness" of the tools, processes and data (Silverman, 2016:123). The study used archival and desktop to collect data. Validity confirms whether the research question is valid for the desired outcome, the choice of methodology is appropriate for answering the research question, the design is valid for the methodology, the sampling and data analysis is correct and finally, the results and conclusions are valid for the sample and context (Mohajan, 2017: 71). Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2011: 48) state that validity gives the researcher an opportunity to win the reader's confidence on the research that the research was done correctly. As far as qualitative data is concerned, validity is regarded as

critical because the study's objectives must be relevant to the researcher's investigation (Welman, Kruger and Mitchell, 2005).

Reliability is referred to as the stability of findings and measures consistency, precision, repeatability, and trustworthiness of research (Mohajan, 2017:66). Reliability indicates the extent to which findings are not biased and that they ensure consistent measurement across time. This was done using archival and desktop research methods to collect data to aid consistency. Reliability refers to the exact replicability of the processes and the results, and the essence of reliability for qualitative research lies with consistency (Mohajan, 2017:66). To ensure validity and reliability the researcher double-checked the literature used to ascertain that what is captured was precisely what was being articulated. Since the data was sourced from peer reviewed papers, church and archival reports, the claims made validate the research study.

3.9 Conclusion

This chapter discussed a qualitative research approach as a non-empirical methodology was selected as it was best suited for this study. The phenomenological approach was utilised to explore, investigate, and learn about the social phenomenon to find meanings attributed to situations and events and thoroughly understand some dimensions of the research. The exploratory and interpretative paradigm was used to interrogate the data. The chapter recognised that diverse interpretations and meanings surround the term culture. It also discussed the processes used to collect, analyse, and interpret the collected data from archives and desktops. The following chapter discusses the theoretical frameworks that underpin the research.

Chapter Four

Theoretical Framework of the study

4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses two theories that underpin the study. The theories that inform the research are ontology and coloniality. The discussion pays particular attention to the models of ontology and coloniality in terms of how PEMS and LMS impacted the Lozi and Bemba cultures. The chapter is divided into two sections. The first section focuses on the ontology theoretical framework, and the second section discusses the coloniality framework that buttresses the research. Further discussion and consideration are given to various components that are vital in aiding the understanding and relevance of the study.

The study incorporates the ontology and coloniality theoretical frameworks underpinning PEMS and LMS's influences on the Lozi and Bemba cultures. Grant and Osanloo (2014) assert that a theoretical framework is a blueprint structure for the research study that supports the theory of study. Thus, the theoretical frameworks used as lenses that explain the influences of the PEMS and LMS on the Lozi and Bemba cultures are constructed and analysed. Sinclair (2007) and Fulton and Krainovich-Miller (2010) compare the role of the theoretical framework to that of a map or travel plan. Adom, Hussein and Agyem (2018) state that the theoretical framework guides the study so that it would not deviate from the confines of the accepted theories as it seeks to make its final contribution scholarly and academic.

Hence, the theories aid the study in finding an appropriate research approach, analytical tools and procedures for its research inquiry (Adom et al., 2018). Akintoye (2015) argues that theoretical frameworks make the study's findings more meaningful. This is because they provide direction for the research inquiry in the extension of knowledge (Adom et al., 2018).

Brodizio, Leemans and Solecki (2014) contend that a theoretical framework is a specific theory or theories about aspects of human endeavour that can be useful for studying the event. In this study, the phenomenon being interrogated is the PEMS and LMS influences on the Lozi and Bemba cultures. According to Grant and Osanloo (2014), the benefit of using a theoretical framework provides the structure that shows how the study defines the research philosophically, epistemologically, methodologically and analytically. Ravitch and Carl (2016) underscore that a theoretical framework assists researchers in situating and contextualising formal theories into their studies as a guide.

4.2 An analysis of ontology theory

Gray (2014:7) argues that absolute ontology, or ontology of being, sees reality as being composed of clearly formed entities with identifiable properties in contrast to the ontology of becoming or relative ontology views reality as formlessness, chaos, interpenetration and absence. Gray further argues that the ontology of being is associated with positivism and objectivism, while the ontology of becoming is associated is relativism and subjectivism. The critical scholars of absolute ontology are Descartes, Hegel and Kant. Simply put, absolute ontology as a product of colonial PEMS and LMS posits that reality is an absolute phenomenon that can be rationally analysed. Mignolo (2000) explains that positivism posits that specific knowledges, such as mathematics, biology and chemistry, are universal and must be understood universally because they are based on the modern/colonial European Renaissance of the 16th century.

Hinfelaar (1994) claims that an alternative African ontology in contrast to PEMS and LMS absolute ontology should be celebrated and taught in schools and universities. Hence, this study argues that ontology as a relativist approach, is inductive in approach/reasoning. It posits that the meaning of a phenomenon such as Christianity, culture, values, norms, liturgy and knowledge have multiple layers of interpretations. For example, Christianity is understood in different ways such as African Christianity, Colonial Christianity, Western Christianity, Eastern Christianity and American Christianity. Hyde (2000) states that inductive reasoning is underpinned by relative ontology, a theory-building process that starts with observations of specific instances and seeks to establish generalisations about the phenomenon under investigation.

In contrast, Collins (2010) argues that positivism comprises observable elements that interact in an observable, determined and regular manner. Positivism vis-à-vis absolute ontology provides a specific kind of knowledge that is objective knowledge that can be determined in regular or knowing knowledges that are now taught in Zambian schools under the modernity/coloniality project. Crowther and Lancaster (2008) argue that positivist studies usually adopt a deductive approach. Hyde (2000), Crowther and Lancaster (2008) state that deductive reasoning or approach is a theory testing process which commences with an established theory or generalisation and seeks to see if the theory applies to specific instances.

The study argues that absolute ontology based on objectivism and universality privileges a particular construction of knowledge, science, and history of religion understanding while

actively eroding indigenous knowledge systems via missional education. This is because the African ontology of Lozi and Bemba is the other knowledge that demands recognition alongside modernity. Hegel (1956) elucidated that the otherness of knowledge [African indigenous knowledge systems] is unhistorical, mythical, backward and superstition.

For instance, the creation myth by Lesa [God] buttresses Bemba's cosmology and worldview illustrated as follows:

In the beginning, there existed two genderless beings. Lesa gave one of them two parcels with an order not to open them, only attaching understanding and friendship. In these parcels were hidden feminine and masculine attributes of the Divine respectively. After some time, one of the parcels began to smell bad, so the being that carried it threw it away and decided to open the other. At once, it was endowed with Divine maleness and became *umwaume*. This new status caused a desire for the other being, who could not respond. Realising that the desire resulted from opening the parcel, the second being returned to Lesa, who bestowed on it Divine femaleness. This is how the beings were reduced into two sexes. Therefore, the quest to become whole (complete person) is through realising and acquiring the other (Hinfelaar, 1994:6-9).

For Hegel, the Bemba creation story is unhistorical and a myth, thus meaningless. This is because absolute ontology fails to recognise other knowledge systems that are not from the centre. However, Venkatesan (2008:2) explains that relative ontology as a theoretical framework acknowledges multiple realities and worldviews. For instance, it acknowledges the validity of both knowledge systems such as the African ontology and epistemologies of Lozi and Bemba, plus PEMS and LMS ontology and epistemologies. Blaikie (2007) underscores that the relativist ontological perspective assumes reality as constructed by the individual's interpretation of the phenomena. Gray (2014) concurs with Blaikie by pointing out that humans create their make but do not discover it. Bada (2015) adds that people constantly try to construct their realities of the world from their perceptions of that world such as the reality of witchcraft or the lack of it. Lincoln (2005) asserts that constructivism, as an epistemological approach is people's attempt to make sense of their social phenomena such as moral norms, values and practices via interpretation. This is illustrated in the words of Coillard (1899:5),

At first, the Lozi were a great help but lately, they have been rather a hindrance than a help. Out of six, one died, two have been suspended because of evil conduct and two are widowers. They have no self-respect and public opinion that helps to keep in the right way. They have no

power endurance and steadfastness possessed by the whites and we can thank God for his grace that has kept us.

The question is, doesn't the same grace of God keep the Lozi people? Is this grace of God a prerogative of the PEMS missionaries? It is clear from Coillard's comments that for the Lozi converts to be fully accepted and respected they had to live up to missional high moral norms which were very static and absolute. Oduro et al. (2008) argue that the missionaries came to Africa not to bring the Gospel message simply culture. Oduro et al. (2008) further argue that the missionaries believed their culture with its customs and values was can cultures but matchless in every way. It is the contention of this study that moral norms are not static but dynamic and relative. According to Bada (2015), human learning is constructed and built on new knowledge based on the foundation of previous learning which is people trying to make sense of their experiential existence. For instance, is PEMS and LMS culture moral and the Lozi and Bemba cultures immoral?

The research adopted relative ontology to interrogate the PEMS and LMS influences on Lozi and Bemba cultures. Relative ontology posits that concepts such as religion and culture as a way of life have no fixed meaning in contrast to positivism. According to Hoehler-Fatton, (1996:12), positivism denigrates indigenous cultures because 'missionaries of the 19th century came out of a context that assumed supremacy of civilisation and Christianity in a single breath.

It is vital to note that the issue was not colonial [pure] Christianity against impure indigenous religion and beliefs, but Christianity plus culture influenced by modernity/coloniality and indigenous African culture. The author argues that the significant difference between genuine elements of Christianity and culture was generally not understood by PEMS and LMS when they arrived in Barotseland and Bembaland. It is important to note that much of the Lozi and Bemba indigenous cultures and traditions such as polygamy and Bemba's cosmology were perceived as dangerous because they were perceived as devoid of the conception of classical God and were aligned with paganism and barbarism conception.

It is essential also to note that one of the many reasons why missional enterprise utilised the absolute ontology was because it was based on the Gospel Commission mandate. Hiebert (2009:81) notes that the missionaries' preaching also reflects the belief in the superiority of the white race. He states that missionaries taught that Africans were under the curse of Ham, and therefore unable to govern themselves. One would argue that the Gospel commission mandate propelled the European missionaries to embark on a global mission to Christianise indigenous people and their way of life

(culture). The study argues that PEMS and LMS did this by preaching the gospel to the unconverted via teaching them the 3Rs (Reading, Writing, Arithmetic) in mission schools and training them in colonial ways of life such as wearing suits and shirt and tie, eating with forks and knives underpinned by a missional culture of PEMS and LMS. This is further illustrated by Chirqwin (1939), who served as Secretary for Foreign Affairs for the LMS, noted the following after visiting mission stations in Zambia:

Clearly, education must fit the Africans for life in the village and it must be in a living way – that is it must be linked to the ordinary interests and activities of the people. It must not be bookish to advance them from their homes and their cattle. Rather it must get some skill into their fingers, some knowledge into their heads and some character into their make-up so that they will be able and eager to lead their fellows into a larger and more abundant life (Central Africa, LMS (CA/LMS) correspondence, 1939).

Hence, it could be inferred from Chirqwin (1939) above that education should not be bookish to advance them from their homes and cattle because Bemba belongs to a primitive way of life and worldview. The author argues that the forms of colonial Christianity were influenced by the Hegelian binary that held that Africans, like the Lozi and Bemba, have natural souls still unconscious with no feelings but aligned to the environments in which they habit (Hegel, 1956). Hansen (1989) claims that Blacks were considered primitive, raw natives who did not know what was good for them, whereas colonisers were civilised and responsible for their protection and uplift. Mbembe (2017:49) illustrates this point by saying that 'Africa' is the name given to societies judged as impotent and non-existent. He adds that these societies were perceived as led by flowing clowns, covered in fetishes and bird's feathers … and unashamed to seek out prostitutes even on Holy Friday. The aforementioned from Mbembe shows how missionaries demonstrated an inexcusable superiority attitude towards the Bemba people. Maldonado-Torres (2007), Mignolo (2000) and Grosfoguel (2006) concur with Mbembe that the enigma of blackness appears as the very radical starting point to think about the coloniality of being. Ontologically speaking, a new racial discourse of defining and classifying people – racially hierarchising them, and then colonising and ruling over, dominating and exploiting those deemed racially inferior emerged (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2015).

It is clear that the world's only accepted knowledge, being and culture is situated in the Global North-centric civilisation based on enlightenment rationality. Modernity/coloniality world systems are underpinned by Cartesian dualism ontology of being; therefore I am. The Cartesian

binary became the foundation of Latin Christendom based on the supremacy of knowing knwoledges. It could be argued that the indigenous Lozi and Bemba who could not read or write were categorised as natural souls, raw, primitive and backward, needing redemption brought by PEMS and LMS mission societies.

4.2.1 Relative Ontology in African Ontology

In contrast to Cartesian ontology and missional epistemology which is absolute and unchanging, the relative ontology underpinned by the phenomenological approach acknowledges that African indigenous religions and knowledge systems are worthy of the scholarship. Mbiti (1975) rejects the idea that African ontology lacked religion and deity. For example, Bemba's cosmological ontology was not devoid of religion and deity but rather as Maxwell (1983:20) explains, it consisted of the five basic characteristics: "(1) traditional, (2) communal, (3) anthropocentric, (4) vitally dynamic, and (5) cosmically holistic." Mbiti (1975) further posits that African ontology is evidently expressed in African organised religion and a notion of the Supreme Being before Christianity reached its shores. The Lozi and Bemba had their form of a supernatural deity, albeit epistemologically different from PEMS and LMS's conception of classical theism.

In addition, Mbiti (1975) argues that African ontology expressed in traditional religions has the notion of a Personal God known and worshipped under various names indicating his attributes. Kaunda (2019) states that the Bemba and the Lozi concept of Lesa seek to strike an intricate balance between femininity and masculinity. For the Bemba, God (Lesa) is conceived as complete, possessing both a male and a female model of being. In other words, God (Lesa) is immutably and radically reconciled within Mayo and Tata (Mother-Father; Female-Male) – the intricately balanced one. Kaunda (2010) adds that the notion of God (Lesa) means the ground of a life-giving relationship, of all mutuality, an awesome existence.

Mbiti (1975) argues that religion is, to the Africans, an ontological phenomenon that pertains to the question of existence or the essence of the being. This essence of the being is also understood as the person. For example, the concept of the person in Bemba ontology is connected to the outstanding characteristics of a particular body area or body part, which comprises three elements: first, the seat of emotions; second, the faculty of intellectual processes; and third, the sole reference to personality (Macola, 2000). In addition, Willoughby (1924) points out that the kind of soul a person possesses reflects one's behaviour in public life

within the community. Mbiti's (1975) communitarian view, which Tempels (1959) supports, is acknowledged by Kagame (1989), who notes that a person is part of the larger community of which he is part, to live is to be caught up in a religious drama. This study adds that it is a religious drama because religion expresses the culture, and Lozi and Bemba cultures are integral to indigenous religion. Lozi and Bemba cultures are interwoven within indigenous religion. In contrast to the PEMS and LMS view of indigenous Lozi and Bemba people, Mbiti (1975) and Menkiti (2004) contend that Africans have their religious ontology that must be penetrated to understand. While writing about the Lozi Coillard (1899:7) says,

Any missionary has never visited these people therefore, they are without God and hope in the world.

According to Coillard, the religion that is Christianity is directly linked to the forms of colonial Christianity. The Lozi are without God because the PEMS to which Coillard belonged had not evangelised the Lozi. This study adds that Christianity is synonymous with the missional enterprise from the Global North, which was perceived as the centre of Christianity, Civilisation and Commerce.

In his book, 'Introduction to African Religion' Mbiti (1975:185 bemoans that within African ontology, there is a dilemma of what constitutes an African Christian identity, Although attempts are made to give Christianity an African identity/character, its colonial form is in many ways foreign to African people. The foreignness is a drawback because it means that Christianity is kept on the surface and is not free to deepen its influence in all areas of African life and culture. This study adds that the foreignness of Christianity is what the research calls coloniality. It is the lingering structure or influence of the forms of colonial Christianity that Christianity imbibes in contemporary Zambia in moral norms, education and liturgy. It is this foreignness of forms of colonial Christianity that the Lozi and Bemba seek decoloniality. Bediako (1992:252) concurs with Mbiti by critically highlighting the dilemma that faced an African in colonialism in his Theology and African Identity by saying that:

Unfortunately, the quest for an African Christian identity in terms which are meaningful to African integrity and also adequate for Christian confession should become so pervasively bedevilled by the missionary that was instrumental in bringing African Christianity into being, no less than by consequences of the melancholy history of African contact with Christianity.

It is clear that Mbiti (1975) and Bediako (1992) raise a fundamental issue of identity regarding being African and Black, where Africaness and Blackness seemed an affront during

colonialism. The questions to pose here are; is it possible to be Bemba and Lozi and ascribe to forms of colonial Christianity? What is the nature of Lozi and Bemba's person?

Matolino (2011) points out that the debates on African ontology are complete with understanding the concept of the person. Personhood is the central locus in African religion and ontology (Matolino, 2011). Musana (2018) points out that there is homogeneity as far as African culture is concerned, language is part of the culture, and different terms that define personhood have inherent values that defy common parlance and straddle community limits. Kaphagawani (1998) identified three African schools of thought underpinned by a relative ontology that tries to resolve the conundrum of what constitutes person or vis-à-vis person ontology.

The first view Kaphagawani identified is what he calls Tempels' (1959:66) 'force' view. Tempels' first view states that the *'living muntu'* is a being in relationship to God, people and other living things. According to Tempels (1959:40), there is an "interaction of being with being" that transcends the "mechanical, chemical and psychological interactions" that mark the interaction of forces as an ontological relationship. It can be argued from Tempels' metaphysical view of force that the Lozi and Bemba indigenous people have always been in a relationship with God as the living *muntu*. Muntu cannot exist without an awareness of God. According to Tempels (1959), to be *umuntu,* a person is to be a Being. Tempels explains that when the term being is translated into colonial language, it is synonymous with 'person'. However, it is essential to note that the term Bantu could be understood in two ways. First, it refers to the plural term for *umuntu*. Second, it refers to a tribe of people in the southern hemisphere. It can be argued that Tempels does not explain the sense in which he is using the term either the latter or the former, but either usage of the term does not impinge on his theory.

Tempels (1959:30-31) further defines *umuntu* as biological and metaphysical; biological refers to the physical body and metaphysical relates to intelligence and will (vital force). It is clear that in Tempels' view, the only two predicates that delineate personhood are intelligence and will. For *umuntu* to be a living essence, it must have the predicates mentioned above: intellect and will vis-a-vis vital force. To be umuntu is to have the force and integrity of our being. (Tempels, 1959:31). Tempels further states that umuntu should have intelligence and will because they enable *umuntu* to recognise God as the source of force, hierarchy, and ontological dependence.

Tempels further (1959) elucidates that the 'living muntu' is in a similar ontological relationship to his patrimony, his land, with all that produces and grows on his land. According to Tempels (1959:42), all beings, such as humans, animals, vegetation, and inanimate have vital force; however, umuntu is separate from the other forces because umuntu is endowed with intelligence and will. According to Tempels, there is an "interaction of being with being" that transcends the "mechanical, chemical and psychological interactions" that mark the interaction of forces as an ontological relationship (Tempels, 1959:40).

Tempels (1959:32) further states that "every illness, wound or disappointment, all suffering, depression, or fatigue, every injustice and every failure: all these are held to be, and are spoken of by the Bantu as, a diminution of vital force". That is any illness, wound or disappointment etc. does not have its vital power, and instead they result from some "external agent who weakens us through his greater force. It is only by fortifying our vital energy using magical recipes that we acquire resistance to malevolent external forces" (Tempels 1959:32). Tempels further explains that Christianity is the only consummation of the Bantu ideal (cited in Mudimbe, 1988: 14). It is clear that this is what makes the force concept communitarian as God endows all beings with force. However, Kagame (1966) disagrees with Tempels and argues that Rwandan Bantu ontology is divorced from colonial history. Mudimbe points out that Kagame uses an Aristotelian model to demonstrate Rwandan Bantu ontology that comprises criteriology, psychology, cosmology and ethics, a well-organised and systematic philosophy (Mudimbe 1998:15). Kagame (1966) is criticised by Shorter cited in Mudimbe (1988) bemoans Kagame's reliance on colonisers' philosophy to express the traditional thought of his people as a conceptual system.

Kaphagawani identified the second view as the communalist view with its leading proponents such as Mbiti (1970), Menkiti (1984) and Wiredu (1991). Wiredu et al. (1991) argue that personhood is not a static thing given at the moment of birth that is absolute ontology instead, it is a dynamic phenomenon [relative ontology], attained as one assimilates into a community. This view supports the idea that among Lozi and Bemba, a person's soul is subject to changes triggered by the countless experiences of everyday life; they are realised as temporal psychical dispositions and may either be positive or negative (Willoughby, 1924). Mbiti (1970) states that because of other people, the individual becomes conscious of his being, duties, privileges, and responsibilities towards himself and others. Mbiti (1970) further states that when the individual suffers, he does not suffer alone but with the corporate group and when he rejoices,

he does not rejoice alone with his relatives. The individual can only say, 'I am because we are, and since we are, therefore I am'. Mbiti departs from the individualistic modern/colonial conception of the person articulated by Rene Descartes as; 'I think therefore I am' *(cogito ergo sum)* to I am therefore I think. Menkiti (1984) concurs with Mbiti (1970) over ontological progression vis-a-vis the degrees of personhood. Menkiti further argues that a person becomes more of a person through moral growth acquired from his community. Menkiti (1984) adds that the transition from childhood into full personhood and beyond is best regarded as a journey from an "it" to an "it." "The so-called 'ontological progression' begins at birth with the child considered an "it"—essentially an individual without individuality, personality and name."

Matolino (2011) disagrees with Menkiti's ontological progression assertions and argues that a baby's name, at least in English, does not lend itself to evaluating whether it carries any moral weight. It is unusual to try to impute moral significance to the substitute "it" where the original name commanded no such judgement. In the same vein, Onwuanibe (1984:184) also views the traditional African of a person as more practical than theoretical and "based on the conviction that the metaphysical sphere is not abstractly divorced from concrete experience; for the physical and metaphysical are aspects of reality, and the transition from one to the other is natural."

Kaphagawani identified the third view, Kagame's (1989) shadow theory. It is important to note that Kagame does not name the shadow theory, but the term comes from Kaphagawani's (2004:339) interpretation of his work. Kagame's (1989) shadow theory locates itself in what it means to be *muntu* vis-a-vis personhood. According to Kagame (1989:39), *muntu* is "an integral part of a family group composed of its living and deceased members". For example, in African ontology, umupashi (spirit) is the being that retains and continues a person's personality after death. U*mupashi* is a person's "spiritual double" in this life and life after (Macola, 2000). Like Kagame's view, a person is an integral part of a family group among Lozi and Bemba. It is clear that *muntu* does not exist alone. Still *muntu* exists concerning the family and community Kagame (1989:35) notes that "MU=Muntu= a man", indicating the singular is the root element of the "BA=Bantu=men" which is the plural of *muntu.* According to Kagame (1989:35), *muntu* is "animated by a double vital principle: the shadow which he shares with the animal and the vital principle of intelligence". Shadow, the first principle, refers to the vital principle of animality; by this, he means that *muntu* is partly animal.

The second principle, according to Kagame, anchors the difference between *muntu* and other animals; this is the existence of intelligence (which is immortal) and the heart (Kagame,

1989:35). Tempels (1956) argues that the heart refers to *muntu's* unique personality that is memory, thought, spirit, sensations and conscience that makes *muntu* different from the next *muntu.* Kagame (1989:35) further adds that the "heart integrates all that the interior man is and harmonises his total behaviour". Musana (2018) concurs with Kagame and argues that the concept of the human being in African ontology is encapsulated in the thoughts (intelligence) and actions (will) of African people. The question to pose is; what happens to an individual with a challenged thinking capacity? Are they still considered a person?

Musana (2018) states that personhood vis-à-vis a person is culturally determined and may not be similar across communities but communicates similar values such as relationship, respect, honour, sacrifice, sharing and belonging. Musana further argues that personhood in African ontology involves how individuals observe and respond to cultural values, norms and beliefs. According to Musana, personhood is linked to community cultural and social norms. For example, in Bemba's ontology, a person's psyche is subject to changes triggered by the countless experiences of everyday life; they are realised as temporal psychical dispositions and may either be positive or negative (Willoughby, 1924). Bemba culture is underpinned by relative ontology, a person's psyche is characterised as *umutima* (heart) *usuma* (good, = beautiful, excellent), require *imibele usuma* (good, beautiful, admirable character traits), which come about through the involvement of *umupashi* (spirit) at the beginning of one's life (Macola, 2000). Macola further argues that *umupashi* is the being that retains and continues a person's personality after death. U*mupashi* is the spiritual double of a person in this life and the life after.

Mudimbe (1998:15) criticises Kagame's use of an Aristotelian model to demonstrate Rwandan Bantu ontology that comprises criteriology, psychology, cosmology and ethics, a well organised and systematic philosophy. Kagame's communitarian theory of shadow relies on the colonisers' philosophy to express the traditional thought of his people. According to Aristotle in De Anima (350 Before Christ [BC]) points out that there is a hierarchy of souls, namely nutritive soul (plants), perceptive soul (animals) and rational souls (humans) and are explained as follows:

Nutritive soul. All living things both grow and decay. "For they grow up and down and in all directions alike; they are continually nourished, and they stay alive as long as they can absorb nutrition" (Aristotle, 413a28). This is common to all forms of life.

Perceptive soul. All animals can perceive their environment through the sense of touch. (Aristotle, 413b1-3). If animals have perceptive parts, they also have the desire and the ability to move themselves (Aristotle, 414b2).

Rational soul. Human beings and "any thinking being with intellect (nous) is superior to a human being" who does not have intellect. (Aristotle, 414b19).

Hence, like Aristotle, Kagame (1987) has been criticised for claiming that human personhood differs from the rest of living beings because a human (umuntu) possesses intelligence and will. Thus, as Blaikie (2007) points out, the relativist ontology theoretical framework assumes reality as constructed by the individual interpretation of the phenomena. Gray (2014) concurs with Blaikie (2007) and asserts that human beings make their meaning, beliefs, values, social norms, and cosmologies yet to be discovered.

4.2.2 Coloniality Theory

Quijano (2000) defines coloniality as the concept that exposes the underlying logic of all colonial imperialisms. Quijano further argues that coloniality is a necessary component of modernity. Therefore, it cannot be ended if global imperial designs in politics, power, economics and religion continue in the name of modernity. Mignolo, Maldonado-Torres and Grosfoguel (2007) add that coloniality is constitutive of modernity; there is no modernity without coloniality.

Mignolo et al. (2007) contend that modernity' is a European narrative that hides its darker side, 'coloniality'.

In elucidating coloniality in Africa, Mignolo et al. (2007:41) invite the reader to imagine the world around 1500.

It was, briefly stated, a polycentric and non-capitalist world. There were several coexisting civilisations, some with long histories and others being formed around that time. In Africa, for example, the Oyo Kingdom (around what is today Nigeria), created by the Yoruba nation, was the most extensive Kingdom in West Africa encountered by colonial explorers. After Oyo, the second largest in Africa, the Benin Kingdom lasted from 1440 to 1897. What happened then in the sixteenth century that would transform the world order into the one we live in today? The advent of 'modernity' could be a simple and general answer, but... when, how, why and where? In the colonisation of space, modernity encounters its darker side, coloniality.

It is vital to note that modernity is a time-based concept that presuppositions that time is linear. Therefore, the modernity project is located in a particular time and space found in colonial Europe of the 16th century. It is crucial to note that modernity is the name for the historical process in which Europe began its progress toward world hegemony. Understanding human histories and knowing knowledges such as theology, ethics, sciences, Geography, and English have become global frameworks for understanding the world underpinned by the modernity/coloniality matrix. The study adds that coloniality investigates the underlying sense of politics, power, economics, culture, education, liturgy and religion in post-colonial societies. The study argues that the expansion of Europe and Christianity in seeking new frontiers of colonisation and Christianisation also meant the importation and development of new identities in the colonised worlds.

Modernity carries a darker side, coloniality" (Mignolo, 2005, xiii). For example, the darker side of modernity was that indigenous Zambians were often referred to in derogatory terms such as savages, natives, black and evil because they were perceived as the other. They were perceived as the other because they did not align with the colonial way of thinking and life. The European Renaissance was underpinned by Descartes's ontology of being based on *'cogito ergo sum'*; I think, therefore, I am championed by Hegel (1956) in the extraordinary interpretation of world history in the Philosophy of History. While theorising on the conceptual planes of the dichotomy between East and West, Hegel identifies four historical worlds.

Oriental, Greek, Roman and German. In each of these worlds, the progressive series of consciousness of spirit has its manifestation while the rest of civilisation looks on. Therefore, for Hegel (1956), any historical system should treat Africa as a land where consciousness has not yet reached the realisation of any objective existence.

In contrast to the African understanding of a person and personhood, the conceptualisation of a person and personhood takes a different trajectory based on Descartes's I think, therefore I am. Paul Leshota writes that missionaries, like many of their contemporaries, had accepted the myth that Africa was the 'Dark Continent'. The myth meant that Africans do not think and therefore Africans are non-beings. For instance, in the words of David Livingstone, I go to Africa to take Christianity, Civilisation and Commerce aligns himself with the prevailing myth that Africa was a Dark Continent needing salvation and civilisation. With the benefit of hindsight, we now know that Civilisation and Commerce implied the colonisation of Africa. It is from this perspective that the study regards both the Paris Evangelical Mission Society

(PEMS) and the London Missionary Society (LMS) as the expressions of *colonial* Christianity (which denotes a quality or type of attitude permeating in an expressed form of Christianity as Livingstone alluded above.

In this context, Quijano (2000) states that modernity/coloniality are the two pillars of colonial civilisations. The two pillars are supported by a complex and diverse knowledge structure: Christianity and its Theology and Secular Sciences and Philosophy. Nwauwa (2014) argues that Christianity was seen as a force of pacification that helped enable modernity/coloniality, colonisation, and the cultural assimilation of Zambians. According to Gifford (2012), missionaries facilitated the spread of colonial ideals, belief systems and culture while preaching the gospel. Gifford further argues that their actions prepared and weakened the traditional indigenous polities for increasing contact with colonisers. In addition, this study posits that PEMS and LMS came from a context of Europe underpinned by the absolute ontology, positivism and objectivism that universalises the Christian message/theology based on the enlightenment era.

A missional dominant epistemological tradition espoused by PEMS and LMS regards scientific methods as the genuine and universal means of knowledge acquisition. It ignores the indigenous knowledges of Lozi and Bemba. Neill (1990:250) explains that the inner vision to go overseas was enshrined in the words of the great commission as follows:

All authority in heaven and earth has been given to me. Therefore, go and make disciples of all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, and teaching them to obey everything I have commanded. And surely I am with you always, to the very end of the age' (New International Version (NIV), 1984: Matthew.28:18-20).

Therefore, as Thorne (1999:23) points out, many missionaries found intolerable the prospect that,

The large majority of the overwhelming number of immortal souls, each of which in value outweighs the world, will ... be irrevocably lost. This inner conviction propelled the missionaries to embark on the mission of Christianising indigenous people and culture by preaching the gospel and educating them in colonial ways of life of colonisers underpinned by modern/colonial worldview.

This study argues that as a by-product of PEMS and LMS missional enterprise, missional epistemology was underpinned by the ontology of universality and superiority in cultural norms and practices. The Lozi and Bemba cultural norms and practices were, at best, ignored and, at

worse, denigrated as barbaric. Mignolo (2000) explains that European epistemology came from a specific time in history in Renaissances. Quijano (2000) argues that the edifice that is European knowledge, such as Maths, Science and Philosophy, among others, is, in its turn, supported by specific institutions created in tandem with the system of knowledge: knowledge requires actors and institutions and actors and institutions conserve, expand, and change the system of knowledge but within the same matrix: the colonial matrix of power.

Hence, according to Quijano (2000), Grosfoguel, Mignolo and Maldonado-Torres (2002), the theory of coloniality refers to the darker side of modernity, to the horrifying imperial and colonial dimensions of the colonisers' so-called 'enlightenment and civilisation' projects launched during the 16th century. In addition, Grosfoguel et al. (2002) assert that coloniality refers to the racial categorisation of the newly colonised populations and the coercion of its labour resulting in the eradication of indigenous knowledges and the subjugation of any subsequent intellectual production by systematically devaluing both the black body and the black mind. Hence, Mignolo (2002) argues that coloniality is an economy of language that determines the meaning of subjectivity and who holds value and can reproduce it. Coloniality is the civilising and Christianising of the Lozi and Bemba indigenous people into the colonial model of African civilised Christianity. This is evidenced at LMS Mbereshi Girls Boarding school. Girls were taught the three Rs: Reading, Writing and Arithmetic and home craft, theology and a Christianised version of the initial ceremony (Shaw, 1925). Similarly, Annie H. Small (1914) excluded African compositions from her compilation of non-Western songs. It could be argued that excluding African compositions of non-Western Christian songs at Mbereshi Girl's Boarding School exemplifies the colonial missionary's perception of Bemba culture as inferior. Mbereshi Girls can only sing and play colonial missional songs.

In this study, modernity refers to PEMS and LMS and their influence on Lozi and Bemba culture, as highlighted above. In contrast, coloniality refers to the dark side of PEMS and LMS missionary activities in Christianising and Civilising Mbereshi students. For instance, Gray cited in (Roberts, 1990) tells of one missionary's derogatory description of a new indigenous Christian convert in colonial Zambia in the following terms:

He must 'live in a permanent upright house, with a chimney in it'; he must no longer be befuddled by his hut's smoky atmosphere or degraded by creeping into it; he must be 'decently clothed, an individual 'independent of everybody else.

This study argues that this kind of missional superiority attitude over students from Mbereshi Girls Boarding School was already entrenched in them before they stepped their feet on Barotseland and Bembaland. It could be argued that PEMS and the Renaissance of the 16th century partly influenced LMS's superior attitude underpinned by Cartesian ontology and Hegel's absolute ontology, among others. Thus, coloniality refers to the PEMS and LMS missionary projects that permeated the Lozi and Bemba cultures. Pawlikova-Vilhanova (2007) claims that the missionary activities (project) that started in Africa resulted from an evangelical revival movement in Europe that stimulated Protestant initiatives to evangelise heathen nations. Nkomazana and Setume (2016) assert that in Victorian Britain, missionary efforts led by Robert Moffat and David Livingstone aroused the interest in the minds of colonial missionary societies to intensify their efforts in the Christianisation of African countries driven by 3 Cs, namely Christianity, Commerce and Civilisation that is categorised under three different headings: Coloniality of being, knowledge and power.

4.2.2.1 The Coloniality of Being

Maldonado-Torres (2007), Mignolo (2000) and Grosfoguel (2006) argue that the Cartesian formulation privileges western epistemology and simultaneously hides both what could be regarded as the coloniality of knowledge (others do not think) and the coloniality of being (others are not). Maldonado-Torres further argues that the absence of rationality is articulated in western canon with the idea of the absence of being in the other. This is illustrated by Coillard's (1899:7) visit to a funeral house of Lozi Prime Minister in the following words:

We were shown into the hut by another chief and to our supervise we found a circle of enslaved people around the unconscious body of the Prime Minister. We did all we could to relieve, but it was too late. Poor people, must first try their witch doctors and only after they fail to heal them that they come to ask for missionary help; in most cases it is late.

According to Maldonado-Torres (2007) and Mignolo (2000), in the coloniser's modernity, the humanity of the enslaved and the colonised was being questioned. Coillard (1899:8) claims that the Lozi people do not keep the dead for longer than a day.

However, Ngambella died late for burial on that sun's day. So, the body must be interred until tomorrow's sunrise. So, we had the thrilling and piercing cries of the women throughout the rest of the day and at intervals in the night.

The author contends that for Coillard, the funeral rituals and ceremonies are an example of backward thinking that does not align with modernity from the North. In Coillard's world view what matters most is the following:

We returned to the station feeling grieved about not being able to speak to him about the saviour's love and knowing quite well that this was our last opportunity on earth (Coillard, 1899:8).

Maldonado-Torres (2007) alludes to the above that the humanity of a black is constantly questioned as exemplified by Coillard. Coillard was grieved not because the Prime Minister died and left behind wives and children but because he was unable to preach to him about Jesus. It is maintained that for Coillard, the Lozi people were only the site of evangelism and nothing else.

Quijano (2000:554) argues that the relationship between the coloniser and colonised provided a new model to understand the relationship between the soul or mind and the body. Likewise, modern articulations of the mind and body are used as models to conceive the coloniser/colonised relation and the relation between man and woman, particularly the woman of colour. For instance, Gann (1964) also illustrates the point by highlighting that the relations between the missionaries and indigenous evangelists/preachers were different at mission stations in North East Rhodesia. Gann (1964) states that the indigenous evangelists and preachers were not welcomed in missionaries' homes nor even invited for a meal despite many years of ministry together. Maldonado-Torres (2007), Mignolo (2000) and Grosfoguel (2006) help to explain this problem by pointing out that the black enigma permeates their everyday experience. In other words, Lozi and Bemba are black first and then Christians even though Galatians 3:28 says there are neither Jews nor Gentiles, free nor enslaved people, male nor female, for you are all one in Christ Jesus. (New International Version [NIV] 1996).

The study contends that the legacies of colonial missionary projects in Zambia perpetuate black-on-black prejudices based on the warped views about denominations and diversity of shades of black that result in discrimination in terms of marriage and employment in contemporary Zambia. Maldonado-Torres and Mignolo (2007) explain that coloniality of being and coloniality of power exposes the profound ways coloniality organises modernity based on conceptions of binary and categorisations such as race, inferiority and superiority, civilised and uncivilised, white equals excellent and beautiful and black equals bad and ugly. Grosfoguel and Mignolo (2012) argue that coloniality is the continuity of colonial forms of domination

such as knowledge, I-being ontological existence, and power (economic and political) after the end of colonial administrations, produced by colonial cultures and structures in the modern/colonial capitalist world-system.

Maldonado-Torres (2007) shows the coloniality of being as producing the ontological colonial difference by deploying a series of fundamental existential characteristics and symbolic realities. Maldonado-Torres (2007), cited in Gonzalez (2011), argues that Heidegger's return to the question of Being in the early 20th century neglected to consider the historical implications of colonialism when he established what he thought to be the universal structures of Being. According to Maldonado-Torres (2007), coloniality of being refers to the colonial dimensions of being, expressed partly in colonial civilisation by the coloniser's philosophical discourse's monopoly on the meaning of being vis a vis the exclusive possession, control, and exercise of the philosophy on existence. The study adds that the coloniser's philosophical discourse of binary was adopted by PEMS and LMS while working with indigenous Lozi and Bemba.

Gonzalez (2011) contends that the nexus of colonial reason, colonial logic and master morality constitutes elements of an existential disposition filled with racial angst. Gonzalez further maintains that coloniality depends on the meaning (Who am I) and the production level (enslavers/enslaved people). Quijano (2000:218) explains that on the level of the production of value "expressed in the racial distribution of work, […], in the concentration of the control of productive resources and capital". Simply put, colonisers used the Lozi and Bemba for their financial gain through conversions, education and working in local governments. This study argues that the colonial structures such as churches, mission schools, mission hospitals and theological training in Barotseland and Bembaland were set up to benefit the colonial missionaries and not the local people.

4.2.2.2 The Coloniality of Knowledge

According to Hoehler-Fatton, (1996:12) Christianity [forms of colonial Christianity] denigrated indigenous education, culture and values because many 19th century missionaries came out of a context that assumed supremacy of colonial culture and Christianity in a single breath. This is evidenced by formal mission education, which the PEMS and LMS introduced in Barotseland and Bembaland. The teaching of the 3Rs is Reading, Writing and Arithmetic for example, at BBS, GBS and Lubwa mission school while erasing indigenous knowledge.

Moumouni (1968) argues that colonial education [missional education] was aimed at serving, perpetuating and maintaining the colonial bureaucracy by preparing Lozi and Bemba for subordinate jobs such as interpreters, clerks, teachers and hospital workers. The curriculum from the missional schools extolled the virtues of the colonisers and the civilising mandate of modernity/coloniality. The newly educated elite "could not conceive of a future for their country outside servile submission to the colonial yoke" (Moumouni, 1968:9).

This study argues that missional education sought to systematically silence the Lozi and Bemba indigenous knowledge systems by eroding all sense of self, community awareness and pride. Rodney (1972:275) affirms that

The educated Africans were the most alienated people in communities and villages. At each further stage of mission education, they were battered and succumbed to the modernity/coloniality system, and after being given salaries, they could then afford to sustain a style of life imported from the colonisers… that further transformed their mentality.

According to Hegel (1956), the African consciousness had not attained even the intuition of any objectivity. For Hegel, the Lozi and Bemba were natural. Simply put, Barotseland and Bembaland were natural and their natural environment influenced their way of life. However, their natural existence was viewed as raw, primitive, uncivilised and savage. Hence,
Hegel's application of the dialectic to Africa concludes that

In Negro life, the characteristic point is that consciousness has not yet attained the realisation of any substantial objective existence— for example, God or Law—in which the interest of man's volition is involved and realises his being….The Negro…exhibits the natural man in his completely wild and untamed state (Hegel, 1956:93).

Hegel cited in Habib (2017:126), concludes that the Negro "does not show an inherent striving for culture" and "Negros are to be regarded as a race of children". The study adds that the Lozi and Bemba people were perceived as children needing an adult to help them navigate the world's moral maze. That adult was in the form of PEMS and LMS missionaries. Furthermore, according to Hegel, the Lozi and Bemba are regarded as children regarding the human race; that is a tabula rasa that is, a blank slate. They are a blank slate because they are children waiting to be taught the missional message and the missional culture that is a colonial culture by PEMS and LMS.

Hence, the Lozi and Bemba cultures, such as social norms, values, beliefs, food and clothes, were ignored to accommodate a missional way of life and thought. Baldwin, cited in Ezeanya-Esiobu (2019), bemoans that to be Black is to be a Negro and to be a Negro is to be a savage bereft of the intellectual acumen of inventing a simple thing like the wheel. Hegel (1956) argues that the rest of Africa is an unhistorical and undeveloped spirit excluded from the Four Histories of Civilisation. For Hegel, the four histories of the world consist of Oriental, Greek, Roman and German. Thus, according to Hegel, colonial Zambia, Barotseland and Bembaland were undeveloped and uncivilised and needed a white saviour, PEMS and LMS.

The coloniality of knowledge, being and power influenced the forms of colonial Christianity of David Livingstone—Mabel Shaw of LMS and Francois Coillard of PEMS. According to the coloniality of knowledge, Lozi and Bemba are simply unconscious. They are without thought (knowledge) in the environment, waiting for their feelings to be awakened by the violence of the coloniality of power (Hegel, 1956). They are in a raw, violent and untamed state of nature. It could be inferred from the words of Hegel that the Kingdoms of Litunga and Chitimukulu were without morality, culture and religion.

This farcicality of thinking was reflected in their attitudes towards the Lozi and Bemba people. It is the contention of this study that the violence of coloniality of knowledge at missional schools and coloniality of power via colonialism in a single breath was instrumental in the genesis of epistemicide of the Lozi and Bemba indigenous knowledge systems and chieftainships that were perceived as lower in content and structure to the forms of colonial Christianity. The questions to pose are; how does the coloniality of knowledge and coloniality of being espoused by Hegel and others account for King Lewanika of the Lozi and Chitimukulu of the Bemba who came from the well-established Luba-Lunda Kingdom before colonialism? It is clear that they had government structures and knowledge systems that were admired by some colonial missionaries, as discussed in chapter 5.

According to the coloniality of being, Lozi and Bemba are still unconscious and have no thought process because they do not align themselves with Descartes's ontology of being that is cogito ergo sum (I think therefore I am). According to this view, Lozi and Bemba have no thought process (I think); hence they are not human (I am). The questions to pose are; who determines what kind of thought process qualifies as modern or primitive? Is there a hierarchy of epistemology that allows one to be human? What about the babies? Are they not humans? If the Lozi and Bemba lack thought processes, what exactly do they have since they have a brain? The study adds that according to the coloniality of being and knowledge articulated by Hegelian

and Descartes's worldviews, the Lozi and Bemba people are subhuman, animal-like savages and heathens. They are savages and heathen who desperately need a white saviour like David Livingstone to bring them Christianity, Commerce and Civilisation to enable them to attain the missional epistemological consciousness of the forms of colonial Christianity. Hence, the missional epistemological consciousness is underpinned by absolute ontology situated in Descartes' I think (consciousness); therefore, I am (person).

The study contends that the forms of colonial Christianity of PEMS and LMS came to Barotseland and Bembaland to spread the missional message via mission education and missional stations undergirded by modernity/coloniality worldviews. Hence, the Lozi and Bemba cultures, such as social norms, values, beliefs, food and clothes, were ignored to accommodate a missional way of life and thought. The Lozi and Bemba cultures and their cosmological ontology were irrational and unscientific. The study further argues that before PEMS and LMS, the Lozi and Bemba had a common identity and culture: their ways of producing and disseminating indigenous knowledge systems and organising their chieftainships structures. It is vital to note that the Lozi Litunga and Bemba Chitimukulu were kings who ruled over organised kingdoms and indigenous central government systems. It was simply because the modernity and rationalism matrix of the forms of colonial Christianity in collaboration with colonisers ignored the kingdoms of Litunga and Chitimukulu.

Ani (2013) argues that the dawn of modernity-oriented modes of thinking, behaviour, and acquisition became objectified, universalised, and underpinned by positivism and absolute ontology. Consequently, any form of other knowledge systems and government systems that did not conform to the modern way of thinking and logic were deemed irrational and unworthy of scholarship (Ani, 2013). Quijano (2000) explains that the coloniality of knowledge had to do with the impact of colonisation in the different areas of knowledge production; the coloniality of being would make primary reference to the lived experience of colonisation and its effects on language.

In addition, Anibal Quijano (2000:221) writes

It is modernity/coloniality that formally and systematically elaborated the new intersubjective universe in a new knowledge perspective while erasing, silencing and making invisible other knowledges. Europe termed that knowledge perspective modernity and 'rationality. Therefore, it appears to be exclusively the colonisers' product- a modernity and rationality project.

The author adds that modernity and rationality matrix is dominant epistemological traditions espoused by PEMS and LMS that regard scientific methods as the genuine and universal means of knowledge acquisition. Hence, education, moral norms and liturgy were aligned with the abovementioned worldviews. The study maintains that PEMS and LMS delineated what constitutes knowledge worthy of knowing while silencing the Lozi and Bemba indigenous knowledge systems, moral norms and their cosmologies.

For example, Ernest Clark proposed the idea of boarding school in Bembaland for young women under a female missionary in 1912 writes that the boarding school idea would bring girls under the constant Christian influence (Box 17 CWM/CA, Correspondence from Clark to Hawkins, 191).

The above example shows one of the strategies and aims of missional boarding schools in Barotseland and Bembaland. The missional boarding schools were established to transform indigenous students with the missional message and culture. This is illustrated by Miss Edwards while teaching at Mbereshi Girls Boarding School in September 1916. A committee report shows

As a teacher [referring to Miss Edwards], we judge that she is good at teaching handwork, cooking, sewing, washing, ironing and writing (Draper wrote a report in 1916).

It could be inferred from the above report that the indigenous students were only recognised as educated if they were taught the missional and colonial culture. Ani (2013) contends that any attempt at considering knowledge under the lens of modernity/coloniality-oriented epistemology alone is a procrustean reductionism. Using the leans of relative ontology, it could be argued that the indigenous knowledge systems such as Lozi and Bemba cosmologies and the ontology of personhood still provide profound meaning in areas of belief systems, worship systems and educational systems in the face of monolithic modernity worldview. It is important to note that the denigration and silencing of indigenous epistemologies are the consequences of a long history of racial debasement of the humanity and rationality of Africans based on historical colonial subjugation. Hence, the dominant epistemological tradition and scientific methods are put forward as the genuine and universal means of knowledge acquisition at the detriment of other knowledge systems.

The study contends that the coloniality of knowledge shaped PEMS and LMS missionaries' attitudes of PEMS and LMS towards the Lozi and Bemba people. Ezeanya-Esiobu (2019) argues that mission education was used as a tool to de-personalise people and that they

succeeded in corrupting their thought processes and perceptions, such that they began to think abnormally in a warped and self-hating sort of way. For example, the mission education of Litunga royal palace and Mbereshi Girls Boarding School tried to, as Ezeanya-Esiobu (2019) argues, to assimilate young women and men into their colonial thinking and culture resulted in the almost total annihilation of their cultures and epistemologies of personhood.

This is elucidated by the letter from Nutter (1917), head of the school writes to Hawkins in London in the following way:

Dear Hawkins

The girls' boarding school seems to have started well. The ladies think they know what is best for girls and the men naturally say they know what is best for natives. The ladies were all out to a picnic breakfast this morning. The teachers' school is on just now and Harold has a change of it. I am taking scripture, English and writing (Box 17, CWM/CA Correspondence, 1917).

In an attempt to justify the perverseness of silencing of the indigenous knowledge systems of Africans [Lozi and Bemba] as the consequence of the coloniality of knowledge, Brock-Utne (2000) argues that people who lived in Africa chose to be educated with the same standards as the colonisers while rejecting their indigenous education out of their own free will. The study argues that there was no choice for formal education or not to accept what was offered to Lozi and Bemba by PEMS and LMS. The study further contends that imperial powers forced children to go to school because it served their interest in colonising indigenous people. Similarly, Ani (2013) argues that intentionally and unintentionally, colonialism, civilisation, missionary enterprise and its infrastructure, such as mission education, slave trade economy and government structure, suppressed culture and thought processes that resulted in the sustained erosion of cultures and epistemologies. It could be argued that PEMS and LMS were no exception.

Consequently, it is essential to note that due to the establishment of missional activities such as evangelisation and Christianisation among Lozi and Bemba, their cultures and epistemologies were considered archaic, obsolete, primitive, savage and unworthy of academic pursuit. Subsequently, this enabled colonial rule to impose colonial systems such as schools and central governments that gradually permeated Africans' socio-economic and political aspects (Ani, 2013). Rojas (2002) notes that the colonialists found raw materials in lands but could impose their structures and ideologies. It could be argued that the PEMS and LMS acquired vast land and used indigenous Lozi and Bemba to do their bidding while promising them a better afterlife.

However, Theron (1995:12) claims that the rest of humanity are mere users and beneficiaries of the modernity and rationality movement of technology, natural and social science, philosophy and even primarily, Christianity that accelerated during colonialism.

4.2.2.3 The Coloniality of Power

According to Quijano (2000), the coloniality of power is a historical process that views the present globalised world as a culmination of the consolidation of colonial power via the colonisation of the rest of Africa and the establishment of world capitalism in the 16th century. One of the fundamental axes of this model of power is the social classification of the world's population around the idea of race, a. This mental construction was the essential experience of colonial domination and pervaded the more important dimensions of global power (Quijano, 2000). The study adds that the Lozi and Bemba were categorised as heathens and even savages, while PEMS and LMS were Christians and civilised. This was done even though the Lozi and Bemba people had well-established monarchs and cosmological worldviews. This was because PEMS and LMS came from the Global North and claimed to be the centre of knowing knowledges and power. They were also tarnished with modernity brush.

Quijano (2000) explains that coloniality of power is achieved by instituting racial categorisation and imposing a division of labour structured by these categories, which subtend economies of meaning and value because knowledge and subjectivity have been produced monopolised through imperial endeavours in Africa and abroad. Stanley (2019) points out that missionaries believed that they were acting in the interests of indigenous people, often defending them against the land-grabbing intentions of white settlers (Afrikaners in South Africa) by encouraging them to accept the supposed protection of British rule. The supposed protection of British governments was illustrated by Coillard (PEMS), who assisted King Lewanika in signing the Lochner Treaty with the British South Africa Company (BSAC). The Lochner Treaty assigned the extraction of precious minerals and trading rights of Barotseland to BSAC in June 1890 (Macpherson, 1976).

It is essential to note that the Lochner Treaty, in essence, ushered in colonialism in Barotseland. Quijano (2000) explains this phenomenon as the coloniality of power that is the interrelation among modern forms of exploitation and domination. The study adds that modern forms of exploitation and domination are still being practised through world bodies such as the World Council of Churches in London, United Kingdom and the Vatican in Rome, Italy. Although PEMS and LMS societies have left the soils of Barotseland and Bembaland coloniality of

power, the domination of the Global North over churches in the Global South is still alive and well. Thus, the coloniality of power is a historical process that views the present globalised world as a culmination of the consolidation of colonial power via the colonisation of Africa and the establishment of world capitalism in the 16th century (Mignolo, 2000).

4.3 Conclusion

This chapter presented relative ontology and coloniality theoretical frameworks underpinning PEMS's influence on Lozi and Bemba cultures. This study employed relative ontology theory to interrogate the absolute ontology such as positivism, absolutism and universalism of PEMS and LMS historical data about the Lozi and Bemba people. Relative ontology as a theoretical framework acknowledges the existence of multiple realities and worldviews instead of an absolute ontology that posits a single reality and modernity worldview. The single reality presupposes knowledge to be linear which began in 16th-century Europe. The PEMS and LMS came from Europe and were influenced by modernity world view. This influenced their *Mission Dei* in Zambia. However, relative ontology as a theoretical framework celebrates different knowledges to co-exist such as indigenous knowledge systems and knowing knowledges. For instance, relative ontology allows for differing views on personhood and cosmologies alongside modernity worldviews. Coloniality as the theoretical framework is used to expose the underlying logic of all colonialism in missional, educational, liturgical and political enterprises. Coloniality is understood as the destructive ideas that linger on while the forms of colonial Christianity and colonialism have left the shores of Barotseland and Bembaland. Colonial Christianity produces coloniality, which denotes a condition begotten from anything colonial in nature. Coloniality has an antidote in decolonisation, meaning that coloniality warrants action in the form of decolonisation which means a process of reversing coloniality and its effects. These ideas are still alive in the secular and theological educational systems and moral norms. The next chapter examines the history of PEMS and LMS.

Chapter Five
Locating PEMS and LMS in Barotseland and Bembaland

5.1 Introduction

Chapter 4 focused on the two theories, namely relative ontology and coloniality that undergird the influence of PEMS and LMS on the Lozi and Bemba cultures. This chapter locates the history of PEMS and LMS as mission societies in Barotseland and Bembaland. The chapter examines the key question: how did PEMS and LMS, as missional societies, silence the Lozi and Bemba cultures through missional education, moral norms and liturgy? First, it locates the historical background of civilisation in precolonial Zambia. Second, it discusses precolonial migrations in Zambia. Third, it explores precolonial trade in Barotseland and Bembaland and the Berlin Conference of 1884, a preamble to scramble for Africa. The chapter highlights that trade was thriving in Zambia before colonialism and the advent of the forms of colonial Christianity. Fourth, it explores the identity and the nature of PEMS and LMS as missional societies that were instrumental in watering down the Lozi and Bemba cultures. Some literature in this chapter was sourced from the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) archive collection rooms Box 1, 2, 17 and 18 and the online PEMS and LMS archives.

5.2 An overview of migration as a catalyst to civilisation in Barotseland and Bembaland

The study contends that before the influx of migration to Zambia, the earliest human race or people to settle in Zambia had their version of civilisation, cultures and indigenous knowledge systems, such as indigenous education that was distinctively different but not inferior to missional culture, civilisation and education. Gann (1964) notes that Zambian people and their predecessors inhabited precolonial Zambia for many years. For instance, the skull of the Broken Hill Man (now in the British Museum, London) was found near Kabwe in 1921, substantiating the idea that human beings had lived in Zambia for thousands of years. In addition, Woodward (1941), cited in Baker (1968), asserts that the Broken Hill Man was a person of the Neanderthal type who made tools and lived by hunting and gathering. In addition to Woodward's (1941) cited in Baker's (1968) assertion, Gann (1964) states that the archaeological data shows that the late Stone Age made sophisticated tools and decorated their rock shelters with pictures. The study aligns with Woodward's (1941) and Gann's (1964) arguments that in Zambia, there was a 'primordial' civilisation dating back to Stone Age that could have matured if not punctured by its missional enterprise and colonialism.

The study postulates that early civilisation and development in Barotseland and Bembaland were enhanced by other ethnic groups that migrated from the neighbouring countries. This point was expounded by Gann (1,964), who states that the main migration routes from north to south of the country yielded a comprehensive succession of prehistoric cultural remains, such as simple split pebbles made by some of the most primitive people in Zambia. However, this study departs from Gann's statement by arguing that primitive people did not split pebbles but were civilised enough to develop themselves without the interference of missional enterprise and colonialism (Gann, 1964).

5.2.1 The First Bantu Migration: 13th Century

The first immigration is important for the research because it shows that the Ila evangelised by PEMS and Mambwe by LMS were the first Bantu to migrate into Zambia. It is the position held by this study that the Ila and Mambwe like other ethnic groups in subsequent migration stages that will later be part of the Barotseland and Bembaland have had cultural customs and norms that goes back in time. Taylor (1965) states that Neanderthal people were followed by the ancestors of the Bantu-speaking such as Tonga-Ila, Mambwe-Iwa migrated from the Great Lakes region in East Africa and started arriving in Zambia (Fagan & Phillipson, 1966). Brelsford (1965) asserts that during migrations from the Great Lakes region, ancestors of ethnic societies transformed their original cultural customs, moral norms, and neighbours. Brelsford further maintains that the extent and nature of these transformations depended on the regions these groups passed through and the societies they met before settling in precolonial Zambia.

5.2.2 The Second Bantu Migration: 17th Century

The second Bantu migration focuses on Lozi and Bemba, the research's focal point. Brelsford (1965) states that other Bantu-speaking people, such as the Luba and Lunda, migrated from the Great Lakes in East Africa and settled in southern Congo (The Democratic Republic of Congo) (DRC) and northern Angola before arriving in the west of precolonial Zambia. However, Mainga (1973) and Gluckman (1968) note that the Lozi came from the north. They migrated from the north through the DRC and Angola without necessarily settling there as part of the Luba or Lunda Kingdoms. Brelsford (1965) agrees with Mainga that the Lozi and other societies in this group, such as the Lokolwe, had settled in precolonial Zambia long before the Luba and Lunda kingdoms were at the height of power in the 17th century. Roberts (1973)

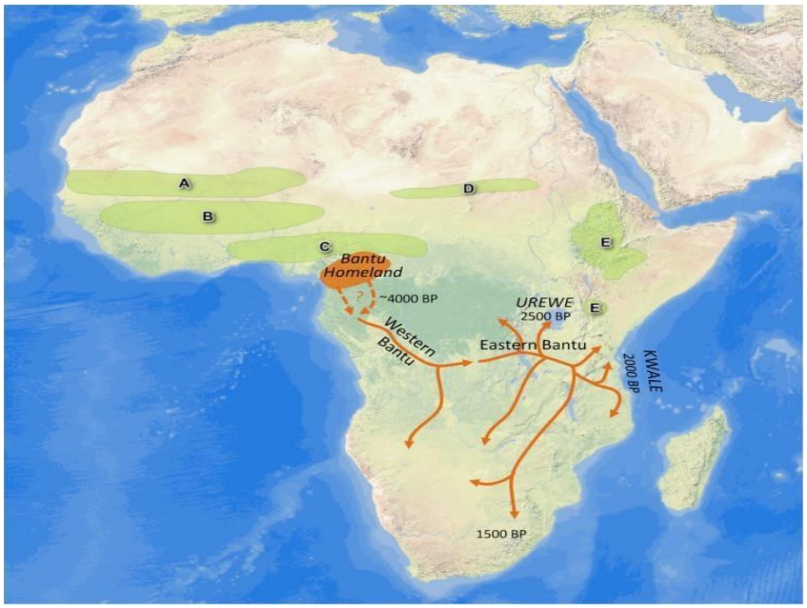
claimed the Bemba arrived in precolonial Zambia from the Luba and Lunda Kingdoms during the seventeenth century.

However, Richards (1940) states that although circumstantial, literature shows that the Bemba migrated to settle in precolonial Zambia from the west in the mid-eighteenth century. Cunnison (1959) adds that the Lunda society of Luapula Province, who regard the Bemba as their relatives, arrived from the Congo around 1740.

5.2.3 The Third Bantu Migration: 19th Century

The third Bantu migration is presented to demonstrate that the Lozi did not migrate from the south but north of Zambia. It is noted that the final Bantu migration involved the Ngoni and not the Lozi. The Ngoni migrated from South Africa after fleeing wars in the Zulu Kingdom and were initially part of the Aba-Nguni people of South Africa (Barnes, 1968). Eba-Nguni had also migrated from the Great Lakes region to South Africa in the fifteenth century (Poole, 1949).

Picture 1: Bantu migration from Nigeria-Cameron to Eastern and Southern Africa



https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S1040618216302890 Accessed 24.02.2022

5.2.4 Locating Barotseland and Bembaland

This section discusses the historical backgrounds of the Lozi and Bemba ethnic groups Barotseland and Bembaland and how the PEMS and LMS mission societies influenced them. This enabled the study to achieve the first and second objectives of the research.

5.2.5 Barotseland and Its Origin

The history of Barotseland and the Lozi people is interwoven with complexities extending to their origin. There are different explanations for how the Lozi ethnic arrived and secured political power in Barotseland. Meister (1981) asserts that the name of the significant ethnic society (Lozi) was originally Aluyi or Aluyana. Meister (1981) further points out that the Aluyana or Aluyi (Lozi) people who migrated from the Lunda area in Congo (now Democratic Republic of Congo) to the northern part of the Zambezi flood plain absorbed earlier inhabitants of the area, such as the Manatwa and Kwengo, into their social structure. Mainga (1973) argues that the Kololo imposed their Sotho cultural identity on the Barotse people. They permanently altered the culture of these societies by introducing customs and norms that did not exist before they were invaded by the Makololo (Brelsford, 1965). Mainga argues that culture is not static but dynamic. This is seen in the Lozi culture, which was infiltrated by the Kololo culture from the south. In this sense, the Lozi culture before the missional enterprise has always undergone cultural diffusion.

Mainga (1973) claims that the Kololo under the leadership of Sekelutu, a South African ethnic society infiltrated the Lozi original traditional customs and norms. Mainga (1973) points out that the Lozi people assumed the cultural traditions and norms of the Kololo. For instance, the Kololo drastically altered the primogeniture succession and circumcision of young men as part of their preparation for adult life. Roberts (1976) states that the Kololo also introduced the language currently spoken in Western Province. Meister (1981) argues that the assimilation of the Kololo women and children into the Lozi kingdom was probably the most significant factor in the propagation of their language, a form of Sethoto, and its derivative Silozi, which became the lingua franca throughout the Lozi Kingdom. Gluckman (1968) asserts that the Kololo changed this to suit the phonetics of their language.

According to Turner (1952:12), “Lozi is the term now applied to Kololo, a language of which the grammar and many of the words are derived from Sotho of the Kololo conquerors of the Lozi, whose own language is called Luyi or Luyana”. Turner (1952:9) and Meister (1981) state that the official language of the Lozi is still Siluyana; the language of the Luyi remained and

became embedded after the overthrow of the Kololo people. Ocaya (2019) concurs with Macola (1971) that Kololo's rule lasted over thirty years over the Barotse people.

The Lozi defeated the Kololo and their name vanished from the African scene but the Kololo language became Rotse under the rule of Lewanika (Smith, 1925). The Lozi people were active, industrious people with a perception of the environment, a concept of its potential resources, and an aptitude for diplomacy, organisation and administration (Meister, 1981). Turner (1952) points out that Bulozi, the land of the Lozi became known as Barotseland or the land of the Rotse under the British colonial administration. Other influences on Lozi culture were the Makololo from the Global South and the British colonisers from the Global North. The influence of the colonialist was felt in the political arena and administration of the Barotseland kingdom under the Lochner Concession Treaty signed between the Litunga and British South Africa Company mediated by Coillard of PEMS. The following section locates the Bemba ethnic group within Zambia's historical context

5.2.6 Bembaland and its Origin

Bembaland is situated at the eastern end of the great centre of the savannah plains and like tradition, the Bemba originated from Kola in the West. On their journey to the East, they trekked through the Luba-Lunda nation-states and crossed the Luapula River, now the state border between the Democratic Republic of Congo and the Republic of Zambia (O'Shea, 1986:25). During the Luba-Lunda period of central African history, new kingdoms and societies emerged in the area now known as colonial North Eastern Zambia to the east of the Luba nation-state (Werner, 1971). Werner (1921) claims that one of the durable kingdoms of the Bemba were Chitimukulu Kingdom and Kazembe Kingdom.

As early as the seventeenth century, wave upon wave of Bemba migrants pressed across the river and settled in the Northern Province (Hinfelaar, 1994). According to Doucette (1997), Chitimukulu is a composition of *Chiti,* the name of the founder of the Bemba people, and …*kulu,* an adjective prefixed with the preposition mu, meaning "great." All successive Paramount Chiefs inherited the title rather than the name (Doucette, 1997). Their immigration was a successive wave of conquest and subjugation of previous immigrants such as the Lungu, the Tabwe, and the Fiba (Hinfelaar, 1994). Their conquest was marked by bloodshed and the assimilation of conquered original inhabitants. As time passed, the invading groups established

superiority over the Bashimatongwa (original inhabitants) and earlier fractions of Bantu immigrants (Schirrmacher, 2002).

According to Macola (2002), in the 17th and 18th centuries, the Lunda Kingdom situated in the South Western Congo gave rise to movements of people and political ideas that spawned a series of new policies across the central African landscape from Angola to the Great Lakes, reconfiguring economic relations from Indian to the Atlantic Ocean. One such Lundanised polity was the Kingdom of Kazembe which took root in Luapula valley. Cunnison (1935) cited in Macola (2000) points out that the military superiority of the migrants might have had something to do with their early successes in the territory to the east of the upper Lualaba River.

According to Garvey (1994), the Bemba speaking eastern end of the savannah was strongly influenced by two large kingdoms to the west: the Luba state to the north of the Upemba depression and the main Lunda Kingdom on the upper Kasai River. Garvey further explains that both the Luba and Lunda Kingdoms had developed systems of government based on hereditary succession within the royal clans, whose system was imitated by neighbouring chiefdoms.

Thus, the royal clan of the Bemba used the system of perpetual kingship without owning any allegiance to the Lunda Kingdom (Garvey, 1994). The Bemba speaking people were divided into many tribes that recognised the primacy of a royal clan but only a few had developed into organised states (Schirrmacher, 2002). Schirrmacher further notes that there are twenty eight clans and membership in these clans follows that of the mother. The most advanced of these was the Kingdom of Mwata Kazembe, which was important enough to attract two official expeditions in 1791 and 1831. Of all the hereditary lineage or sub-clan heads that must have belonged to the clan at one time, only the names of Malebe and Bimbye are still remembered nowadays as having dwelt in present-day Lubunda and Kashiba's chiefdoms (Cunnison, 1935:11).

Until the 1860s, the Bemba military exploits did not culminate in establishing a lasting territorial administration (Macola, 2000). On the one hand, the Bemba could not retain their first conquests in the territories to the north and northwest of Lake Bangweulu; on the other hand, the Lunda could have benefited from their temporary withdrawal (Macola, 2000). Between the end of 1831 and the summer of 1832, the Bemba pursued their military advance in the former southern periphery of the Kazembe kingdom. It consolidated its hold over the Bena Mukulu and the Bisa of Lubumbu and surrounding areas (Macola, 2000). As passed the

invading groups established superiority over the Bashimatongwa (Hinfelaar, 1994) (original inhabitants) and earlier fractions of Bantu immigrants. The last immigrants to arrive were the Bena Ng'andu (Crocodile people) who established supreme authority over all other groups at the beginning of the eighteenth century (Hinfelaar, 1994). The Bena Ng'andu succeeded in becoming the overlords over all subjugated tribes and not only changed their religious landscape but also enforced the Royal Charter as the tenet of politics of the Bemba state (Werner, 1971).

The Bemba Aristocracy is divided into two houses. First, the House of Chitimukulu (nganda yakwa Chitimukulu) with forty-three members divided into four ranks (Doucette, 1997). Second follows the House of Katongo (nganda yakwa Katongo) with twenty-nine members (Doucette, 1997). Doucette further asserts that the House of Chitimukulu takes supremacy over the House of Katongo because it "belongs to the Sacred or Royal Relics" (Ababenye) of the paramount chieftainship. This study has established that the religious cult surrounding Chitimukulu gave it political legitimacy that enabled it to survive the effects of coloniality, unlike Mwata Kazembe, whose kingdom declined. The following section traces the early trade in Barotseland and Bembaland.

5.4 The Early Trade in Precolonial Barotseland and Bembaland as means of diffusion of culture

The study posits that trade is one of the vital aspects of cultural behaviours that promotes human contact and the exchange of ideas, commodities and services between communities. It is crucial to note that precolonial Zambia had established its trading system tailored to suit its needs before the arrival of the colonisers. These trading systems were fertile grounds for cultural diffusion. As Holmes (1998) points out, by A.D. 1400, people living along the Zambezi River near the Kariba region were importing jewellery from Asia. Meister (1981) claims the Mbunda living in present-day Angola traded in beads and homespun cloth for cattle with the Lozi. Later in 1850, the Portuguese merchants reached central precolonial Barotseland with well-established trading ports on the Atlantic Ocean. Meister (1981) states that this changed the trade in precolonial Zambia. The arrival of modernity and capitalism through Portuguese merchants brought colonial goods such as cloth, crockery and beads. During this time, the King of Barotseland began trading with the Portuguese with goods such as ivory, rhino horns, cattle and fish in exchange for the coloniser's cloth, crockery and beads (Holmes, 1998). Holmes further comments that the trade of modernity and capitalism vis-à-vis ivory and rhino horns

resulted in slavery (Holmes, 1998). The following section discusses the slave trade and its impact on the Lozi and Bemba ethnic groups.

5.4.1 The Great Shift: Slave trade in precolonial Zambia

It is necessary to give some attention to the transatlantic slave trade in precolonial Zambia inaugurated by the Arab and Portuguese explorers who established their slave markets mainly in East Africa in the fifteenth century. Although the study does not focus on Catholic Mission, it is essential to draw attention to how Christianity collaborated with the colonialists (Ogot, 1992). Ogot explains that a large colonial missional enterprise was directed from both Portugal and Rome to act as chaplains on ships used in the slave trade. Livingstone (1878) notes that many missionaries were sent from different Catholic orders to evangelise and baptise Africans while the slave trade continued alongside this development. It could be argued that the Catholic missionaries were the vanguards of the slave traders and it served their mutual interests. Gann (1964) asserts that the barter trade in guns, ivory and enslaved people depended on four main streams of invaders who came from the coasts and converged in the heart of Central Africa.

It is clear that the slave trade was inhumane and destructive to both Lozi and Bemba's psyche and their monarchs but the silence of the agents of *Missio Dei* was culpable. Gann (1964) states the inhumane nature of slavery by saying that the enslaved Black people had their necks in a fork of a stout stick, six or seven feet long, kept in by an iron rod riveted at both ends across the throat. Here Holmes (1998) justifies the slave trade by saying that slavery went hand in hand with trade because slaves were needed to transport the ivory and the rhino horns of their enslavers to the coast. Ogot (1992) sheds some light on this, saying that Africans were cheap labourers needed in large numbers to provide transport for ivory to the port and workers for the growing sugar and cotton plantations in Caribbean Islands and America. Ogot adds that enslaved Africans were stronger than Indians and provided cheaper labour for plantations. Thus slave trade was a by-product of the dark side of modernity's inhumane capitalism.

It could be assumed that capitalist ideology is founded on a European renaissance and modernity worked hand in hand with the European missionaries. Barotseland was not spared the effects of the slave trade as Gann (1964) explains that Ovimbundu travelled from Angola to Barotseland dealing in enslaved people, ivory and later in rubber and relying far more on local agents. The enslaving of Black people normalised the asymmetrical power dynamics between the Africans and the enslavers. At the same time, colonialists plundered ivory, rhino horns and Africans to develop their countries in the Global North. The Lozi and Bemba as

ontological beings were diminished due to the reductionist knowledge of the centre. In modernity's perverted logic, the Africans were non-humans although Bemba Lozi had well-established kingdoms. Gemetry and Hogendorn, cited in Bediako (1992), assert that the trade's economic costs exceeded its gain. Hence, the overseas slave trade had a detrimental economic impact without considering its social costs.

The shift in trade is explained by Bediako (1992:253), who maintains that ivory and enslaved people were exchanged for cloth, gunpowder and firearms, the exportation of guns from the colonisers being stimulated by the technological revolution that was coming over imperial armament industries. Bediako further argues that vast quantities of firearms were poured into Africa during the significant period of the slave trade. For instance, at the height of the eighteenth-nineteenth century, commerce and gunsmiths in Birmingham exported muskets to Africa between 100,000 and 150,000 a year. It was everyday talk that one Birmingham gun rated one Negro. Bediako (1992) notes that firearms had become indispensable to the African trade. Bediako's point is that introducing firearms in Africa was the beginning of the divide and rule of Africa and Zambia was not exceptional.

The divide and rule ideology extended even in local communities where ethnic groups got involved in selling other ethnic groups into slavery. This divide and rule strategy elucidates the effects of colonisation and Christianisation in Africa. It is vital to note that the construction of the Global North occurred from the extensive control of the global slave trade market by the trans-Atlantic voyages, used to plunder the non-European world with its religious reasons, civilisatory mission, and distribution of diseases. Hence, colonialism, a consequence of imperialism, is from various arms of civilising domination: economic, political, extractive, slavery, law, health, and religion. This new dominant condition of geo-political imposition made European thought a universal theory and practice (Mignolo, 2000). From their villages, European thinkers have become universal necessities; for example, the theological-Christian perspective of Hegel's history, European history now becomes ubiquitous and the (Christian European) Spirit of history is the absolute spirit that becomes an overpowering force over any other spirit such as Lozi and Bemba (Hegel, 1956).

In the lost paradise of the beautiful African landscapes and seashores, the perverted logic of fellow African enslavers sold their enslaved Africans to the white enslavers because they were keen customers for guns (Gluckman, 1941). According to Gann (1964), the main problem among these ethnic groups in particular was what might be called the 'gunpowder revolution.

The study adds that this was the revolution of division, death and destruction in the lost paradise of Africa. Thus, the kingdoms of Barotseland and Bembaland bought gunpowder to defend their kingdoms and at the same time to expand them. Gluckman (1941) asserts that the Lozi as enslavers traded in enslaving people although the slave trade was not crucial to the Lozi economy. However, what is clear from Gluckman's assertion is that the Lozi sold their fellow compatriots, regardless of their status, into slavery. This reaffirms one of the effects of capitalism/coloniality in Barotseland. In addition, Gluckman states that the quest of the Portuguese (Mambari) for enslaved people in exchange for their goods preceded direct trade with the Lozi. Gann (1964) notes that Africans [like the Lozi and Bemba] acquired new [colonial] goods like guns and gunpowder that made hunting more accessible, whilst colonial cloth and beads transformed indigenous people's dress sense and fashion. It could be argued that this was the beginning of the infiltration of colonial culture into the Lozi and Bemba cultures. The infiltration of developed culture into less developed culture is known as cultural diffusion.

The cause of the slave trade among the Lozi and Bemba was the sheer lack of natural resources; Gann further explains that they had little to offer to the coloniser except for wild rubber, ivory and men. Rubber was not in high demand in this trade, so little attention was devoted. The study adds that the cause of the slave trade among the Lozi and Bemba was the skewed need for capitalisation of their kingdoms introduced in part by PEMS and LMS and perfected by the colonisers. However, ivory was needed to make knife handles, combs, piano keys, ornaments, and all kinds of Victorian knick-knacks (Gann, 1964) and then enslaved people to work on the plantations in America. It is important to note that this in essence was the development of European modernity and capitalism in the Global North that punctured the trajectory of unfettered civilisations of African kingdoms. The global slave trade market by the trans-Atlantic voyages plundered the non-European world resources and its people using skewed religious reasons and Christianisation missions alongside the distribution of diseases. European modernity and capitalism took the natural resources and the enslaved people away from their homeland to foreign lands leaving a gaping hole in their local civilisation that has remained even today. The justification for enslaving non-whites was underpinned by the idea that the enslaved people were non-beings because they were non-spirited humans. Thus if non-human, then one is an animal. This was premised on Descartes' elevation of thinking as a condition of being that led to the individualisation of being. The idea of Descartes's idea was, I think therefore I am which suggests that the 'other' is not a fully thinking being. By implication, it

could be argued that the non-thinking being is fully human, thus aligning that being to animal status. Hence the justification for the enslavement of Black people. Resultantly, it silenced any other ways of conceptualising a being; even thinking about thinking itself became modernised and later colonised. The following section discusses the abolition of the slave trade.

5.4.2 Abolition of the slave trade and Emergency of *Missio Dei*

It is vital to note that the abolition of the slave trade happened gradually, necessitating the establishment of various mission societies such as PEMS and LMS that were dispatched to spread Christianity, Commerce and Civilisation. Randall (1983) notes that a small group of prominent men revealed the horror of the slave trade to the nation. For instance, Granville Sharp, Thomas Clarkson, Henry Thornton, a financier and Member of Parliament (MP) for Southwark and MP William Wilberforce demanded the abolition of the slave trade. Randall further states that in 1833, an Act of Parliament abolished slavery throughout the British. Randall, 1983) points out three political results that came from their organised campaign against the slave trade: First, in 1772 the Lord Chief Justice of England, Lord Mansfield declared that the law of England did not allow the state of slavery. Second, in 1807 an Act of Parliament made it illegal for British subjects to engage in the African slave trade (Randall, 1983). Third, in 1833 another law was passed to abolish slavery throughout the British Empire (Randall, 1983).

According to Stone (1996), cited in Kaufmann and Pape (1999), the prime mover behind the abolition of slavery was not Wilberforce, Macaulay or Sharp but Thomas Clarkson whose devotion to the cause led to his recognition through a plaque dedicated in Westminster Abbey inscribed “Thomas Clarkson, a Friend of Slaves” in September 1796. In Stone’s view, Thomas Clarkson’s brother John was also of greater significance because he worked for the rights of Blacks. However, the treaties had little effect; Wilberforce and his associates insisted that the British anti-slavery movement follow a two pronged policy (Gann, 1964). First, it should devote its military resources towards stopping the transport of enslaved people to world markets; and second, it should develop a positive alternative summed up in three words: Christianity, Commerce and Colonisation. Consequently, the Christians interested in enslaved and their welfare were concerned with *Missio Dei* in Africa. According to Gann (1964), this desire brought about the insurgence of several interdenominational mission societies.

The closing decades of the eighteenth century and the early years of the nineteenth century saw what Johannes Van Den Berg has described as the 'great breakthrough of the missionary idea'

(Boorman, 1992). Between 1792 and 1814 missionary societies were formed on both sides of the Atlantic. Mission societies such as the Baptist Missionary Society were founded in 1792, the LMS followed in 1798, the Church Missionary Society was founded in 1795 and the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1803 (Gann, 1964). In addition, Gann notes that the Association for Promoting the Discovery of the Interior Parts of Africa was founded. In 1788, the Royal Geographical Society was founded to organise the exploration of the African continent.

The roots of the London Missionary Society have been described as 'tangled and diffuse'. They spread from London to Warwickshire and Hampshire, from Independents to Calvinistic Methodists, from Evangelical Anglicans to Scottish Presbyterians. When several Independent ministers met together in Warwick in June 1793 to consider the duty of Christians concerning the spread of the gospel, one of the resolutions adopted was that 'it appears to us, that it all Christians must employ every means in their power to spread the knowledge of the Gospel, both at home and abroad', while another was 'that the first Monday of every month, at seven o'clock in the evening, be a season fixed on for united prayer to God for the success of every attempt by all denominations of Christians for the spread of the Gospel' (Boorman, 1992).

The Missionary Society (later the London Missionary Society) brought together both Dissenters and Anglican Evangelicals in 1975. A group of ministers and laymen from various denominations meeting at the Castle and Falcon London established a missionary society, which adopted the name London Missionary Society (Gann, 1964). Bogue expressed the hope that *'from this day by our exertions, and by the exertions of others whom we shall provoke to zeal, the kingdom of Jesus Christ shall be considerably enlarged both at home and abroad, and continue to increase "till the knowledge of God cover the earth as the waters cover the sea''* (Bogue cited in Boorman, 1992).

5.5 The Berlin Conference 1884: Precursor to colonialism and missional enterprise

Ipenburg (1992) asserts that Christianity preceded the establishment of colonial rule and they were often welcomed by African Kings and used to provide intelligence about the advancing colonisers and played the role of mediators. In addition, Ipenburg (1992) posits that many mission societies facilitated the establishment of the *Pax Britannica* (British Peace). For instance, in Barotseland, Coillard of PEMS played a significant role between King Lewanika I and the British South Africa Company (BSAC) in signing the Lochner Treaty in 1890. Ipenburg (1992) adds that in the quest for the scramble for Africa, many missionaries such as Bishop

Dupont from the Catholic Missionary Society, played a mediatory role first for King Makasa and King Mwamba in Bembaland. It is essential to note that the arrival of PEMS and LMS in Barotseland and Bembaland coincided with the advent of colonialism vis-à-vis the scramble for Africa. It could be inferred that this was not an accident of nature but a predetermined plan to exploit its natural resources and puncture the trajectory of African civilisation of which Barotseland and Bembaland are not exceptional.

However, colonialism and imperialism in Africa began with the words of Count Otto Van Bismarck in 1884 when he uttered, 'My map of Africa lies in Europe, here lies Russia, here lies France and we are in the middle, that is my map of Africa' (Macpherson, 1976:39). It is clear that Otto Van Bismarck, the first chancellor of Germany, organised the Berlin Conference. Akinwumi (2008:9) points out that the decision by Bismarck to call the Berlin conference in 1884 was to resolve all crises associated with the colonisers' interests in Africa. According to Gavin & Betley (1973:47-48), a definitive agenda for the Conference was designed to address the following matters:

> Freedom of commerce in the basin and the mouths of the Congo. The application to the Congo and Niger of the principles adopted by the Congress of Vienna to preserve freedom of navigation on certain international rivers, principles applied at a later date to the River Danube.

As to the purpose of the Berlin Conference, Craven (2015) asserts that it was to 'manage' the ongoing process of colonisation in Africa to avoid the outbreak of armed conflict between rival colonial powers. The scramble for Africa was the beginning of colonisation and the Christianisation of Africa, particularly Barotseland and Bembaland. Langer (1931) bemoans that the potential riches of the vast tracts of the African continent were pawns on the tense cheese board of colonial politics. Gavin and Betley (1973) point out that its outcome was the conclusion of a General Act ratified by all major colonial powers, including the USA. The colonial powers included countries such as France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Germany, Great Britain, Portugal, Spain, the US, Austria, Russia, Italy, Denmark, Sweden and Norway, Turkey. The US reserved the right to decline to accept the conclusions of the Conference (Bontinck, 1966:225).

Akinwumi (2008) points out that the decision taken at Berlin Conference impacted the spread of Christianity, Commerce and Civilisation in Africa. During the Berlin Conference, colonial

nations divided Africa among governments from the Global North creating artificial borders that separated people of the same cultural, linguistic and ethnic groups. All the concerned western countries met in Berlin to partition the continent of Africa (political partition) without the consent of the indigenous Africans. No Africans were invited to the Berlin Conference and no Africans had a say in dividing the continent among colonisers (Bontinck, 1966:225 and National Archives Washington, 1965). In the words of Fanon (1967), this action of partitioning the continent of Africa without inviting African countries is perverted logic. Fanon (1967:10) explains that colonialism is not satisfied merely with holding a people in its grip and emptying the native's brain of all form and content. By a kind of perverted logic, it turns the past of people and distorts, disfigures and destroys it. However, the outcome was the adoption of a General Act 1885 signed and ratified by all participants (except for the USA) the overt purpose of which was to secure 'the development of trade and civilisation in certain regions in Africa' while obviating 'the misunderstanding and disputes which might in future arise from new acts of occupation ("prises de possession") on the coast of Africa' and 'furthering the moral and material well-being of the native populations'.

Macpherson (1976:8) contends that politically, the scramble for Africa led 'to the 'civilised' colonial powers replacing 'uncivilised' African powers thus preparing the way for the 'indigenous' governments to design the nation states [kingdoms] in keeping with the patterns of modernity. However, Anghie (2004:91) argues that the Berlin Conference 'transformed Africa into a conceptual terra nullius' [nobody's land], silencing native resistance through the subordination of their claims to sovereignty and providing, in the process, an effective ideology of colonial rule. It was a conference, Anghie argues, 'which determined in important ways the future of the continent and which continues to have a profound influence on the politics of contemporary Africa'.

Furthermore, Macpherson (1976) asserts that the indigenous governments [kingdoms] were set up to integrate into the current international, economic and technological situation that privileges the colonisers. Subsequently, such a judgment would pronounce the coloniser's mastery over Southern Africa associated with the dynamic leadership of Cecil Rhodes (Macpherson, 1976). Crave (2015) asserts that Rhodes was a British coloniser, imperialist and a strong advocate of African colonialism. Macpherson (1976) states that in the mid-twentieth century, the birth of newly independent nations in Africa was to highlight the complex historical relationship between the colonial power and missionary enterprise and so bring a

sharp critique to bear upon missionary motives. Hence, Mallet (1913), cited in Macpherson (1976) notes that the leader of the British team at the Conference pointed out that the imperial powers were likely to be blamed for paying particular attention to commerce and trade but little attention to the interests of the natives.

Akinwumi (2008) posits that the Berlin Conference ended interdenominational cooperation between the various colonial missions leading to rivalry and proliferation of different colonial missions in Africa. However, Crowe (1970) disagrees and states that the importance of the conference as a landmark in international law has been grossly exaggerated and if anything, it was a failure:

> The Berlin Conference attempted to regulate future acquisitions of colonial territory on a legal basis. However, when closely scrutinised, its resolutions are as empty as Pandora's Box. First, the rules concerning effective occupation were applied only to West Africa's coasts, which had already nearly all been seized. They were finally partitioned during the next few years. Secondly, even within this limited space, the guarantees given by the powers amounted to little more than a simple promise to notify the acquisition of any given piece of territory after it had been acquired, indeed on every ground a most inadequate piece of legislation.

Crowe (1970) argues that the importance of the Berlin Conference has often been misrepresented and exaggerated….Nor is it true that the Conference "partitioned Africa. Pakenham (1991:254) concurs with Crowe's misgivings and argues:

> There were thirty-eight clauses to the General Act, all as hollow as the pillars in the grand saloon. In the years ahead, people would come to believe this Act had had a decisive effect. It was Berlin that precipitated the Scramble. It was Berlin that set the rules of the game. It was Berlin that carved up Africa. So, the myths would run. It was the other way around. The scramble had precipitated Berlin. The race to grab a slice of the African cake had started long before the first day of the conference. None of the thirty-eight clauses of the General Act had any teeth. It had set no rules for dividing, let alone eating, the cake.

According to Craven (2015), what Pakenham was prepared to admit for the Conference was what he called the 'spirit of Berlin: For the first time, great men like Bismarck had linked their names at an international conference to Livingstone's lofty ideals: to introduce the "3 Cs"—Commerce, Christianity, Civilisation—into the dark places of Africa. It could be argued that

the forms of colonial Christianity and colonisers regarded their epistemology more superior to that of the indigenous peoples, hence imposing Christianity and Colonialism to modernise the African continent.

How does one reconcile the competing accounts of the conference? Anand (1972) complained of Berlin having contrived the 'unnatural division of Africa', ignoring, in the process, all ethnic, tribal or national interests. Similarly, Umozurike (1979) denounced Berlin for the 'immoral, inhuman and unjust' law that it purveyed. Craven (2015) observes that for Crowe (1970), it was all about philanthropy, the internationalisation of territory and free trade; for Anghie about colonisation, exploitation and the subordination of the natives. For Crowe, its legal and political import was negligible; for Anghie, it was significant. Schmitt (2006:216) cited in Craven (2015) describes the contradictory character of the General Act as documenting the continuing belief in civilisation, progress, and free trade, and of the fundamental European claim based thereon to the free, among others non-state soil of the African continent open for European land-appropriation. Craven (2015) suggests that the conference was like Foucault's (1977) famous carceral system in Discipline and Punishment, an institution whose effect may be traced through the apparent confounding of its expectations. It could be viewed, in that sense, as both anti- and pro-colonial, as an instrument that fostered partition.

5.6 Christianity in Africa before the advent of PEMS and LMS

Before examining PEMS and LMS in Zambia, it is vital to point out that Christianity in Africa preceded 19th century European-American mission societies. Lugira (2009) explains that although much of Africa was isolated from the rest of the world, the areas along the coasts of Egypt developed important cultures, such as pyramids which are its most visible and lasting cultural testimony. Lugira (2009) further points out that in 3400, Before Common Era (BCE) Egypt was a flourishing empire with a highly developed religion, culture and civilisation. However, Idowu (1968) points out that it needs to be clarified when Christianity first came to Africa. According to Biblical tradition, Mary and Joseph, the parents of Jesus Christ, fled to Egypt with the baby Jesus to escape persecution (Matthew, chapter 2). Hence, Lugira (2009) argues that inferred from the aforementioned; Judeo-Christianity came to Africa even before the arrival of Christianity. Lugira (2009) further states that historically Hellenistic Christianity first came to Africa around 40 CE via Alexandria, a city of the Hellenic Empire founded by

Alexander the Great. It is clear from Lugira's assertion that Christianity in Africa pre-existed the Protestant and Catholic mission societies.

Sundkler and Steed (2004) point out that the first beginnings of the Church's history in the Nile Delta must be understood as closely related to the life of the Jewish Diaspora on the Mediterranean coastline. Sundkler and Steed further explain that about the first 100 years of Christian beginnings in the Nile Delta, the fundamental fact of the relationship to, and dependence on, the Jewish community in the city stands out as of primary importance. Sundkler and Steed explain that the leading spokesperson for the Jewish Diaspora in Alexandria was Philo, philosopher and Bible expositor, international and cosmopolitan Jewish scholar, deeply influenced by Hellenistic culture and concerned with establishing areas of contact and understanding between Hellenism and Judaism.

In addition to Hellenistic Christianity, Roman Christianity spread from Rome to Carthage, now Tunisia in 44 Common Era (CE). Early Christianity in Africa produced great leaders such as Desert Fathers. Sundkler and Steed (2004) assert that the majority of these Desert Fathers (Abbas) were men of peasant stock and simple men of faith but with unfailing knowledge (by heart) of Bible passages upon which they could feed the spirit. Visions, miracles, prediction of events and insight into occurrences in faraway places distinguished the early African Christian scholars including theologians such as Bishop Saint Athanasius of Alexandria, Tertullian and Saint Augustine who left an indelible mark on the history of Christianity (Smith, 1925). Smith further points out that Augustine, the Bishop of Hippo wrote two famous books 'The Confessions of Saint Augustine' and 'The City of God. It is evident from Smith (1925) that civilisation preceded the forms of colonial Christianity and their missional activities in Africa. For instance, Augustine of Hippo wrote books such as 'The City of God' before the European mission societies existed vis-a-vis PEMS and LMS.

Maambo (2017) points out that although countries such as Ethiopia and Egypt are believed to have come under Christian influence as early as the first century, it was not until the fourth century that Christianity became more widespread in North Africa under the influence of the patristic fathers. The ancient Kingdom of Aksum now Ethiopian, embraced Christianity as an official religion in 350 CE. At that time, the King Ezana of Aksumite converted to Christianity, initially a solid adherent to the African religion (Lugira, 2009). Aksumite Christianity, later called Ethiopian Christianity has its roots in now Coptic Christianity in Egypt. From the time of the African church fathers until the fifteenth century, there was no trace of the Christian church south of the Sahara.

Christianity was only at the end of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that it began to spread to the more southerly areas of Africa (Beetham, 1967). In their search for a sea route to India, the Portuguese set up bases along the East and West African coasts. Since Portugal was a Christian country, agents of missional enterprise followed in the wake of the traders to spread the missional message and set up the missional churches along the African coasts. Beetham (1967:8) explains that Prince Henry the Navigator (1394–1460) of Portugal was the man behind these expeditions, in which priests "served as chaplains to the new trading settlements and as missionaries to neighbouring African people." Hence, this began Christianisation and missional enterprise in Africa and worldwide.

5.7 Locating David Livingstone in Barotseland and Bembaland

The history of mission societies in Southern Africa is complete with interrogating the LMS efforts of David Livingstone and Robert Moffat the pioneers in spreading the missional message. Before the study examines Livingstone's LMS missionary efforts, it is essential to investigate how the man who paved the way for later missional activities and colonialism in southern Africa including Zambia became the LMS missionary. Livingstone as a missionary represents the new frontier of missionaries and Livingstone as an explorer represents colonialism encapsulated in what Craven (2017) calls 3Cs, 'I go to Africa to bring to those natives, Christianity, Commerce and Civilisation' (Livingstone, 1857). In Livingstone's 'Missionary Travels', he was concerned about being criticised for his missionary journeys in Central Africa (Ms.42436 f.1).

5.7.1 David Livingstone and missional activities in Barotseland (1853-1856)

Rotberg (1965) notes that from 1853 and 1856, Livingstone investigated the 'unknown' [to the colonisers] regions of central Africa. Rotberg further explains that Livingstone travelled from Linyati the capital of the Makololo on the Chobe River up the Zambezi River at the head of the region of the Lozi and Makololo people under chief Sibetuane. This was his first time visiting Barotseland that prepared the way for other forms of colonial Christianity to see it later. In addition, Rotberg points out that Livingstone entered Lunda country, North Western Rhodesia which was Portuguese territory and after much rest, returned to Barotseland in 1855. A few months later, having embarked on the Zambezi River towards Quelimane, he came across the waterfalls he named after Queen Victoria (Rotberg, 1965). Livingstone, Rotberg further adds trekked across the Tonga plateau and followed the course of the Zambezi River through

Mozambique to the Indian Ocean, where he arrived in 1856 to avoid the warlike Ila people. Gann (1964) asserts that he had negotiated the 'dark continent' from west to the east in twenty months.

5.7.2 David Livingstone and Universities Missions of Central Africa (UMCA)

In Britain, Livingstone promoted the idea that the land around the upper Zambezi would be a perfect habitation for Europeans and offered massive potential for exploring natural resources (Gann, 1964). There was a river, God's highway to the interior (Gann, 1964). He later gave a famous speech at the University of Cambridge that epitomised his sentiments:

I know that in a few years, I shall be cut off in that continent, which is now open, do not let it be shut again. I go back to Africa to make an unobstructed path for Christianity. Do you carry out the work that I have begun? I leave it to you (Rotberg, 1965:6).

In 1858, Livingstone severed his links with LMS. Gann (1964) explains that Livingstone was appointed as the HM Counsel and the officer in command of perdition to explore Eastern and Central Africa. Furthermore, Gann points out that Livingstone was determined to open up a river route into the African interior whereby Commerce and Christianity might be brought to the Dark Continent.

5.7.3 David Livingstone and University Mission of Central Africa (UMCA) in Bembaland

Macpherson (1976) states that the UMCA, born from Livingstone's address to the University of Cambridge in 1857, sent its first missionaries to the Shire Highlands in 1861. Gann (1964) explains that when the missionaries with their wives arrived at the Zambezi region, they were struck by malaria and many died including Livingstone's wife, in 1862. Jeal (2013) asserts that Livingstone was held responsible for the loss of lives and the Zambezi River proved to be not navigable leading to the end of the new vision to set up a mission among the Makololo people.

However, in 1866, Livingstone set off once more to find the source of the Nile. Jeal (2013) says that during this time that he met with the journalist from New York Heralds, Henry Morton Stanley, at Ujiji in 1871. Gann (1964) points out that Stanley brought new provisions and medicines and persuaded him to return to Britain but Livingstone refused. Wanting to redeem his shattered reputation, he returned to Lake Bangweulu's swamps to find the Nile River's source. Gann further explains that mosquitoes and poisonous insects near the swampy shores

of Lake Mweru and with the loss of blood through rectal blessing tormented Livingstone; he died on 1st May 1873 in a small village at Chitambo.

'LIVINGSTONE is dead', began the Daily Telegraph (Telegraph 27, January 1874),

> With the yearning desire to see once more the faces of his friends and the shores of his native land [but], he had faced the chance of 'death in harness' far too often not to be prepared for it. We may say that no man ever better did his life work or kept a purer and kinder heart along with courage so dauntless, endurance so heroic, and purpose so resolutely fixed.

Lewis (2015) comments that an extensive eulogy using classic Manichean imagery and feminizing discourse about Livingstone's death; a man whose name will ever be a glory to his own country and a portion of the unwritten history of Africa. The best and most faithful friend that Dark Continent ever possessed has perished, opening her unknown regions to light and knowledge. Rotberg (1965) points out that the circumstances of Livingstone's death and the example of his life proved a bright beacon that directed a new evangelical outpouring to the darkest Africa. Macpherson (1976) notes that the appearance of missionaries north of the Zambezi has been a direct continuation of Livingstone's endeavours. Jeal (2013) concurs with Macpherson (1976) and asserts that Livingstone was a pathfinder for the British Empire and a prototypical evangelising Christian who imposed colonial values on indigenous people.

5.8 Robert Moffat and missional activities in Barotseland

Robert Moffat replaced Livingstone and was sent to work among the Makololo people and his reach extended to Barotseland. According to Dean (2007), after Livingstone severed the links with LMS, Moffat was commissioned by the LMS directors in London to establish more missional stations among the Matebele in the South and Makololo people in the North aiming to ease the tension that existed between two enemies. It could be argued that one of the missional roles was to be a peacemaker.

Robert Moffat writing to Mary Moffat in 1857 about setting two missions, as mentioned above says,

> 'Whatever may be the results, I feel resigned. The commencing of a mission among the Matabele originated entirely with the Directors. The plan was natural enough after the

> discoveries of Livingstone and the resolution to send missionaries to the Makololo. The Makololo were moved to a healthier region where they, and especially missionaries, might be expected to enjoy better health than in their present abode which naturally enough suggested the idea that the permanency of such a location could only be ensured by securing the friendship of Moselekatse, who could at any time order a body of his warriors to pass the Zambesi to pillage and drive the tribes out from that quarter, as he had done before. I am glad that I have uniformly represented to the Directors what would be the character of this mission, and the requisites--faith, prayer, patience and perseverance (LMS October 27, 1859 Robert Moffat to Mary Moffat cited in Wallis, 1945: 203).

Dean (2007) elucidates that Moffat left the Kuruman mission station and visited Chief Sechele at Moselekatse. Moffat after meeting with Chief Sechele's remarked about his faith in this matter:

> This African monarch had sufficient knowledge to know that if the doctrines of the Bible prevailed among his tribe, his claims to divine honour would forever cease. His warriors used to pay him homage as follows: "O Pezoolu, the king of kings, king of the heavens, who would not fear before the son of Machobane (his father's name), and mighty in battle?" and with other similar marks of adulation (Dean, 2007:124).

Robert Moffat writing to Mary Moffat in 1857, says

> 'This forenoon expounded to my people from the 11th verse to the end of the 1st Thessalonian Chapter Four. … Many Matabele, who could not understand me, drew near and sat with great decorum during the service. In the afternoon, I had a large attendance and felt an indescribable pleasure in unfolding to them the common salvation. It is pleasing to address people who evidently take a deep interest in what is said' (Wallis, 1945:105).

The Inyati mission was set up among the Matebele people (now Southern Rhodesia) under King Mzilikazi. The missionary work then consisted of learning the language, holding services on Lord's Day at home, and visiting two neighbouring villages during the week. On these visits, I took a young man with me, chiefly for his aid in making myself understood and acquiring the language (Thomas, 1873).

Thomas further says that the efforts to teach the young consisted of each missionary doing what he could in his own house and among his servants and adherents, but this in the absence of even a word printed in the native language, discountenanced by despotic government, and distasteful to the children themselves was indeed up-hill work and little successful. In contrast, Thomas (1873) adds that the Makololo mission came to an early end and that so many of the devoted members of it perished due to fever. Lower down the Zambesi River, another mission failed and several of the missionaries of the forms of colonial Christianity died in an attempt to plant the standard of the cross (Thomas, 1873). The following section discusses the next generation of the forms of colonial Christianity after Livingstone and Moffat.

5.9 The arrival of PEMS in Barotseland

In Barotseland, the Sotho language of the Kololo the invaders from the south proved helpful for the mission. Sotho literature such as Bibles and Bible portions could be used initially. Coming from Lesotho, the French missionary Francois Coillard, being an accomplished Sotho linguist, could begin at once using the Sotho language (Sundkler & Steed, 2004). In 1878, Coillard of the PEMS briefly visited the Zambezi from Lesotho (Macpherson, 1976). Sundkler and Steed (2004) assert that the evangelical mission in Barotseland was an extension of the Paris mission in Lesotho.

In addition, Sundkler and Steed further point out that the church beginnings in Zambia illustrate that Christianity needed an auspicious time and place of entry as the PEMS mission to the Lozi was to discover that it could not have struck a worse moment. In 1880 Coillard, a French protestant missionary and leader of a group of the PEMS reached Chobe River following in the footsteps of Livingstone and visited King Lewanika of the Lozi people (Coillard, 1897). The PEMS conducted their missionary work among the Ila people who were subjects of the Lozi. This did not please the Litunga (Gann, 1964). Gann notes that when malaria broke out among the Ila, the PEMS decided to return to Barotseland, but the Litunga Lewanika could not allow them. Coillard also unwittingly walked into a bitter conflict over the Lozi throne and had to leave the country. The next section discusses the PEMS missional activities.

5.9.1 PEMS and missional activities in Barotseland

Sundkler and Steed (2004) point out that when Coillard attempted to set up missions seven years later and once again entered a precarious situation, the French missionary appeared to side with a competitor of the king. Only the good offices of the trader Westbeech made it

possible for him to be accepted by the king then. In addition, Sundkler and Steed note that Coillard had brought along from the Sotho Church African co-workers, convinced that Africans must evangelise Africans; two Sotho evangelists were his mainstay, one called Aaron was active, energetic and animated but also sensitive and quick-tempered'; the other, Levi, `better educated than Aaron, who did well at what he did, but lacked enterprise (Sundkler and Steed, 2004:28).

The two wives of the African evangelists were different. Levi's wife was young and had little experience while Aaron's wife MaRuthi had some experience as she had grown up in Coillard's household [with the Coillard's in Lesotho]. MaRuthi was said to have the soul of a missionary . . . and never lost an opportunity to speak about the Saviour to the heathen she met (Steedkler and Steed, 2004:28).

The PEMS set up the mission station in 1878. This was almost 25 years after the first contact between Sekeletu, Livingstone, and Moffat (Smith, 1925; Rotberg, 1965). The Basotho, who spoke a language similar to Lozi (Gann, 1964) accompanied Coillard to meet the Litunga. The Basotho persuaded the Litunga to accept the forms of colonial Christianity as they would help the Litunga get British Protection just as Chief Khamma of Ngwato of Bechualand had done. Protection was needed against the Portuguese interested in linking the west and east (Angola and Mozambique).

Smith (1925) and Sundkler and Steed (2004) note that Litunga Lewanika took an interest in the activities of the missionary and often attended Church services, hoping to hear the following favourite hymn:

> *Litaba tse gu imelang*, the Lozi rendering of
>
> *What a friend we have in Jesus*.
>
> *All sins and grief to bear*
>
> *What a privilege to carry; Everything to God in prayer* (Christian Hymns, 2004)
>
> In the following verse, it reads as,
>
> *Are we weak and heavy laden, cumbered with a load of care?*
>
> *Precious Saviour, still our refuge—take it to the Lord in prayer!*
>
> *Do your friends despise or forsake you? Take it to the Lord in prayer!*

In his arms he'll take and shield you; Thou wilt find a solace there (Christian Hymns, 2004).

It is important to note that Litunga Lewanika wanted to be different from Sekeletu who did not trust the agents of colonial enterprise but allowed them to stay hoping that their presence would facilitate trade with outsiders. It could be argued that the Litunga was using the forms of colonial Christianity to secure a strong kingdom for his people and the PEMS missionaries were using him to spread their missional message.

Nevertheless, despite Coillard's hopes, Litunga would not himself become a convert and he could do without some of the loftier expressions of the new religion:

> What have I to do with the Gospel and their God? He would exclaim, in 1892, in a particularly candid moment. `Had we not got gods before their arrival? What I want is . . . especially missionaries who build big workshops and teach us all the trades of the White men: carpenters, blacksmiths, armourers, masons and so on. That is what I want . . . we laugh at all the rest (Coillard, 1897).

5.9.1.1 PEMS and Missional Evangelism

The PEMS set up its first mission at Sefula, a few kilometres from Lealui (Rotberg, 1965). Rotberg further states that the PEMS built schools for the community children and the royal families. According to Sundkler and Steed (2004), the first catechumen class of 1887 had two students. Characteristically they were members of the missionary's household, evangelist Aaron's wife, Ruth, thus, a foreigner in Bulozi, and a serf boy Nguana Ngombe. To everybody's surprise, Nguana Ngombe rose in the Church service to declare that he had now become a believer, thanks, as he said, to the teaching of Aaron and Coillard. The challenging situation of the converts is reflected in his words,

> 'Are you going to say, `Look at Nguana Ngombe: he wants to be a Whiteman!' How can I become a White man when I was born Black? God is not the God of the Whites only . . . I am the first . . . Shall I be the only one? Will you not come with us, my fathers and mothers, and my *thaka* [age-class]? (Coillard, 1897).

Nguana Ngombe's baptism followed two and a half years later. The king himself had been invited, although he could not attend, for it concerned just a serf. However, the young man

could verbalise what had happened in his life. When I served with the missionaries, a gun was the object of all my desires. When I got it, I thought myself the happiest man in the world:

> A gun! My gun! . . . I used to get up in the night to make sure that I really possessed it. I was always admiring it. However, I know the Lord Jesus; he has taken possession of all my thoughts and love. I almost forgot I have a gun (Coillard, 1897).

It could be deduced from the above testimony of Ngombe that he dramatically converted to missional faith after hearing and responding to the missional message. Ngombe's baptism evidences it by Coillard. African conversions followed the prototype of Saul's Damascus conversion. The indigenous conversions were expected to be dramatic and instantaneous as Africans like Zambians came from pagan and heathen cultures and worldviews. This is illustrated in Coillard's address in 1899 at a missionary conference in London reported that:

> African, the heathen world is sunk in misery, they sunk in animal life, they are sunk in darkness and I repeat there seems to be a special curse of malediction on the land of Africa. We see even her children bear the symbol of unhappiness and misery (News from Barotsiland, 1899:14. No.3).

The above address explains the PEMS worldview about indigenous dramatic conversion. It is evident that PEMS expected the Lozi people to undergo the prototype of Saul's Damascus conversion according to Coillard's assertion that Africans were sunk in animal life existence that is people with animal-like morals.

5.9.1.2 PEMS and Missional Education

In 1894, Coillard opened a missional Bible school with four pupils 'I clothe and feed and who manage my domestic work, such as it is. They are my children as well as my pupils. Coillard took his students along on his evangelistic visits. They had assimilated a hell-and-fire message adapted from the New Testament's view of social differences in the world:

> I made our young men speak, and one of them, a Moshukulumbwe [Ila-speaking], who promises to become a `son of thunder', closed with these words, uttered in passionate accents: `I tremble for you; you are lost, lost, as I myself was. Be converted to God or you will perish hopelessly. I who am, as you say, nothing but a dog or a slave, a nothing, know then that slaves - yes, your enslaved people - have already outstripped you and if

> you do not take care you will and the door shut . . . make yourselves little, quite little before God' (Coillard, 1897).

The early missionaries relocated many adults from villages into heterogeneous urban areas. It is evident from the study that an increasing number of people migrated from villages to live in urban areas or mission centres where they would attend missional schools started by Coillard of PEMS. The other reason for migration from villages to towns was to access jobs on the Copperbelt and in government offices where this phenomenon was true in most parts.

5.10 The Lozi Politics and PEMS

This section discusses and examines the role that PEMS in particular Coillard played in the politics of Barotseland under the rule of Litunga Lewanika.

5.10.1 A Blessing or Curse: The Lochner Treaty

It is clear that in most histories in Africa like Barotseland, the introduction of British the history of British colonists changed the power dynamics and way of life drastically. They introduced the system of centralised government which was alien to the Lozi. Johnson (2012) points out that the British South Africa Company (BSAC) was slowly advancing through southern Africa in the late 19th century, and Lewanika I and his kingdom were trapped between Portuguese claims to the west and British lands to the east. However, Mainga (2014) points out that the British using the British South Africa Chartered Company of Cecil John Rhodes dismissed Portuguese claims to Barotseland pointing out that according to the Berlin Conference of November 1884 rules and regulations, 'Sphere of Influence' was based on effective occupation and having Treaties and Concessions with local rulers, Berlin Conference is discussed later in the chapter. Mainga further explains that:

> The British argued that the Portuguese had not established effective occupation anywhere in the interior, and colonial Britain would not prevent expansion from her possessions in the south to parts, which Portugal claimed without legal basis. Under the provisions of the 1889 Africa Order in Council of 15th October, the colonial British Sphere of Influence was defined as North of Bechuanaland, North and West of the Transvaal and West of Mozambique. The British claimed special interests in Khamma's country, Lobengula's Matabeleland and Mashonaland, and Lake Nyasa through English missionaries (Mainga, 2014:15).

It is critical to note that on 29th October 1889, Queen Victoria gave the BSCA the Royal Charter. Gann (1964) and Rotberg (1965) assert that the Royal Charter gave the BSCA powers, subject to the British Government's approval, to make treaties, acquire Concessions, and maintain the police force. Meanwhile, King Lewanika's choice was to be under British imperial rule. On the 8th of January 1889, the Lozi ruler had written a letter through the missionary Francois Coillard of PEMS to the Administrator of Bechuanaland, Sir Sidney Shippard, stating that he wished to be placed under British protection (Baxter, 1963). In April 1890, Lochner urged the colonial British Government to include the Barotse country in the British Sphere of Influence. On 1st November 1890, Lozi King Lewanika wrote to Queen Victoria asking for her protection (Baxter, 1963).

Coillard of PEMS writing from Lealui on 27th June 1890 during the negotiations for the Lochner Treaty gave the frontiers of the Barotse Kingdom a defined role in a Council held by King Lewanika, his Councillors and the principal Headmen of the nation, held at Lealui on 25th June 1890. Before going into details of the boundary lines, Coillard listed 23 tribes and recorded that the general boundary lines of the Barotse Kingdom were:

> On the South the Zambezi and Chobe Rivers; On the West the 20 longitude E; On the North the watershed of the Congo and the Zambezi Rivers; and on the East the Kafue River (C.O. to F.O. 4th September 1893 cited in Mainga, 2013:17).

Depending on where one stands on history, was this treaty a curse to Barotseland? Lewanika I treaty with the BSAC designated Barotseland as a protectorate of the British Empire, meaning that the Litunga, Lewanika I, retained primary control over the land and its people. A question to ask is, in what way was the treaty a blessing to the British? Baxter (1963) reports that in signing the Lochner Treaty, Lewanika gave the BSAC 'the sole, absolute, and exclusive and perpetual right and power to search for, dig, win and keep diamonds, gold, coal, oil and all other precious stones, minerals and substances over his entire kingdom including any future extension thereof, including all subject and dependent territory. The BSAC could also appoint and maintain a British Resident to reside permanently with the king (Baxter, 1963). This was under the Barotseland North Western Rhodesia Order in Council (Macpherson, 1976). Mufinda (2015) points out that the BSAC advertised and issued prospecting rights to interested companies in southern Africa and Britain once the territory was secured.

Gann (1964) points out that during this same year, the Northern Territories (BSAC) Exploration Company sent F.C. Burnham and Pearl Ingram, who were prospectors from Southern Rhodesia who had come to prospect north of the Zambezi River. Gann (1964) adds that the BSAC issued a flurry of mining concessions during that year. Gann further notes that on 13 February, the Bechuanaland Exploration Company was allocated three areas of 100 square miles, which carried both land and mineral rights. On the same date, the Charter land Gold Fields was given 100 square miles of land and mineral rights; and on 21 May, J.W Dore was allocated one block of 30,000 morgens (about 100 square miles) with land and mineral rights (Gann, 1964). Simply put, the land and its raw mineral resources were given to Britain in change for protection from Matebele.

It could be deduced that the modernity and capitalism backed by PEMS had been seen to operate in many African countries negatively and began popping up almost immediately after the Concession was signed. Missionaries purported to care for Africans but were doing their sending churches' interests. As Caplan (1970:54) underscores, almost every promise was broken, including the rights of sovereignty given to the king:

> No payment was made for the first seven years, no school or industrial establishment was ever maintained with Company money, and its residence arrived only in 1897.

Caplan (1970) further laments that Lewanika I succeeded in remaining a King only by forfeiting a large portion of the traditional authority of the Kingship. The author contends that Caplan's account of King Lewanika's ill-fated experience with BSAC elucidates the effects of what is known as the coloniality of power. The British rule in Barotseland was designed to benefit the colonisers from inception to completion. The colonisers had no interest in the welfare of the Lozi. As Johnson (2012) puts it, life as a protectorate under the BSAC was no better and in no way felt superior to simply being a colony of the British Empire. The Litunga learnt a bitter lesson and after a decade of signing the Concession, he was no longer a de facto sovereign of the Barotseland but subsumed under the coloniser's rule.

Fast forward to 1964, according to Caplan (1970:210), the Barotseland Agreement 1964 was signed by President Kaunda and Litunga on the 16th May of that year and the document stipulated as follows:

> Barotseland was to become an integral part of Zambia with its traditional right preserved, and the Litunga was to retain powers over local government matters greater than those granted to any other chief in Zambia.

What is clear is that the Litunga was misled the second time and this time by the Republic of Zambia president Zambia. Following the signing of the Barotseland Agreement, President Kaunda signed into law one party state that reduced the powers of the Litunga. The next section discusses the LMS mission society in Bembaland.

5.11 The LMS Mission Society in Bembaland

5.11.1 The LMS and Missional activities

Having discussed the Bemba culture, this section focuses on the LMS activities and their influence on Bemba culture. The LMS settled in the extensive belt of the territory, stretching from Lake Tanganyika to Nyato the Zambezi. Most ethnic groups except the Bemba had no strong indigenous chiefdoms (Gann, 1964). The study contends that due to weak indigenous leadership the LMS was given free rein to practice what moral norms and practices they deemed appropriate. Other ethnic groups like Lungu and Mambwe chose to live near the LMS mission stations which were regarded as places of refuge from the Bemba attacks (Gann, 1964). According to (Gann, 1964), this arrangement made colonialists become chiefs not by design but by default.

Gann (1964) points out that discipline was severe, for example, fines, hard labour and offenders were whipped with a rhino whip as punishment. Similar atrocities committed by LMS on indigenous people were reported in Blantyre where brutal flogging often led to death. Gann (1964) argues that this discipline enabled their tiny theocracies to have peace and order, while the formidable Bemba deterred by colonial punishment and firearms did not attack their stations.

The policy of direct rule led to PEMS and LMS resulting in moral dilemmas. For example, these mission societies came to Barotseland and Bembaland to bring good news and to teach the word of God to the benighted heathen, who now suddenly became the rulers who could impose godliness by word of command (Gann, 1964). The report of minutes from Jones to LMS on 1 November 1898 shows:

> There was total attendance in churches and schools and no labour shortage. Secular arms punished drunkards and adulterers.
>
> (Box 17, CWM/CA correspondence from Jones to Hawkins, 1898).

Gann (1964) asserts that most missionaries were fundamentalists by conviction. These inner-directed men received their education the hard way, including many dissenting clergypersons from the lower middle class or working class. For example, in the forest they lived as pioneers, often doing the roughest manual labour to keep their mission going with no time for academic studies.

Gann (1964:38-39) explains their convictions as follows:

> The missionaries thought of themselves as a tiny army of God alone in the wilds of Africa, battling against Satan and felt convinced that Christianity standards alone must prevail. They were rarely analysers; the men and women of action intent on changing the world; and to the people, as a stamp aboriginal culture merely represented a lower stage of human civilisation/human evolution and lying, stealing, gluttony, polygamy, licentious debauchery and cannibalism were thought to be deeply ingrained in the superstition and spirit worship.

Bembaland was seen as a territory of unemployed people, pagans and depraved and in danger of everlasting punishment and hellfire if they did not convert to missional message and faith. It could be argued that the missional message became the exclusive truth leading to salvation and eternal life. Hence, any other claim to the truth rather than a missional message was eroded in the name of Christianisation.

5.11.2 The LMS and Missional Education

It is clear that most mission societies in Africa used missional education to proselytise the indigenous people of which the Bemba people were not exceptional. LMS stated that the sole mission to the world was to evangelise the gospel as Goodall (1954) puts it, "to carry the glorious Gospel of the blessed God to the heathens". However, to put the glorious Gospel that is the missional message in the hands of the Bemba people, the same people needed to understand the language in which it was written and thus the teaching of Reading, Arithmetic and Writing known as the 3Rs. This sowed the seeds of coloniality. Ayandele (1980) asserts that missionaries believed that it was God's will that Africans converted to Christianity to save their souls from moral debauchery and everlasting fire in hell. According to Ayandele (1980) providing a rudimentary [missional] education would make it easy for them to assimilate some elements of [missional] culture: names, dress, clothing and language and improve and raises the standard of the whole community. In addition, [missional] education became a vehicle for

a smooth cultural transformation from traditional cultures, assimilation and absorption into the colonial culture and society (Ayandele, 1980). Macola and Hinfelaar (2003) observed the prevalence of education in the following:

> The missionary societies operating in Zambia were eventually led to recognise the value of teaching literacy in their proselytising efforts and spent considerable time and energy in reducing to writing the languages, and sometimes the dialects, of the peoples among whom they operated. Only the PEMS in Barotseland and the WF saw fit to employ the linguistic expertise thus accumulated to print local oral traditions during the first four decades of the twentieth century.

Reverend Adam Purvis established the LMS mission station at Mbereshi in 1900 shortly after the defeat of the Lunda by the forces of the BSAC as aforementioned above (Goodall, 1954). Purvis came from Kawimbe Mission accompanied by his wife and new converts from the Mambwe and Lungu ethnic groups (Goodall, 1954). Among these were David Kawandami, a teacher and evangelist, originally from Ufipa, in the Sumbawanga District of German East Africa, now part of the south-west part of Tanzania, educated at Niamukolo and Kawimbe Missions;

> He played a pivotal role in the provision and development education at Mbereshi and helped in spreading of the gospel in the surrounding areas. Kawandami later became headman of a Christian village that grew adjacent to the mission station (Wareham, 1975).

In the 1930s, A. M. Chirqwin, who served as Secretary for Foreign Affairs for LMS, reported the following after visiting mission stations in South Africa,

Southern Rhodesia and Northern Rhodesia:

> Clearly, [missional] education must fit the Africans for life in the village and be in a living way – that is it must be linked to the ordinary interests and activities of the people. It must not be bookish as to advance them from their homes and their cattle; instead, it must get some skill into their fingers, some knowledge into their heads and some character into their make up so that they will be able and eager to lead their fellows into a larger and more abundant life (Chirqwin, 1994).

The LMS understood the importance of educating the girl child and women if the missional message and faith were to succeed and prosper in Bembaland. They introduced a formal

missional education for boys and girls, ignoring the customary and cultural relevance of indigenous education that they found alive and well. However, boys were educated in formal missional education to become evangelists, teachers, clerks and traders. The colonial government employed a few of these trained young men. The implication is that there were no future job opportunities for girl children. Education as part of the modernity matrix is centred on males as they were the epitome of I think, therefore, I am. Educational schooling opportunities were expanded only as far as women needed to provide marriage companions for the "educated men" seeking to advance their careers in the new patriarchal meritocratic society. There were a few missional educational opportunities for girls' advancement.

Efforts to transform the lives of young women in colonial Zambia were integral to the efforts of LMS in Bembaland. The missional education of the girl child was a crucial component in the ideological transformation of the Lozi and Bemba communities among whom they worked. For instance, in missional boarding schools, female teachers followed a feminised curriculum that included Home Crafts or Domestic Science, Hygiene, Sewing with Needlework and knitting. Accordingly, female teachers only taught girls.

5.11.2.1 The LMS and the Missional School at Mbereshi

Mbereshi is a corruption of Mbeleshi named after the river Mbeleshi. The LMS Mission Station was located on high ground facing the Mofwe Lagoon about ten kilometres north of Mwata Kazembe's capital, Mwansabombwe about ten kilometres to the north (Kapotwe, 1994). The North-Eastern Rhodesia, Mbereshi was a focal point for accomplishing the mission mandate by the LMS. According to Goodall (1954), schooling for boys and girls under the direction of Kawandami started almost immediately after the establishment of the missional station. Wareham (1975) notes that the first missional school was made of simple structures under the tree and later new buildings were constructed of sun-dried bricks and roofed with grass. Wareham further notes that learning in missional schools was by memorisation and writing in the dust and later, they graduated to writing on slates.

From the beginning, enrolment was open to both boys and girls and in 1903, Reverend Nutter reported that the [missional] school was,

> 'Better attended than ever, and the only hindrance to more rapid progress (was) the lack of teachers' (Box 17, CWM/CA Correspondence from Nutter, 1903).

To overcome this problem, a few bright boys like Andrea Makulu were co-opted to assist Kawandami.

In 1904, Nutter reported that,

> The desire for [missional] education is so keen that we have been compelled to rearrange our school work on more advanced lines and best of all is the quite spontaneous action of our best lads in going to their villages on Saturdays and Sundays hold (classes and) service (Box 17, CWM/CA Correspondence from Nutter, 1904).

In 1905, the Central African Committee composed of LMS missionaries at Mbereshi, Kashinda and Kawimbe, recommended to the Board of Directors of the LMS London to send women missionaries to begin girls' boarding schools in Central Africa. This request had to wait for ten years before they answered (Wareham, 1975). In addition, Ernest Clark proposed the idea of [missional] boarding school for young women under a female missionary in 1912 writes:

> The boarding school idea would bring girls under constant Christian influence (Box 17 CWM/CA, Correspondence from Clark to Hawkins, 1912).

Many young, educated men in various parts of the country shared their concerns about missionaries (CWM/CA report, Nutter, 1903). In 1912, a group of young Christian men from Kawimbe Mission attending various training courses at Livingstonia Mission at Khondowe in Karonga District of what was Northern Nyasaland (Malawi) took the courage to address the subject. The three LMS missionary trainees wrote a letter to the Missionary-in-Charge at Kawimbe and appeared in LMS Chronicles in 1915 three years previously saying:

> Why are you training boys only and not girls? We want those girls should be taught as well as boys. We tell you this because many teachers there would like to marry trained girls, but they are disappointed because there are but few learned girls. We shall be glad to hear your answer and know why you cannot do this. In this land (Nyasaland), we see many trained girls and wonder why the girls in our country are not thus trained (Box 18, CWM/CA/LMS, Chronicles, 1915:93-95).

Twenty-one years later, Bishop Alston May of the Universities Mission to Central Africa (UMCA), later called Anglicans made similar views that,

> I wish I could feel that we are doing all that should be done for our women and girls. They have such a strong claim upon us on their account and as mothers or future mothers of our Christian children and their influence on African society is so significant

> that we cannot hope for Christian conditions to prevail in our villages till the women are on the side of Christ (May, 1932).

The strategy of LMS for evangelising the whole village with the missional message rested in educating the girls in the missional faith and culture who became women and mothers with children. It was held that these children born into Christian mothers would be brought up under the influences of the missional faith. In doing so, their missional station would expand exponentially.

5.11.2.2 The Boarding Schools for Girls (GBS) at Mbereshi

Acting on this information, the missional Board, at their meeting on 20 January 1914, decided to open two girls' boarding houses at Mbereshi and Kawimbe (Chuba, 2000). Chuba further points out that the board made available special funds to support the appointment of two women missionaries with the following duties:

> To superintend a boarding home for the girls.
>
> To superintend the work among women.
>
> Such homes provide for bringing girls under the Christian influences out of school hours...making them fit to be wives of Christian men.

The girls would attend the schools and live at the same premises under the close supervision of female teachers, and some suitable native woman who would assist her in looking after them. Their quarters should be like native quarters as much as possible. Girls from nine years of age would be eligible for admission, and they should be cared for until marriage (Chuba, 2000).

Morrow (1986) claims that in 1910 a motion was passed to permit female missionaries more opportunities for mission work. At the board meeting on 20th January, the missionaries expressed hope that the boarding houses (schools) for the girls might result in the training of [educated], better, more sensible wives for the youths and better mothers (CWM/CA, 1914 and in Chuba, 2000). The deputation that visited central Africa in 1913 formalised the policy on girls' education and decided that there were to be Boarding Houses rather than Boarding Schools on native lines to produce students fit for wives of Christian men. It could be argued that the Boarding Houses were pivotal in influencing the education, moral norms and liturgy of the Bemba people. The Boarding Houses became the places of contestation of two worldviews a missional worldview and a Bemba world worldview.

5.11.2.3 Mabel Shaw at Mbereshi GBS

According to the annual report, the Board appointed two young, Mabel Shaw, 26 years old, for Mbereshi and Henrietta Edwards, aged 30 years, for Kawimbe (CWM/CA, 1915). They arrived in the middle of the year. Unfortunately, due to the war between Northern Rhodesia and German East Africa, Henrietta Edwards struggled with disruption and the aftermath of the war (Wright, 1982 & Chuba, 2000).

On Mabel Shaw, Goodall (1954:271) in his discussion on the "History of the London Missionary Society" and Hughes (2013:107) provide an informative autobiography of her as follows:

> Mabel Shaw was the eldest of five and was born in 1888 at Bilston in Wolverhampton, in the English Midlands, to lower middle class, Anglican parents. When Mabel was five years old, she went to live with her grandmother in Berkshire, where she stayed until her grandmother's death five years later. She credited her Baptist "Granny" with teaching her "how near God was in everyday things in this World". She moved to Ride Boarding School on the Isle of Wight, where her Christian education continued.
>
> During holidays in Wolverhampton, she worshipped at Queen Street Congregational Church and actively supported the LMS, joining the Band of Hope and leading a study circle group, taught Sunday school and led missionary study circles. She applied to the LMS as a missionary candidate. She was accepted in 1912 to study at St. Colm's College, a women's missionary college in Edinburgh, from 1912 until 1915 and later worked in the hospital for six months.

Morrow (1986) explains the role religion played in Shaw's life by pointing out that she came from a congregational church background that was more ritualistic and sacramental than nonconformists, which later informed her choice of joining the LMS. Shaw later attributed her choice of predominantly Congregational LMS to the freedom of operation that the democratically organised denomination allowed:

> My inclinations were Anglican, but I knew I would have to do what the Bishop wanted me to do and I do not think even in my youth I was pretty prepared to do that. I would do and have had certain ideas then (Shaw cited in Morrow, 1986).

According to Goodall (1954), Shaw went to the Mbereshi mission station by orders of LMS in 1915. Goodall illustrates an account of Shaw as follows:

> Mabel Shaw and Henrietta Edwards arrived at Mbereshi in June 1915, and in August, the GBS was opened to enrol its first pupils. She came from an evangelical Christianity background and wanted to go to India, but when the LMS asked her to go as the first single woman to Central Africa, she ascertained that "this must be God's will for her". Praying that she would "follow worthily" in the steps of David Livingstone, Shaw spent her first year in Northern Rhodesia learning the Ichibemba language and traditional concepts of education for girls (Box 17, CWM/Central Africa LMS Report 1915).

The GBS at Mbereshi began in August 1915. The school faced hostility from the Lunda families who were suspicious of its intentions and strongly opposed the idea of giving education to the girls. The Mambwe families that had accompanied Adam Purvis from Kawimbe to Mbereshi in 1900 were willing to allow their children to attend the School but on condition that they came from home (Musambachime cited in Marrow, 1986). They could not trust a white woman, not married and without children of her own to look after their children. To win the parents over, Mabel Shaw began to learn Ichibemba. Within a few months, she was able to pick up some Ichibemba and was able to communicate with the parents and win some of their trust (Musambachime cited in Marrow, 1986). Miss Edwards while teaching at Mbereshi Girls School in September 1916 a committee report shows,

> As a teacher, we judge that she is good at teaching handwork, cooking, sewing, washing, ironing and writing are all done well (A report written by Draper, 1916).

Families were unwilling to release their daughters amid famine and many girls became camp followers and porters revealed in the correspondence between Shaw and Hawkins in 1916.

Dear Hawkins,

> Some girls, however, have just run away because they were homesick, I would not allow them to go to the village at night. They had only been with me for a week. There is much to be said for those parents and I will have to be very careful and patient until times are more normal of the great hunger has passed away. They look at things like this. White men take our land, make us pay hut taxes and tell us to live peacefully. Then they fight amongst themselves, for safety we are forced to leave our houses or gardens or go to live where there is little food. Then they take away our men and force them to carry food for their soldiers. Some of our girls run after these soldiers and never return (Shaw, 1916).

Nelson (1974:47) observed that "although parents were (now) a little more willing to entrust their daughters to the lady (missionary), opposition to girls' education was still deep-rooted and lasted for many years. Shaw convinced four Mambwe families to allow their children to enrol in her school. She further agreed with the parents that the girls would live with their parents and come to a class held in her home to gain their trust (Shaw, 1932).

Shaw (1925) explains the following at the GBS at Mbereshi:

> It began with four girls, Elisabeth Chungu, Janet Mupelwa, Ila Semba and Nellie Musonda, aged between seven and eight years, drawn from Christian Mambwe families who came with Reverend Purvees from Kawimbe (Abercorn) and those from Kashinda (now Mporokoso). No girls from the local Lunda families lived near the mission or from the Bemba village of Mwaba Mukupa now Kasumpa (Shaw, 1925:527).

Shaw enrolled girls early because they had yet to develop or assimilate any ideas about indigenous life. Furthermore, early age schooling allowed Shaw to begin character training for the girls based on colonial Christian values and culture in repudiation of African cultural values and customs. Ichibemba was used as the language of communication to establish a personal teacher-pupil relationship. Shaw organised and structured the GBS around the concept of Chief Jesus, her notion of African Christianity. After training at St. Colm's, she arrived at this idea, where Annie Hunter Small, a former missionary in India, served as the first principal (Goodall, 1954:271; Hughes, 2013:107). Shaw incorporated psychology and current educational methods in the curriculum, expecting these tools to prepare her students to make Christianity relevant in any culture.

In 1914, Hawkins, the Foreign Secretary of the LMS, visited Mbereshi. He was enchanted by what he saw. In reporting about what he saw, he said:

> The boys and girls who attended school are keen to learn. . . .because they and their parents realise that education means money and advancement in life (Camarof and Camarof, 1954).

In 1916, after successfully lobbying and appealing to Christian families at the important missions, eleven new girls aged between five and seven joined the GBS, bringing the number to eleven. This was elucidated in the correspondence between Nutter (1917) head of the school and Hawkins in London:

Dear Hawkins

> The girls' boarding school seems to be started well. The ladies think they know what is best for girls and the men naturally say they know what is best for natives. The ladies were all out to a picnic breakfast this morning. The teachers' school is on just now and Harold has changed it. I am taking scripture, English and writing (Box 17 CWM/CA Correspondence, 1917).

It is clear from the aforementioned correspondence that scripture teaching was an integral part of missional education. The question to pose is, how did the missional female and male teachers know what was best for the young people?

Richards (1956) points out that after consulting with missionaries and local parents, it was agreed that Mwenya Salala, a widow, was put in charge of ichisungu puberty and initiation ceremonies and was hired as a matron and cook. Richards further states that Salala's responsibilities included instructing girls who reached puberty in a Christian surrounding, as opposed to the traditional way where the period of confinement was as long as a year. The question to ask is, what constitutes the Christian way of ichisungu?

In LMS annual report in 1914 shows,

> The attendance for girls was challenging to maintain as each year passed. It deteriorated as many left schools to go through the long and demanding puberty rituals or got married, help their parents and relations at home in the gardens, does house chores or looks after their younger brothers and sisters (Box 17 Council of World Missions/Central Africa CWM/CA, 1914 cited in Beidelman, 2011:112-116).

It is clear from the above report that young women faced social, economic and cultural challenges in attending missional formal school. For most of the young women attending missional formal school daily was perceived as an inconvenience to their way of life that was undergirded by informal indigenous education. Camarof and Camarof note that (1954) the future career prospects for girls could have been brighter than the boys. For example, the boys became teachers, evangelists, clerks and workers in the mines of Katanga and South Africa, while girls had few employment opportunities. However, Mpashi (1969) elucidates that after 1920, Shaw reported that the school was "very popular" among parents saying,

> The school also catered for ‘coloured’ (mixed race) young women born out of wedlock between colonisers’ district officials and local women such as Agnes Morton, Monica Makulu and Evelyn Kamangala.

According to Mpashi (1969), in 1922, the school attracted girls from all parts of North-Eastern Rhodesia such as Betty Kaunda (wife of former President Kaunda) from Mpika).

Table 1 shows CWM/CA Shaw’s LMS roll attendance report, 1923.

Year	**Number of Children**
1920	56
1922	70
1930	153
1940	62

The table above shows the enrolment figures of GBS at Mbereshi. It is clear from the table that there were variations in attendance and needed to be more consistent from year to year.

5.11.2.4 GBS Scheme of Work: The Curriculum Contents

LMS devised the missional school scheme of work Domestic Science or Home Craft, whose objective was to train young women to become better wives and mothers (Shaw, 1932). In this scheme of work, for example, young women were taught to cook English dishes such as baking, boiling, steaming, stewing and frying different t and vegetables. Furthermore, Shaw ensured that young women were also taught to sew clothes, clean their houses, weave baskets, pottery, gardening and baby care (Shaw, 1932) cited in (Musambachime, 1979). At GBS, subjects such as English dance and songs were taught essential reading based on Bible extracts, writing, English Language, Arithmetic and English cultural life. English was considered an important subject, "you are only educated once you can speak the Queen's language (Shaw, 1931; Irvine, 1961). However, Zambian dance or songs were celebrated at the communal meeting called Insaka in the evening on selected weekends but not in class (Musambachime, 1979). Shaw was the principal of the Girls' Boarding School
(GBS) from 1915-1940. Shaw died in 1972. Hughes commenting on Shaw’s colonial missionary work states,

> This school educated numerous girls during these years and was a model for other mission schools. In addition to her work in Africa during an era when most African

> women either were obscure to the British public or were considered to be conservators of the primitive, Shaw instead presented them as concerned and active members of a changing society. Finally, Shaw should be remembered as an authority billed as 'an interpreter of Africa'. Her communication skills and insights into mission work earned her recognition as an expert in a male-dominated field (Hughes 2013:10).

Her successor, Florence Mackenzie, continued in the same vein and urged students to wrestle with the heart of the Christian message in fresh ways so that it could be expressed through local initiative and not as a colonial Christianity. Instruction focused on the three Rs (Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic), geography, history in the form of stories, some in English (Ichibemba was the main language of instruction), hygiene, and mother craft or Domestic Science. She appreciated the teaching of "obedience, hard work and endurance," but as the rites included "much that was repulsive" to her, she aimed to Christianise them. However, the central African Mission was criticised after the retirement of Shaw in 1940 as follows:

> The principle behind the GBS has been one of the most intensive and protective controls of girls aged 5 to 20 years. It is said to have certain defects, in that it very essentially took the girls out of their home relationships, it trained them away from native life, it tended to produce an unnatural vision of women's sphere and has made the girls afraid or even ashamed of the normal functions of their sex. In addition to this, it has meant an amount of attention and expense lavished on the individual which is out of proportion to the total needs of the girls of the whole Mission and which is almost unjustified, if even practicable as a policy for the future. Now, much proof and impetus should be given that the parents should see and accept the wisdom of sending their girls to school. Despite our gratitude, it must not be counted as a failure (Box 18, CWM/CA – Cocker LMS Report, 1941).

Turner responding to the report (1941)

> Admitted that the girls' education was the weakest in their educational programme. He went on to add that girls "[were] not cared for in any way. They can come to school and, as a rule, will leave [as they wish] probably to marry". He argued that the time had "come when adequate effort should be put forward [to educate] future mothers [who were] to a great extent the 'key' to the future" of the mission.

Beidelman (2011) states that the poor attendance of girls was due to the requirement of their labour at home and in the gardens and to fetch water and firewood which was a major worry to

missionaries. By 1914, colonial mission schools produced two girls to finish Standard 2, four to six years of primary education. They were instantaneously recruited as teachers and became role models for girls (Marrow, 1986). At the GBS environment, confinement was removed and the instruction was based on Christian teachings, praying and for traditionalists, this was unacceptable and was the main reason for keeping their children away from the school (Richards, 1956).

The success of the GBS was seen in the influence its graduates generated in the villages, locations and townships where they lived. For instance, some graduates were teachers, nurses, saleswomen and social welfare workers. They were the first group of women to be employed as wage earners.

This is also revealed in the Annual reports for GBS

> Their incomes supplemented that of their husbands or, in the case of being single, divorced or widowed, it helped raise the children and satisfy needs and obligations. Many graduates also kept cleaner homes, prepared better meals and took their children to clinics and hospitals for health care. Some also used the skills acquired at school to sew clothes for themselves and their children, thereby reducing costs; others engaged in businesses: trading in foodstuffs, clothing and fish. One woman even ran a successful retain business, another a tea room (NAZ/C/8/9/3: Mabel Shaw, Annual Reports for the GBS for 1936).

It is evident that missional education positively contributed positively to the lives of young women and their families while eroding the Bemba culture.

5.12.1 LMS and Missional Evangelism

Missional evangelism was an integral part of the LMS Mission Society based on the command of the Lord Jesus to go into the world and preach the gospel to all people. The LMS in Bembaland has adopted various programs and activities that carry out its local missional evangelism in Bembaland. This is evidenced by a report dated 21.01.1916 from Freshwater to LMS to Hawkins reveals the work evangelism among the local people in Mbereshi:

> Dear Hawkins

> Since then, we have had our Christmas and New Year's gatherings. All these were well attended and I think they were a source of joy to all who attended. The New Year's gatherings were especially well attended, in fact, it was impossible to get all into the church who came. Quite names of candidates for baptism and entrance into catechumens had been considered at our previous church council. As I hinted at in my last report, we rely almost entirely upon the judgment of the deacons in deciding all these cases. We only judge from the person's testimony; we do not know their lives.

On New Year's Sunday, no less than 19 were baptised and 47 received into the Mbereshi roll, a much higher number than any of our communities have hitherto reached (Box 18, CWM/CA – Freshwater Report, 1933).

The glowing report from Freshwater shows how Christianising new converts via baptism was gathering speed in Bembaland. The missionaries believed that converting the souls of Africans from their pagan worldview would act as redemption for the sins of the slave trade. Hence, reporting the number of African conversions to the countries of origin was a source of immense joy, and celebration and a way of fundraising.

In addition, the LMS report in 1933 shows how the singing of hymns at the mission schools in Bembaland was used as evangelistic tools:

> The evidence before us of the quality of worship in such schools is highly varied.... The variety of the evidence suggests differences in the standard applied, while undoubtedly in many schools, the teacher by easy songs, by well-chosen scripture passages, and by such simple prayers as can be shared by little children, does succeed in lifting their hearts Godward (Box 18, CWM/CA - LMS Report, 1933).

Similarly, Harry Johnson of the LMS who lived among the Mambwe and Lungu people of North-Eastern Rhodesia observed that his parishioners were sociable and musical beings. Johnston speaks of them as "captive singers" in the following terms:

> They have vocal and instrumental music; of a kind, peculiarly their own ... S inging is a national characteristic, for, like the Hebrew captives by the waters of Babylon, they sing their tales of sorrow and bereavement and their pleasures and joys (Box 17, CWM/CA correspondence, Johnson, 1917).

5.12.2 The contestations of the missional moral norms and Bemba Culture

The LMS introduced their missional education, liturgy and moral norms in the Bemba culture predicated on the coloniser's worldview, which was purported to be Christian values. The study outlines these missional moral norms because they form the backbone of its analysis elsewhere in the study. Thus, in Songland correspondence in 1918, the new converts, church members and catechumen were asked to pledge abstinence as a sign of commitment to their faith as the reports show,

> That the matter of the Pledge of total abstinence of such urgency that the immediate decision of the General Church Council is imperative. Agreed.
>
> That we remove the clause re Beer drinking in the Vows made by catechumens and others. For 10. *Carried.*
>
> The Catechumens and church members are suspended for drunkardness. *Agreed.*
>
> That the giving of Beer Feast or attendance at them prevent baptism or admission into Catechumen and that the offence on the part of the Catechumen or church members be visited with suspension. *Agreed.*
>
> All who see Beer or make beer to sell are dealt with similarly. *Agreed.*
>
> That payment for work in beer not be allowed on the part of any Catechumen or church member. Carried, 9 for 2 *Agreed.*
>
> That we suspend any case of drinking intoxicants. *Lost for 1.*
>
> In addition, the General Council at Kawimbe dated 13.09.1819, made the following social and moral norms' resolutions for the new converts, catechumen and church members:
>
> Article 5. Re the Baptism of the first wives of polygamous husbands, General Sec reported that he had written to other Missions
>
> Article7. Questions of Adultery and allied Heathen customs.
>
> The custom of '*Kulya mfwa'*, Chibemba '*Kupesa mfwa'* [sic the traditional custom after the death of a spouse. The widow/widower will only be cleansed after having sex with the chosen member of the deceased family] and discussed. It was decided that any Catechumen or church member guilty of this practice be suspended for not less than a year. *Agreed.*

> Also, any catechumen or Church Member who countenanced or assisted in any way in this custom [sexual cleansing ritual] be suspended. Agreed.
>
> Article 8. Adultery – The suspension period be not less than a year and anyone so dealt with may be received straight back into the church upon repentance.
>
> Article 9. Polygamy – Decided that for this offence, a church member or catechumen be removed and in cases of restoration, the individual return through the Hearers and Catechumen's classes.

For instance, 'immoral acts' such as polygamy and sexual cleansing that were part of their culture were considered sinful, and anyone guilty faced severe church discipline. In Bemba culture polygamy was accepted and part of their way of life as illustrated in the following Bemba proverbs:

> *Ubula Bumo Tabwisusha Ng'anda* which translates as one placenta does not fill a house meaning that one woman cannot populate the house. This is affirmed by the proverb *Nyina umo, tafyala mwanda* literally means one mother cannot produce a hundred children (Bennett, 1995:50-51).

In Bemba culture like most African cultures, polygamy was still a contested issue; nevertheless, it was viewed positively as it contributed to the family's financial welfare. These sanctions were the germinal seeds for church discipline for anyone who did not comply with holy living [monogamy] in contemporary Zambia.

5.12.2.1 The Missional Moral Norms and their influence on GBS and BBS

It is important to note that missional morality is one of the core drivers in the missional Christianisation of the Bemba culture and many other Zambian cultures. Missional norms brought about the direct conflict between new converts to the missional faith and indigenous people and cultures. It is clear at GBS and BBS; the LMS was against any transgressions such as lying, stealing, swearing, pride, lack of punctuality, breaches of the school's code of hygiene and unauthorised communication with the boys were perceived as moral offences and corporal punishment was the norm (Morrow, 1986). The question to ask is, who decides the moral norms of one's culture?

For example, in the 1930s, a group of students of Mbereshi GBS and BBS danced mbeni banned by the church as immoral in the nearby village. Mbeni was an urban dance regarded as an

immoral dance. Dr Wareham, an LMS missionary in charge told the girls and boys to form a circle in the playground and proceeded to flog the older boys for dancing mbeni (Ranger, 1975). Similarly, Shaw in her book, *'Dawn in Africa'* describes the African singing and dancing that took place at Isaka, a grass-roofed open-sided meeting place, at the centre of the school village as follows:

Some girls nearly lost all their restraint as the drumming got swifter and wilder. At this point, *Bana* Betty (mother of Betty) intervened and diverted their attention to 'peascod', an English country dance and the situation was saved (Shaw, 1932:38-39).

Shaw's language had racist overtones and genuinely undermined African cultures and customs. Morrow (1986) notes that girls sang and danced at the Isaka and later than their usual bedtime at the full moon protected however by the tall wall fence and gates were always locked at six-thirty. Morrow (1986) points out that Betty Chungu was one of the first four girls of GBS who returned to the missional school after an unsuccessful marriage and was well respected at school.

Similarly, on corporal punishment, a sixteen-year-old girl who suffered from enuresis was made to carry a chamber pot tied around her neck. Her fellow pupils were encouraged by Shaw to push her here and there until her pride was broken (Shaw, 1932:122-127). Another girl who called another swine had her tongue scrubbed until he screamed (Shaw, 1932). Shaw further points out that pregnancy at GBS was the ultimate shame; for example, in 1927 a young girl became pregnant and consequently was subjected to communal disapproval that Shaw could generate in the school.

5.13 The British colonial rule and the Kingdom of Chitimukulu

LMS like PEMS, colluded with colonialists to maximise their effort in influencing the kingdom of Chitimukulu and the Bemba way of life in moral norms, theology, local and central governments. Concerning the genesis of British colonial rule in Bembaland, Rotberg (1965) points out that the LMS sought to ensure that the Johnston administration was not jeopardised before it had extended to the southern end of Lake Tanganyika. According to Rotberg (1965), the LMS worried about the territorial ambitions of Germany and King Leopold and fearful of the designs of the White Fathers, appealed to Johnston for guarantees of British protection and took the law into their hands to buttress their own and Britain's position locally.

For example, according to the Foreign Office Papers dated 10th June 1981, LMS colonial missionaries helped members of the African Lakes Company, a Scottish trading company to depose Tafuna, a Lunga chief who was unwilling to obey the demands of the [colonial] missionaries and the British company to give them free labour and respect. As a result, they destroyed two of Tafuna's villages, brutally captured chief Tafuna and sent him to jail in Blantyre. Concerning this terrible event of cultural genocide, Mather reported toThompson of LMS in London in the following way:

> They have at last assured the hegemony of the mission and Britain on the southern end of Lake Tanganyika" on the 7th October 1891 (CWM, LMS, 1891.

This demonstrates the destructive nature of the effects of coloniality on the chieftainship in Bembaland. The above illustration depicts how both LMS and colonialists were willing to exert their influence on the Bemba people. It could be argued that modernity and missional projects were justified in the name of colonial civilisation denying other forms of civilisation and perceiving them as enemies of their projects.

5.15 The impact of the amalgamation of Barotseland and Bembaland in 1911

North Western Rhodesia (Barotseland) and North Eastern Rhodesia (Bembaland) amalgamation to form Northern Rhodesia happened in 1911 and impacted the two kingdoms' stability and functionality, respectively. It is important to note that the formation of the central government diminished the powers of the Litunga and Chitimukulu. This process began the erosion of the powers of two paramount chiefs, which was accelerated in the two kingdoms' history. The effectiveness and influence of the two kingdoms' were eroded due to colonialism and coloniality. The BSAC colonial rule ended in 1923 when the administration of Northern Rhodesia was formally ceded to the Colonial Office in London to administer as a Crown Colony or direct British rule (Taylor, 1965). The Northern Rhodesian government moved to Lusaka from Livingstone in 1935 for ten years after the British Government reassumed direct rule through the British Colonial Administration Office in 1924. Zambia obtained its political independence on 24th October 1964, under Kenneth Kaunda of the United Nations Independent Party (UNIP).

5.16 Conclusion

This chapter located PEMS and LMS as European mission societies in North Western (Barotseland) and North Eastern Rhodesia (Bembaland). The chapter explored the precolonial historical background, Bantu migrations, early trade, slave trade, Berlin Conference and precolonial Christianity in Africa. The chapter reconnoitred two different forms of colonial Christianity such as PEMS in Barotseland and LMS in Bembaland that introduced Christianity via missional education based on British Victorian moral values. It also discussed the British rule in Barotseland, initiated by the Lochner Treaty in 1890 and Bembaland, culminating in Zambia becoming a British colony in 1924. The next chapter presents the findings and analysis of PEMS and LMS influences on the Lozi and Bemba cultures.

Chapter Six

PEMS and LMS shaping the Lozi and Bemba cultures in contemporary Zambia

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter 5 located the history of missional activities of PEMS and LMS among the Lozi and Bemba people. It discussed the influence of missional activities that is the missional enterprise on the Lozi and Bemba religions and cultures that drastically punctured the trajectory of civilisation in Barotseland and Bembaland. This chapter presents the findings and analysis of the influences of PEMS and LMS missional activities in the Barotseland and Bembaland. It is divided into three themes from the key research question linked to the study's objectives. The three themes from the study are missional moral norms, missional education and liturgy. After presenting the findings, the discussion and analysis follow and in this way the chapter answers the following objectives of the study:

To assess the influences of the LMS and PEMS as forms of colonial Christianity on religion and culture in Barotseland and Bembaland.

To examine current religio-cultural norms (belief) and practices (praxis) in Barotseland and Bembaland.

To ascertain and analyse the effects of the influence of the forms of colonial Christianity on religio-cultural norms and practices and how it is reflected in contemporary Barotseland and Bembaland.

The following discussion of the emerging themes in this chapter, namely missional moral norms, education and liturgy, responds to the study's objectives. The following are the emerging themes for discussion and analysis.

6.2 How did the missional moral norms influence the Lozi and Bemba religio-cultures in Barotseland and Bembaland?

This section addresses the influences of missional moral norms on the Lozi and Bemba religio-cultures in Barotseland and Bembaland. The archives and desktop data revealed that missional education, catechism and missional stations were places of contestation of two contrasting cultures namely host and alien cultures in areas of moral and sexual ethics that still have ramifications in contemporary Zambia. The study found that PEMS and LMS imposed their missional moral norms that were at odds with the Lozi and Bemba ethnic groups. These missional moral norms were underpinned by colonial British Victorian moral values based on

patriarchial puritanical morality anchored in the conservative Christian worldview. This meant there was only one absolute moral norm based on a missional message and culture. From this perspective, PEMS and LMS's goal was not only to bring the missional message to the Lozi and Bemba people but to demonstrate God's blessing of salvation undergirded by Christian conservative and puritanical morality driven by the missional enterprise experiment. In other words, a saved and blessed person lives according to the PEMS and LMS moral code by heeding the call of holiness and purity. This explains why PEMS and LMS had a negative attitude towards African cultural practices such as imbusa, ichisungu, polygamy and sexual cleansing and ancestral spirits (Rasing, 2004:282) cited in Kaunda (2013).

In this study, both PEMS and LMS express colonial Christianity that denotes a quality of attitude permeating in an expressed form of Christianity based on British Victorian morality. This underscores why PEMS and LMS conjured up stringent moral codes of conduct for the new converts. These moral codes of conduct extended to all areas of the new convert's life, such as no beer drinking and no selling of beer among others. This is why PEMS and LMS insisted that a missional message entails a holistic transformed life characterised by missional moral norms. PEMS and LMS demanded that Lozi and Bemba demonstrate the holistic transformed life that extended in matters of marriage, family, worship and works, reflected in the newfound missional faith. The study calls these forms of colonial Christianity a form of missional governmentality because they were aware of the implications of the missional message and its demands on their personal and family life and were endeavouring to follow its dictates. This same conviction leads them to influence any heathen communities with the same.

6.3 How did PEMS and LMS influence the current religio-cultural norms (belief) and practices (praxis) in Barotseland and Bembaland?

The study found that the missional moral norms as the code of conduct that had to be adhered to by new converts and practising Christians were very punitive. This is illustrated in the abstinence pledge that the new converts had to sign to show their commitment to the missional faith as Songland LMS correspondence in 1918 demonstrates. The LMS report elucidating a missional moral code reveals that:

The Catechumens and church members are suspended for drunkenness. ***Agreed.***

That the giving of Beer Feast or attendance at them prevent baptism or admission into Catechumen and that the offence on the part of the Catechumen or church members be visited with suspension. ***Agreed.***

All who see Beer or make beer are dealt with similarly way. ***Agreed.***

That payment for work in beer not be allowed on the part of any Catechumen or church member. ***Carried, 9 for 2 Agreed.***

That we suspend any case of drinking intoxicants. ***Lost for 1.***

The study revealed that the missional moral norms and their code of conduct regarding making beer, drinking beer and payment for work in beer were considered offences. Anyone involved in the above activities was suspended because these actions were perceived as immoral. It could be argued that they were perceived as immoral because they prevented new converts from baptisms and attending catechumen classes. The issue was not drinking intoxicants; the report reveals that they lost the vote by one.

That we suspend any case of drinking intoxicants. ***Lost for 1.***

In PEMS and LMS's missional policy. Church attendance or rather catechumen class attendance was a pivotal aspect of their evangelisation and Christianisation project of the unconverted. Hence, the failure of the new converts to attend the catechumen classes that later prevented them from being baptised was the main problem, not their making or drinking beer. It could be argued that the numbers of baptism candidates were the most paramount issue in the missional enterprise, not the converted Lozi and Bemba Christians. Numbers of the baptised Lozi and Bemba made good reading for the sending church in Britain as they held the strings to the missional finance. More numbers of the baptised meant more money from the overseas sending churches. This is why PEMS and LMS are missional enterprises.

6.4 Why did PEMS and LMS influence beer making and drinking, and how is it reflected in contemporary Barotseland and Bembaland?

Using a coloniality lens, it could be argued that the reasons behind banning everything related to alcohol were not based on the scripture injunction but on the self-interest of the missional enterprise that is viewing indigenous new converts as missional targets. Like a salesperson, the missional enterprise would report to their country of origin the number of new converts they have baptised in a year. As a salesperson, there was pressure to deliver the missional targets to the sending mission located in the Global North to secure continued funding for their missions in Barotseland and Bembaland. It is plausible for the study to posit that the strict moral norms about everything alcohol were financially motivated. This is because banning everything related to beer was contrary to Jesus making wine at the wedding at Cana recorded in the gospel

of John chapter 2. The question is, should Jesus be banned from missional churches for making wine?

The study contends that the missional moral norms were based on teleological moral ethics, not deontological ethics, particularly concerning making and drinking beer. In other words, PEMS and LMS focused on the consequences of the actions, not on the nature of the activities. This further explains why the last clause shows that they lost the vote by one on drinking intoxicants.

That we suspend any case of drinking intoxicants. ***Lost for 1.***

It could be argued that Christian ethicists should pursue decolonisation and decoloniality by interrogating the missional moral norms about alcohol to unmask the coloniality leanings still reflected in Zambian churches. It is the contention of this study that colonial Christianity expressed by PEMS and LMS produces coloniality. Coloniality should be understood as a condition begotten from their colonial moral norms The kind of decolonisation and decoloniality of moral norms concerning alcohol demands Christians in Barotseland and Bembaland to take a brave stand and reconfigure or rather decolonise the missional puritanical stance on making, selling and drinking of alcohol. The study posits that the moral norms regarding everything alcohol begins with Jesus of Cana and not with PEMS and LMS rules. The moral ethics of Jesus of Cana start with where people are and who they are. It was the moral ethics of compassion and not punitive moral ethics. The ethics of Jesus of Cana about alcohol is not deontological which is absolute and universal but teleological anchored on the principle of agape calculus.

6.5 How did PEMS and LMS influence the current religio-cultural norms (belief) and practices (praxis) regarding sexual cleansing in Barotseland and Bembaland?

The study found that the Lozi and Bemba sexual cleansing as a cultural practice was eroded and anyone involved in this practice was suspended. PEMS and LMS as the expression of an attitude of the forms of colonial Christianity perceived African cultures such as imbusa and sexual cleansing as immoral practices. Thus, they embarked on the evangelising mission to silence them. The study found in article 7 on sexual ethics *and allied heathen customs* at the General Council at Kawimbe on 13.09.1819 was based on teleological ethics. The LMS made the following resolution on sexual cleansing:

The custom of 'Kulya mfwa', Ichibemba 'Kupesa mfwa' was discussed and it was decided that any Catechumen or church member guilty of this practice be suspended for not less than a year.

The custom of '*Kulya mfwa', Ichibemba 'Kupesa mfwa'* translates to the traditional custom that after the death of a spouse, the widow or widower will only be cleansed after having sex with a chosen member of a deceased family was banned and it was considered to be fornication and therefore a catechumen or church member guilty of this practice be suspended for not less than a year. It was denounced and banned as a heathen custom that new converts should not entertain. In other words, it is perceived as sinful. PEMS and LMS failed because of their lack of sensitivity towards the Lozi and Bemba cultures. Their rationale compounded that the missional culture was superior to any non-white culture. They silenced the ritual of sexual cleansing without appreciating the significance of the cultural practice. In its place, they offered no alternative but a total ban.

6.6 Why did PEMS and LMS silence the cultural practice of sexual cleansing and how is it reflected in contemporary Barotseland and Bembaland?

On the issue of sexual cleansing in Bemba culture and the banning of it by LMS, Fuchs (1983) notes that Augustine`s thoughts on sex contributed to the fixation in Christian ethics on sexuality and sex as the very symbol of the idolatrous covetousness of man. The study found that PEMS and LMS adopted the same focus on sex as being idolatrous covetousness and contributed to their denouncement and banning of sexual cleansing and polygamy cultural practices as being evil and immoral. However, the Catholic Church thrived in Africa because they understood the significance of these customs and incorporated some elements of indigenous cultural practices into new converts' faith.

6.7 What is the influence of missional moral norms on polygamy and why did PEMS and LMS silence it in Barotseland and Bembaland?

The study found polygamy was a prevalent socio-cultural practice among Lozi and Bemba before the advent of PEMS and LMS, with their missional moral norms and message. The clash of the host and missional cultures regarding the socio-cultural practice of polygamy by new converts and subsequent suspension for it is revealed in articles 9 and 5 as follows:

Article 9. Polygamy *– Decided that for this offence, a church member or catechumen be removed and in cases of restoration, the individual return through the Hearers and Catechumen's classes.*

Article 5. *Re the Baptism of the first wives of polygamous husbands, General Sec reported that he had written to other Missions*

The study also revealed that one of the challenges the forms of colonial Christianity faced was the admission into church membership of the new converts from polygamous marriages. Compounded the conundrum of polygamy was whom do you baptise the first wife and all the wives? The forms of colonial Christianity insisted that they would baptise the first wife as she was perceived as the legitimate wife. This was because PEMS and LMS regarded polygamy as an immoral socio-religious practice and therefore anyone practising it committing an offence as article 9 shows.

Article 9. Polygamy *– Decided that for this offence, a church member or catechumen be removed and in cases of restoration, the individual return through the Hearers and Catechumen's classes.*

The question to ask is, where do the new converts commit the offence? What did the PEMS and LMS expect the new convert from polygamous marriage to do? It could be argued that Article 9 on polygamy came about because most recent converts to missional faith refused to give up their polygamous family to the disappointment of PEMS and LMS. The missional moral norms demanded that the newly converted polygamous men abandon their many wives except the first wife with no regard to the welfare of the other wives and their children. This article 9 in a sense exemplifies the effect of the coloniality matrix of religious power. They never considered the other wives' and children's financial, social and emotional wellbeing as long as the new converts complied with the demands of missional moral norms, namely monogamous family. It could be argued that the driving force behind PEMS and LMS as the missionality matrix of power had always been their self-interest. Africans have always been treated as mere targets for missional conversion reports for the Global North. The quest for dramatic conversion experiences like that of Paul on the road to Damascus skewed their evangelisation mission and the expectations of the new converts in Barotseland and Bembaland. Just because colonial missionaries imbibed Victorian moral norms doesn't mean everyone has to accept them as shown in article 9. Therefore, missional messages demanded dramatic conversion which had to be demonstrated by abandoning their polygamous marriages. It is clear from the mentioned *article 9* that the forms of colonial Christianity wanted to eradicate the polygamy cultural practice in both Barotseland and Bembaland as evidence of a Christianised people.

It is important to note that PEMS and LMS failed to appreciate the following facts: First, polygamy symbolised manhood and showed that wealth belongs to men (Maillu, 1988:1) cited in (Nkomazana, 2006:266). Second, polygamy moreover develops and fortifies the economic and political position of men as Altman and Ginat (1996:90) note that

…because families are often holistic economic units, with men, women and children engaged in fishing, agriculture, animal husbandry, or trade, the more hands the better. Wives are central to the economic viability of families in traditional cultures because they often do a great deal of the work and bear children, who also contribute to a family's pool.

This is why polygamy remains a contested religio-cultural issue within some African indigenous cultures and ecclesiastic arenas. The study revealed that polygamy played and still plays a crucial role in economic and social spheres and becomes a place of contestation for the decoloniality project. Nkomazana (2006:268) affirms that polygamy is culturally accepted and a preferred form of marriage because it is crucial to the socio-economic survival of the family as it increases productivity, security and continuity.

The study found polygamous marriages were practised in Barotseland and Bembaland and prevalent in many African cultures. For instance, David Livingstone of LMS in the early 1840s notes the following about the Bechuanas (Batswana):

Many have two wives, others have four, some have five, some six, and others, such as chiefs have seven. Now each of these wives has her own hut and store hut for preserving corn etc., and this state of things operates most injuriously against the increase of children (Livingstone cited in Schapera, 1961:41).

Livingstone affirms that polygamy contributed to family welfare in activities such as farming. The more agricultural produce one family had, the wealthier one was compared to others with little agrarian produce. This is supported by Mackenzie of LMS who notes that polygamy was often seen as a sign of wealth and prestige (Mackenzie, 1871:410) cited in (Nkomazana, 2006). Rather than PEMS and LMS perceiving polygamy as an immoral practice that needed to be abandoned, they could have evaluated it in light of the rationality behind the cultural tradition of polygamy among Lozi and Bemba. It should be understood that not every marriage is polygamous marriage.

From a decoloniality point of view, it could be argued that it was because of the high infant mortality rate in most of Barotseland and Bembaland communities that polygamous marriages

were prevalent. Moreover, polygamy as a social-cultural increased the birth rate of children, which enhanced the financial security of most families, particularly in farming, as already discussed. From a male perspective, polygamous marriages, in a selfish way, did enhance the status of men in society as they were regarded as wealthy due to the number of children they had. It is important to note that in African culture, children's welfare is located within the family and another relatedness in the community, not in the government welfare system.

The study holds that having more children whether, in a monogamous or polygamous marriage, the children were used as the modus operandi for the survival of the fittest during very challenging living conditions and economic hardships. What the forms of colonial Christianity failed to appreciate was that in most indigenous communities there were no welfare systems nor health care systems except the family and relatedness in the community that functioned as both came to the aid of one another. This is why children were vitally essential and barrenness was a painful experience. From a relative ontological perspective, the study contends that polygamous marriages exist to alleviate a family's pain and shame while maintaining family honour by having children with another wife. It is from this relative ontology perspective that the study affirms that the failure to leave behind many children was perceived as a shameful legacy that dented one's masculinity in most communities in Barotseland and Bembaland.

It is important to note that in the Lozi and Bemba cultures like most African cultures, the visible sign of masculinity was considered to be the number of children one had and left behind after one passed on. Fayemi (2009) affirms that traditional African thought and cultural practices are rooted in the ontology of communalism. It is important to note that polygamy fosters the principle of communalism as it facilitates the increase of children in the community who are the future of that community. It could be argued that polygamy and the principle of communalism are an integral part of the Lozi and Bemba ways of living. Ogbujah (2014) and Mayila (2006) affirm that family in the African tradition is a basic unity in a socio-religious setting. Hence, the children's response in the socio-religious space is to offer their duty in whatever shape or form. In this way, the harmony and welling of the family and community as socio-religious spaces are actualised. Hansugule (2006) affirms that the child is not an individual but belongs to the community, every child is everybody's child. In addition, Hansungule's communalism is similar to Tempels (1951) and Mbiti (1976), among others already discussed in the study. This is why Setiloane (1998a) repudiates the principle of individualism based on a Cartesian ontology of being, I think therefore I am, alien to the African culture and principle of communalism. The study argues that the principle of individualism is

at the core of missional messages and moral norms to the detriment of the Lozi and Bemba cultures.

The study found that in Bemba culture there is an ambivalent attitude towards polygamy as evidenced in the following Bemba proverbs:

Ubula Bumo Tabwisusha Ng'anda which translates as one placenta does not fill a house meaning that one woman cannot populate the house and this is affirmed by the proverb *Nyina umo, tafyala mwanda* means one mother cannot produce a hundred children (Bennett, 1995:50-51).

It is clear from the above Bemba proverbs that polygamy was encouraged. Men used these proverbs as a pretext to marry many wives and have many children for financial security and family stability. Hillman (1975) argues that unlike the PEMS and LMS for Bantu people to forbid polygamy is tantamount to survival or extinction. It should be noted that for many missional new converts polygamy was meant to be celebrated not silenced as shown in the Old Testament, with many vital figures having polygamous families. The key figures such as Abraham, Jacob, David and Solomon were not condemned, silenced or eradicated in Judaism but celebrated as models of faith and founders of Judeo-Christianity.

In most African cultures, religions and polygamy were a means of securing and maintaining family stability having many children as linked to the afterlife. For instance, in Bemba culture, a person lives on after death as a spirit. In this sense, a person never dies as one's spirit always hovers over his clan and family. Hillman (1975:117) affirms that procreation is linked to the afterlife and overcomes absolute death. Mbiti (1975:119) concurs that the belief that the physical lives on after death have profound significance in relation to polygamy. This means polygamy enables a family to move from one generation to another. Hence, the family lives on after the death of the loved one. From this perspective, polygamy could have both eschatological and cultural aspects in Zambian cultures. This could explain why some new converts to the forms of colonial Christianity found it very difficult to abandon their polygamous marriages. The question to ask is which wife does he divorce? The answer to that question is still blowing in the wind.

In a quest for the decoloniality of marriage, it is vital that theologians understand the lived experiences of families in polygamous marriages. In other words, polygamy could be a redeeming practice financially, socially and dare argue spiritually. The study holds that morality in practical theology should be reconfigured in a concrete place: the lived experiences

of polygamous marriages. Sexual ethics should not come from abstract postulations of modernity and rationality that have no bearing on the indigenous people of Africa. This explains why PEMS and LMS failed to appreciate that polygamy created a social alliance that culminated in solidarity among different families and groups fostering security and prosperity. They were always driven by moral self-righteousness and denounced most indigenous moral norms and values they were ill-equipped to handle. In other words, polygamy was integral to economic development, political stability and civilisation in the Lozi and Bemba kingdoms of Barotseland and Bembaland. To argue that polygamy is wrong because it leads to jealousy, depression and unhappiness is tantamount to saying that monogamy is also wrong because it also leads to jealousy, depression and unhappiness.

The Monmouth task of self-reflection lies with the theologians and ethicists to recognise their complicity to coloniality and pursue self-decoloniality about their church to transform marriage rooted in Jesus and His message of compassion and love. He is the child of Mary as he never came from a nuclear family but a miracle of God by birth. For the decoloniality of marriage to be freed of coloniality ways and colonial beliefs, the ethicist and theologian scholars should look elsewhere for answers to resolve the contestation between missional teachings and Lozi and Bemba cultural practices regarding marriage and polygamy. Can the decoloniality of marriage help us with polygamy? Or can the decoloniality of polygamy help us with marriage? Cohabitation and same-sex marriages are accepted in the Global North; why shouldn't the church in Africa rethink polygamy in the Global South? The knowledge of sexuality and sex should be de-centred and become their issues. If gender neutrality that is trans-genderism is now accepted by modernity and entering the churches in Global North, what becomes of the nature of marriage in Barotseland and Bembaland? The author holds that the decoloniality of marriage will produce an alternative way of thinking that considers African traditions.

6.8 What might be the influences of the forms of colonial Christianity on religion and culture in Barotseland and Bembaland?

This study found that the LMS opened mission schools in Bembaland such as Mbereshi Girls Boarding School (GBS) and Boys Boarding School (BBS) and PEMS opened missional schools in Barotseland among others as the means to Christianise the Lozi and Bemba cultures. This was done by indoctrinating the minds of young girls and boys with their missional message alongside colonial culture.

The study revealed that female teachers such as Mabel Shaw were recruited to develop the girls' missional education in Bembaland. This is evident in LMS Report 1915,

Praying that Shaw would "follow worthily" in the steps of David Livingstone, Shaw spent her first year in Northern Rhodesia learning the Ichibemba language and traditional concepts of education for girls (Box 17, CWM/Central Africa LMS Report 1915).

The model of good missionary work is David Livingstone, which Shaw emulated as she ventured into the interior of Bembaland. It is clear by citing Livingstone as a model worth emulating that LMS was the missional enterprise that pursued the 3Cs namely Christianity, Commerce and Civilisation. The study adds the fourth C in 3Cs as referring to Capitalism. The study argues that the task given to Shaw defined in the 4Cs sought to establish missional education at Mbereshi as part of their missional enterprise. Missional education worked hand in hand with the central colonial government to secure funding from them. The forms of colonial Christianity sought to establish boarding houses which became boarding schools to enable them to have a concentrated space where young minds of boys and girls underwent the missional education that had to change their trajectory for good and for ill. However, the start of missional education faced many challenges as Springer's report reveals.

As for the school, for the first year or two the only way we could get pupils was to hire them to work about the place and then give them an hour each day in the schoolroom (Springer, 1908:38).

The lamentation of Springer demonstrates a clash of two different education systems: the missional education of the PEMS and LMS and the indigenous education of the Lozi and Bemba. Rotberg (1965) affirms that observes that the [missional] education was introduced into the indigenous social fabric proved challenging to attract and sustain their interest. The reason was that the two education systems were different from each, one was formal education and the other was informal education. One was prescriptive and the other was non-prescriptive. Rotberg further affirms that the [missional] education interfered with the indigenous, farming and pastoral way of life. It should be pointed out that the agricultural and pastoral way of life was where indigenous knowledge was orally transmitted from one generation to another. From the coloniality perspective, the introduction of these boarding schools punctured the trajectory of agricultural development which has ramifications in contemporary Zambia.

The solution to the clash of two worldviews of education was a deliberate attempt by the forms of colonial Christianity to introduce boarding houses that is missional boarding schools (Gann,

1964). In Bembaland, the boarding houses such as GBS and BBS at Mbereshi became the melting pots of host and missional cultures. In Barotseland, Coillard and missional schools aimed to educate boys supposedly to make them literate (News from Barotsiland, 1899). The question to ask is, to make literate in what? Who decides what qualities as literate or illiterate? The boarding houses and schools became the fertile ground for cultural diffusion between the host and missional cultures with advanced epistemological knowledge and skills. Rotberg (1965) affirms that boarding schools provided maximum continuous supervision and a degree of physical coercion that could be exerted. Why physical coercion? It is because most of the Lozi and Bemba people resented the concept of missional education as already discussed above. Simply, it was restrictive and alien to the Lozi and Bemba cultures.

The GBS had its challenges with retaining young women in missional schools as shown in the following correspondence between Shaw and Hawkins. Families were unwilling to release their daughters amid famine and many girls became camp – followers and porters as the correspondence between Shaw and Hawkins in 1916 reveals.

> Dear Hawkins,
>
> *Some girls however have just run away because they were homesick, I would not allow them to go to the village at night. They had only been with me for a week. There is, of course, much to be said for those parents and I will just have to be very careful and very patient until times are more normal of the great hunger has passed away at present they look at things like this. White men take our land, make us pay hut taxes and tell of living in peace. Then they fight amongst themselves, for safety we are forced to leave our houses or gardens or go to live where there is little food. Then they take away our men and force them to carry food for their soldiers. Some of our girls run after these soldiers and never return (Shaw, 1916).*

For instance, when GBS at Mbereshi began in August 1915, it faced hostility from the indigenous families who were suspicious of its intentions and strongly opposed the idea of giving education to girls. This is because the missional education systems disrupted traditional ways of life and, more importantly, were alien to most young girls and families. The only way the missional education was rescued at GBS was the Mambwe families that had accompanied Adam Purvis from Kawimbe to Mbereshi in 1900 who were willing to allow their children to attend the school but on condition that they came from home.

> *It began with four girls, Elisabeth Chungu, Janet Mupelwa, Ila Semba and Nellie Musonda, aged between seven and eight years, drawn from Christian Mambwe families who came with Reverend Purvees from Kawimbe (Abercorn) and those from Kashinda (Mporokoso). No girls from the local Lunda families lived in the mission or from the Bemba village of Mwaba Mukupa (now Kasumpa)* (Shaw, 1925:527).

Using the coloniality lens, it could be argued that one of the reasons why GBS under the leadership of Shaw struggled to attract young girls to attend missional education was because it imposed a British colonial culture based on a Victorian model that did not consider traditional customs, norms and values such as ichisungu for the young women. Furthermore, using the coloniality lens, it could be argued that Shaw enrolled girls early because the children had yet to develop or assimilate any ideas of their indigenous life. The raw materials in the modernity laboratory of missional norms and epistemology. Furthermore, the study contends that early-age schooling allowed Shaw to begin character training for the girls based on missional moral norms underpinned by rationality and missionality worldviews. Missional education introduced a new language and differing world systems were introduced to silence the Lozi and Bemba indigenous knowledge systems, cultural norms and practices. In addition, the colonisation of education in the name of missional education was an arm of imperialism forged from various arms of civilising domination ecclesiastical, liturgical, moral and religious.

6.9 How did PEMS and LMS missional education influence the current religio-cultural norms and practices in Barotseland and Bembaland?

The study found that the missional boarding schools formally known as boarding houses educated young men and women into new ways of thinking and to continuing the legacy of subjugating its people in the name of Christianity and modernity. Mimiko (2010:641-642) argues that a new crop of elites was created, nurtured, and weaned on the altar of violence and colonialism armed with the structures of the modern state to continue to carry out the art and act of subjugation of the mass of the people in the service of colonialism. Missional education was designed to continue to serve the interests of PEMS and LMS. This study further found that the forms of colonial Christianity were twofold: aiding colonisation and Christianising the natives. Lawuo (1978:50) affirms the point when he says that the arrival of the missionary in Zambia, together with the colonial education, was a direct response to colonialism, the coloniality of knowledge was achieved by using colonial education as their tool for gaining

converts and making entry into new areas to pave the way for colonial socio-economic and political structures. Kasongo (2010:314) concurs with the above assertion when he acquiesces that "one could infer that when westernisation [modernity] was imported to African countries [Barotseland and Bembaland], the hidden side of modernism that is coloniality was materialist interests. Kasongo further argues that civilisation was just another concept of domination: the imposition of an incoming new culture over traditional cultural values.

It is important to note that the imposition of missional culture over the indigenous cultures of the Lozi and Bemba in the name of Christianisation and civilisation was driven by missional enterprise via missional education that holds that knowledge is located in a time-based concept that presupposes that time is linear. Hence, if time is linear, knowledge is linear too. This is because the modernity project is located in a particular time, the 16th century and space, the Global North (Europe). The implications are that no alternative knowledge systems and cultures, moral norms and liturgy among others could co-exist with the coloniality of knowledge expressed in civilisation. The study found that missional education taught the 3Rs, Reading, Writing and Arithmetic, to all the school students. The study holds that the introduction of the 3Rs silenced the indigenous knowledge systems which, which are indigenous ways of teaching and learning that have existed as long as the Lozi and Bemba have existed could be argued using the coloniality lens that the modernity and rationality understanding of human histories and knowing knowledges such as 3Rs, Theology, Sciences and Geography among others became the imposed global frameworks of understanding the world. In this sense, knowing knowledge such as the 3Rs introduced in missional schools had coloniality and was perceived to be absolute and universal. Missional education with its modernity epistemology packaged supposedly in the missional gospel was designed to bring about s transforming effect in the lives of young students. This missional message was taught in schools and churches underpinned by a rationality worldview that taught Descartes' ontology of being framed in *'I think therefore I am'* to encourage personal religious conversions. Mazrui (1979:32) notes that the colonial powers' technological triumph gave education almost universal prestige. It is vital to note that the indigenous cultures such as Lozi and Bemba which previously trained and socialised their children such as the royal family of Litunga Lewanika household in radically different ways, saw themselves drawn irresistibly towards the missional approach to education.

Missional education and its method of delivery of knowledge, skills and information from the teacher (master) to a student (enslaved person) punctured the fabric of the African ways of life

where the chief was the most respected member of society, not a poodle of the missional enterprise as the study found the David Livingstone correspondence to Watts in 1841,

> *Dear Watts,*
>
> *We commenced school with the children and the Chief himself collected the children for school at the mission station (Box 2, CWM/LMS. Livingstone letters to LMS, 1841).*

This disregard for African values and customs demonstrates a God-given entitlement and human superiority attitudes that the forms of colonial Christianity exhibited when they were Christianising the Lozi and Bemba cultures via missional education. The Lozi and Bemba kingdoms had an indigenous education system, albeit different and crudely suitable for its time and place. One of the things it taught young people was to respect the elders and the community. Concerning worshipping God, they were taught to reflect on natural theology and praise and pray to God where they were. This was because Lozi and Bemba grasped the immanence of God in creation. As aforementioned, in Lozi and Bemba cultures, chiefs are respected and not supposed to collect children to attend the missional school. The study contends that the missional education illumines Hegelian's (1956) binary/categorisation of teachers/masters that is PEMS and LMS and students/servants that is Lozi and Bemba was detrimental to the Lozi and Bemba cultures. Hegelian categorisation would later lead to the evils of lack of respect for elders, racism and apartheid in Africa. Hence, in a sort of perverted logic of colonialism and the forms of colonial Christianity, the child in the missional schools never grows out of their missional schools as the child is perpetually viewed as a boy regardless of age or status. This phenomenon also applies to the new converts to the forms of colonial Christianity. The Black men became eternal boys and Black women became eternal girls in the modernity and coloniality of being. The white person regarded them as inferior to them. It could be argued that this denoted disrespect and reduced indigenous men and women to non-people.

According to Berg (2012) cited in Arowolo (2010) colonial education is rooted in a modernity and rationality matrix that began in the 16th century and defined it as a process of cognitive cartography, mapping out experiences and finding a variety of reliable routes to optimal states of mind when you find yourself in non-optimal states. It could be argued that missional education accomplished cognitive cartography to an extent. Still, the question one needs to pose is, what kind of minds of students did they produce in Barotseland and Bembaland? Missional education perpetuated the idea that the only authentic knowledge systems and skills flowed from missional education to Lozi and Bemba, not vice versa.

In Barotseland, the study found that the educational and modernising aspects of the missional education under the auspice of PEMS attracted Lewanika as he needed good schools for his children and nobility. Hence, the first missional school at the Litunga palace was eminently for the royal children. It is important to remember that PEMS laid the foundations of a contemporary Lozi elite. The PEMS met Litunga Lewanika halfway in seeing the promotion of an elite class as one of its functions. Classifying elite and non-elite groups is a binary system in the Hegelian dialectic. It promotes one class while diminishing the other as it is rooted in individualism that undergirds modernity rationality. Modernity rationality engendered an individualistic way of thinking and life that is contrary to the Lozi and Bemba community/communal way of thinking and life that is I am because we are and we are because I am.

The study holds that through the missional education system, the concept of individualism taught to indigenous Lozi and Bemba people whose worldview was community-oriented and supported by (Ndofirepi and Shumba, 2014) took root. This is affirmed by Meiring (2006) affirms this an African is a "being in-community" and "this belief in the community often contradicts coloniality notions of individuality. As established in the study, the modernity and rationality notion of individuality is based on Descartes' ontology of being that says, 'I think therefore I am'. On the contestations of individualism and communalism in contemporary Zambia, Mukuka (2018:70) laments that it is disheartening today that due to the influences of westernisation, urbanisation, globalisation, internet and other technology in general, some African indigenous people tend to appreciate the individualistic pattern of lifestyle more than the African worldview of communal living. The study contends that the modernity/coloniality worldview influences were wrapped in the missional education system that introduced the concept of individualism to indigenous people while silencing the indigenous communalism worldview.

6.10 Why did PEMS and LMS establish missional education and how is it reflected in contemporary Barotseland and Bembaland?

The study found that the curriculum was underpinned by coloniality as Draper reveals about Miss Edwards a teacher at Mbereshi GBS,

> *As a teacher, we judge that she is good at teaching handwork. Cooking, sewing, washing, ironing and writing are all done well* (A report written by Draper, 1916).

The study revealed that the missional curriculum reflected the British Victorian education model because it was perceived to be superior to indigenous education. The GBS's scheme of work included Home Crafts such as cooking English cuisines, baking, steaming, and frying different meat and vegetables (Shaw, 1932). It is evident from the aforementioned scheme of work that young women were trained to be good homemakers and mothers modelled after the missional model of Victorian homemakers and silenced the African model of a wife and mother. It should be remembered that the sole objective of the missional education and its scheme of work was to prepare young women to be better wives and mothers for the prospective evangelists and pastors of LMS churches. It could be argued that missional culture in the guise of the forms of colonial Christianity purported to provide missional education for girls to better their prospects. Still, they were preparing young women to be married off to the upcoming indigenous evangelists. Using the coloniality lens, it could be argued that young women were missionally educated as a means to an end. The missional education served the interests of the LMS rather than the interests of the young women. This is further evidenced by Shaw's words when she affirms *that young women were taught to sew clothes, clean their houses, and weave baskets, pottery, gardening and baby care* (Shaw, 1932).

Schmidt (1996) cited in Summers (1996) concurs when he explains that missionary education instilled in *. . . girls such values as hard work, discipline and obedience to authority. . . . Girls were . . . learned that it was their duty to stay at home, cooking and cleaning, raising Christian health children and respecting and obeying their husbands.* The question that may be posed here is, is obedience to authority only a prerogative of young women? It is evident from the aforementioned that marriage precedes young women's missional education. Marrow (1986) in his work *'No girl leaves school without marriage'* illustrates how young women were sacrificed at the altar of misogyny. Marrow (1986) argues that under Shaw's patronage, GBS prioritised marriage over the education of the Bemba young women. Notwithstanding the good things the missional education accomplished in Barotseland and Bembaland, it could be argued that missional education and its schemes of work were patriarchal oriented and therefore, disadvantaged young women.

The missional schemes of work, the young women pursued disadvantaged them from the beginning and would not compete with the boys in the world of employment whose jobs were mainly male oriented. This is why Siwila (2011) argues that missional education at GBS misrepresented the Bemba model of young women education by silencing African indigenous

education systems and promoting missional formal education. This is shown in the following admission report from Turner (1941):

> *Admitted that in their educational programme, the education of the girls was their "weakest spot". He went on to add that girls "[were] not cared for in any way. They can come to school and, as a rule, will leave [as they wish] probably to marry". He argued that the time had "come when adequate effort should be put forward [to educate] future mothers [who were] to a great extent the 'key' to the future" of the mission* (Box 18, CWM/CA – Turner LMS Report, 1941).

It is evident from the findings that the girls' education was not fit for purpose as it disadvantaged them with careers prospective. For instance, the boys became teachers, evangelists, clerks and workers in the mines of Katanga and South Africa, while girls had few employment opportunities but served as housewives. This is evidenced in the report by the Deputy Medical Director about the quality of education for the young girls,

> *The greatest value of these girls' schools is the fact that a number of women are being turned out with education sufficient to make more suitable partners in the life of educated male Africans* (NAZ/C1/8/4/1: D.S. Miller, Annual Report for Mbereshi, 1936).

The Deputy Medical Director's report that GBS encouraged marriages. This is buttressed by Edwin Kapotwe (Musambachime, 1979) who married one of the GBS former students noting that;

> *Mama Shaw's girls were sought after as wives. It was no exaggeration to say that their reputation went far and wide. It was not unusual in those days for eligible bachelors to come from as far as the line-of-rail and even from what is now Malawi in search of wives from GBS. Some were lucky, some were not*.

Using the lens of coloniality, it could be deduced that the young women's future career prospects were silenced to make way for marriage. However, the GBS wives though highly sought after proved to be a mismatch for most husbands as they had a clash of world views that resulted in the GBS young women being accused of being impolite, rude and arrogant. The issue with GBS young women is that they had to be educated to live and survive in a Global North context. This proved challenging for most men who wanted their wives to live according to the Bemba traditions and customs. Many of the GBS marriages ended up in divorces.

The study found that the missional education lacked sensitivity for the physical, emotional and social needs of the young women as evidenced in the Cocker's report

> *The GBS had defects, in that it very largely took the girls out of their home relationships, it trained them away from native life, it tended to produce an unnatural vision of women's sphere and has made the girls afraid or even ashamed of their normal functions of their sex* (Box 18, CWM/CA – Cocker LMS Report, 1941).

The report underscores that the Christianisation of sex education was tailored to discourage young women from having sexual relationship with young men. The training of the young women using the colonial British Victorian model not an accident of history but was designed. The unnaturalness of the missional education was further compounded by the fact that GBS and GBB were single sex education modelled after missional values that were alien to Bemba culture.

The study maintains that the unnaturalness of the vision emanated from the forms of colonial Christianity owing its origin from Augustine's views on sex as being unholy (Neuhaus, 1993). Augustine believed that sex and procreation were evil because they imprisoned the soul with sexual desires (Neuhaus, 1993). Thomas Aquinas building on Augustine's views on sex argues that sexual intercourse is inherently evil De Bruyn (1996). For Aquinas, sexual intercourse for procreation is a necessary evil that could be pardoned. It is the contention of the study that both Augustine and Aquinas have huge influence on the forms of colonial Christianity's perception of sexual ethics. It should be remembered that it is missional worldview underpinned Victorian values on sex championed by the forms of colonial Christianity that permeated missional theology and education that negatively impacted the young girls and boys views on sex and sexuality. However, it could be argued that sex as gift from God should be celebrated and enjoyed. Keane (1980) affirms that human sexuality is a gift from God that touches human beings in all levels of their existence from physical, biological, spiritual, and psychological. Furthermore, GBS was accused of producing 'lazy girls' who wrote letters and corresponded in writing with men.

The study found that the missional formal education made English language the core language. This is illustrated by the words of Shaw saying that,

> *You are not educated until you can speak the Queen's language* (Shaw, 1931).

The missional education system insisted that the basic reading based on English Bible extracts, English Language, Arithmetic and English cultural life such as English dance and songs were taught in missional schools as revealed by Shaw. This study found that the use of colonialist's language as the official language of business forced the Lozi and Bemba to adopt insidiously the colonial and missional culture. It must be remembered that language is a vehicle of any culture. It could be argued that in a perverted logic, civilisation is sometimes confused with one's proficiency in English. Therefore, arising from the above discussion, it could be argued that the colonialist language/missional language was notorious in creating an elite class and non-elite class based of one's ability to speak the language with received accent rather regional accent.

The study holds that human language has the ability of uplifting one culture and diminishing another culture, hence, the Queen's language became a vehicle of silencing the Lozi and Bemba languages and cultures. It is important to also note that English language taught in missional schools created a fertile soil for contestations of the host culture and alien culture in areas of missional moral norms, missional education and missional liturgy that still plague contemporary Zambia. It is the contention of this study that there should a serious debate on the decoloniality of English language in all institutions in order to replace it with an indigenous language that engenders Zambian values and cultures.

For decoloniality to take root in contemporary Zambia, the debate must unmask the coloniality in English language compounded with missional education that have punctured the trajectory of Lozi and Bemba indigenous knowledge systems. From a coloniality perspective, it could be contended that the use of English language in the missional education of PEMS and LMS embedded the alien liberal democracy, consumerism, missional moral norms and missional liturgy in contemporary Zambia. The Lozi and Bemba should lead the way in decoloniality of English as the official language of business. Zambians should devise a way out of the colonial language-cultural logjam and come up with an indigenous language to be used in schools and business. This demands Zambians to imagine a free future without the colonialist language with its accents, gestures, mannerism and all the shackles of coloniality of English. It will not be an easy journey because the shackles of coloniality of English run deep in the thinking and the ways of doing within the Lozi and Bemba cultures. Decoloniality of the English language should start with the repudiation of the myth that speaking English language is a sign of high culture and intellectual achievement. It is for this reason that this study holds that coloniality in missional education underpinned by English language as the missional enterprise has punctured

the trajectory of self-discovery and self-identity thus creating alienation within us and communities.

The study found that Shaw was given more financial support than the financial needs of girls as the boarding school as the report reveals,

> *The financial resources lavished on her which is out of proportion to the total needs of the girls of the whole Mission* (Box 18, CWM/CA – Cocker LMS Report, 1941).

Shaw has been criticised for receiving more finances than whole mission not withstanding that GBS Boarding School was the best school in Central Africa (Chirqwin, 1927: 65). What is evident from the above criticism is that the financial resources were not evenly distributed so much that the needs of most students were neglected to cater for the needs of one individual namely Mabel Shaw. How was this allowed? It could be argued that the LMS in a perverted logic chose to make Shaw's life (white) more comfortable than the students (black) who were under her care. Leaving the race trump card aside, even in the utilitarian logic of modernity it could not be justified to spend more resources on one person who is older than the many children who are young and fit. It is the assertion of utilitarian logic that the greatest happiness for the greatest number carries the day. In the case of GBS, the greatest number were the young students who deserved the greatest happiness but not Shaw. It could be argued from a coloniality perspective it was the greatest happiness of one white person that was prioritised as her life was deemed to be greater value and worth than the girls students. How could they be prioritised over Shaw as they could not read or write? They could be not prioritised over Shaw as they could not be given an education that was bookish because they were young black girls who lived in a primeval forest and carried a knobkerrie (a wooden club with a knobbed end) (Musambachime, 1979).

It is the contention of the study that race covertly contributed immensely in the way financial resources were allocated at the missional schools. The financial resources were not evenly distributed because coloniality/modernity matrix of LMS wanted to maintain their superior over the indigenous girls despite the fact that money sent to the mission was meant to cater for the needs of the whole mission. Fanon (1961: 67) laments that Africans (young girls) could not sit at the same table with the colonialists (Shaw). What Fanon means is that it doesn't matter your faith or status, the black person will not invited to eat at the table with a white person. The African whether at the mission station or church always sat the margin and not at the centre.

The girls were always regarded as the others and the non-humans. In the sense, the girls are non-beings and objects of left-over charity from the centre.

6.11 How is the missional education influence on Lozi and Bemba cultures reflected in contemporary Barotseland and Bembaland?

The success of the GBS notwithstanding its criticism was seen in the influence its graduates generated in the villages, locations and townships where they lived. For instance, some graduates were employed as teachers, nurses, saleswomen and social welfare workers. They were the first group of women to be employed as wage earners.

This is also revealed in the Annual reports for GBS,

> *Their incomes supplemented that of their husbands or, in the case of being single, divorced or widowed, it helped in raising the children and satisfying needs and obligations. Many of these graduate also kept cleaner homes, prepared better meals and took their children to clinics and hospitals for health care. Some also used the skills acquired at school to sew clothes for themselves and their children, thereby reducing costs, others engaged in businesses: trading in foodstuffs, clothing and fish. One woman even ran a very successful retain business, another a tea-room* (NAZ/C/8/9/3: Mabel Shaw, Annual Reports for the GBS for the year 1936)

However, it has been established that missional education system vis-à-vis colonial education system hindered and continues to hinder the Lozi and Bemba trajectory of civilisation. Part of the problem or issue might lie in who is the custodian of knowledge that is being taught in learning institutions. Coloniality is still alive and well in learning institutions. If contemporary Zambians have to pursue the project of decoloniality of missional education, moral norms and liturgy, they should in the same vein embark on the process of decolonisation of the methods and structures of transmitting that coloniality of knowledge. In other words, knowledge should be freed from the shackles of missional education and its colonial epistemologies. This process is known as episteme democratisation. The study holds that episteme should for the people, by the people and of the people. Episteme democracy can be achieved when knowledges originate from where people are not imposed on them from the centre. Ndlovu (2018) affirms that a people without their own ways of knowing are a people without both a history and a future of their own making. This is why the study posits that the use of African proverbs underpinned by indigenous knowledge system should be brought to the fore and become a vehicle/tool to

deliver indigenous knowledge in all learning institutions. Simply put, African proverbs should become the academic tools that aid learning in schools and universities.

In other words, decoloniality project is not complete until the contemporary Zambians achieve episteme freedom. This should also be extended to all theological institutions. This is supported by Schreiter (1985:31) that theology like other disciplines should be communicated in proverbs in southern Africa and theology in the villages should be communicated in proverbs rather than Bantu philosophy. The study holds that Bantu philosophy tends to focus on abstract knowledge and in a sense loses its way and become an imitation of modernity philosophy that does not help the Lozi and Bemba people. The abstract knowledge promulgated in Bantu philosophy has failed to raise the education and academic progress in Africa comparable to the rest of the world. Perhaps African proverbs might provide a new avenue of knowing knowledges. It is clear that missional education and later on colonial education is not suited for the contemporary Zambians. The study holds that the Bemba culture like the Lozi culture is arrayed with a plethora of proverbs that would enrich all learning institutions rather than imitating the philosophising of our colonialists. The plethora of proverbs is what this study calls the proverbs indigenous knowledge systems.

It is the contention of the study that the decolonisation of curriculum as a decoloniality project would become a success if the African education systems severs the ties that perpetuate coloniality of knowledge within the institutions of learning. Africans like Zambians should strive with all their might to lay to rest the ghost of modernity and rationality based knowledge that owes its origin in 16th century. The whole point of relative ontology theoretical framework is to argue for to revival of the indigenous proverbs in Lozi and Bemba cultures that encapsulates their cosmological worldviews to be a vehicle of delivering the African knowledges to its people. This is because it is easily accessible to the mind of its people.

Therefore, both theological academia and secular academia can be delivered in African proverbs devoid of any modernity language and epistemologies. Thus, the essence of relative ontology is to aid in gaining access to the conceptual world of Lozi and Bemba lived experiences. Hence, using the indigenous proverbs the Lozi and Bemba cultures become the locus of our conversation and derivation of our indigenous knowledge systems. This is supported by Okpalike (2011:416) who asserts that most times real history is couched in legendary tales, totems and pithy-sayings. The simple effect of this practice is that stories are

both compelling and sacred; making the objects that constitute it divine and venerable; they can be anything, trees, animals, rivers and so forth (Okpalike, 2011:416). It is for this reason that the author argues that richness of both the Lozi and Bemba cultures with indigenous proverbs provides for resources for learning and will offer a new avenue in the decoloniality project. This is the point that Ndlovu (2018) makes when he states that a people without their own ways of knowing are a people without both a history and a future of their own making. The study has shown that Lozi and Bemba have long histories of established and successful Kingdoms and Chiefdoms in conjunction with cosmological ontology that is embedded in their unique way of knowing. Hence, the Lozi and the Bemba's unique way of knowing is what this study posits as a new paradigm of alternative learning based on the proverbs indigenous knowledge systems. This paradigm of proverbs indigenous knowledge systems extends to all areas of life including the conception of the Ultimate Reality and the Ground of existence that is Nyambe (Lozi) and Lesa (Bemba), agriculture, medicines, food, rituals, arts, rites of passages and cosmologies among others. In this way the Lozi and Bemba people will redefine their reasonable realities and places in the world. They will find their unique way of living outside the shackles of modernity and rationalism worldviews.

The study holds that for the decoloniality project to be successful in contemporary Zambia, it must move away from the ideas of decolonising the African minds due to the mis-education by colonial schemes of work but instead embark on the mission to break away from the structures, systems and philosophy of colonial education altogether. In other words, African education should come out colonial epistemology and structures and create a new way of doing education that is fit for African people. In so doing the Africans like Lozi and Bemba should imagine a world where an unadulterated indigenous knowledge systems based on the proverbs indigenous knowledge systems are taught in the alternative African education infrastructures. It will be platform for delivering African knowledges. The proverbs knowledge system is underpinned by relative ontology that promotes and celebrates the multiplicity of realities as strength not as a weakness. Hence, the decolonisation of education entails the production of new text books and redefining the times and spaces of learning that aid with the introduction of the alternative ways of learning located within people lived experiences. The study maintains that the alternative way of learning and alternative doing education will revive the African intellectual curiosity to begin its own journey of inventing and create its own unique technologies that will compete with the other technologies in the world. This has been done elsewhere for instance, in China and now in some Latin American countries. This is why the study holds that

decolonisation education gives Zambians the opportunity to imagine an alternative education system that is not there but was there before it was eroded by the missional enterprise that Christianised the way of thinking and the way of life of the Lozi and Bemba people. This is what the study calls the missionality of mind and missionality of being respectively. It should be remembered that the missional enterprise was a pervading worldview in missional education, moral norms and liturgy whose ghost still exists and calls for exorcism in the name of decoloniality.

The study laments that coloniality in the form of missional education still lingers on in Zambian education systems and continues to be kept alive through the training of the young minds colonial epistemological tagged as high institutions of learning. It could be argued that there is nothing wrong with the education in Africa but its problem is the context. For instance, the current education copied from colonial and missional education model is not fit for a Zambian context but for Global North context. This explains why a young person educated in Zambian education system is able to flourish in a diasporic context with minimal help. However, noting from the Zambian education system, it could be argued that there is no mis-education taking place but the education taking place in Zambia is out of context. This out of context education is evidenced in the lack of technological innovations in Zambia and in many parts Africa. The study bemoans the fact that Zambian great minds still have not invented any new technologies such as a flying bicycle or even a new generation of mobile phone among others despite the plethora of mobile phones and technologies in circulation. However, if the same great Zambian minds were taken to work in the industrialised countries in the Global North they suddenly participate in the innovations and creation of new technologies. Hence, the study underscores that there is nothing wrong with the African minds nor education but the out of context education is the main issue in Global South. It is clear that some of African great minds excel (have excelled) in the Global North context. This is why the study argues that for decolonisation of education to be a resounding success, it must begin delineating all systems, knowledges and structures of coloniality and replace it with the proverbs indigenous education system done in our own indigenous school infrastructure based on relative ontology. It should be acknowledge that the education system being discussed here does not yet exist but the possibility of it to exist lies within the great minds of Africans. Are they willing to think alternatively?

However, it must be pointed out that the missional education especially at Mbereshi in Bembaland was perceived as a positive influence on the lives of young men and women. For instance, in appreciation of her work, Mabel Shaw was awarded the Order of the British Empire

in 1932. The Governor of Northern Rhodesia, Sir James Maxwell, visited Mbereshi primarily to make the presentation to her. Both Lords Passfield and Lugard sent her congratulatory letters earlier (The Native Education Department (NED), Annual Report for 1932:9). Furthermore, the highest praise came from a deputation of the LMS Board of Directors who visited Mbereshi in 1940. They called GBS the "most intensive piece of girls' education and pointed out that the school has blazed the trail of girls' education in the whole of Central Africa and has also sent out a generation of women of strong Christian character and devotion to the Christian way of life. They are the living example of what womanhood may become in Africa, able to make its own peculiar contribution to the building of the new order and take its place worthily side by side with men in that order. Throughout her years with the London Missionary Society, Shaw was a featured speaker at mission events (Box 26, ACWM/LMS/CA).

6.12 What might be the influence of missional moral norms on the Lozi and Bemba cultures and how is it reflected in contemporary Barotseland and Bembaland?

The study found that the missional moral norms were enforced in form of corporal punishing such as church suspensions, public flogging and public humiliation. This is evidenced by Dr Wareham report who notes

> *The girls and boys to form a circle and proceeded to flogging the older boys for dancing mbeni* (Dr Wareham Report cited in Ranger, 1975).

This is similar to what Foucault (1977) affirms that the laws [missional moral norms] are used as a mechanism for relations domination and technique for domination. For instance, in 1930s, a group of students of Mbereshi GBS and BBS danced mbeni banned by the church as immoral at nearby village. Mbeni was an urban 'modern' dance regarded as amoral dance. The consequences of performing mbeni dance was so severe that one wonders whether the crime committed fitted the punishment. It is clear that the forms of colonial Christianity used their position of power control the behaviour of missional students and converts.

This is similar to Foucault's (1977:239-240) discussion on Discipline and Power in which he notes that disciplinary power is aimed at normalisation of society and the government relies on the law to maintain normalcy in society. Similar to missional schools and stations, it could be argued that disciplinary power was effective as an instrument to control the body without relying on the state. Coining a new phrase, the missional governmentality has morphed into church governmentality in contemporary churches in Zambian churches. It is important to note

that the missional governmentality that is the disciplinary power was practised at the missional stations because they served sometimes as a refuge for freed slaves and provided them with missional schools, hospitals, plantations, stores and churches. It was an early model or version of inclusive living and as such it demonstrated the harsh and insensitive supervision and control over the moral of the new converts by the forms of colonial Christianity. The same harsh and insensitive supervision over the missional schools in Barotseland and Bembaland was observed as already discussed in the study.

The harsh and insensitive missional supervision is also illustrated by one of the sanctions that was meted out for 'wild dancing' as Shaw discusses the incident in her book, *'Dawn in Africa'* as follows,

> *Some girls were near to losing all their restraint, as the drumming got swifter and wilder. At this point Bana Betty (Mother of Betty) intervened and diverted their attention to 'peascod', an English country dance and the situation was saved* (Shaw, 1932:38-39).

Shaw's language had racist overtones and undermined Bemba cultural practices such as song, drum and dance. In Lozi and Bemba cultures drumming, singing and dancing is an integral part of tradition and indigenous way of life as eating and breathing. This kind of body censure exemplifies in a similar way what Foucault (1977) dubs as disciplinary power. For the Lozi and Bemba, dancing and singing means more than just an entertainment, it recalls history and conveys emotions and celebrates the rites of passage and ceremonies. Importantly for the Bemba, insaka that is the place of gathering together was a site of indigenous education that enabled cultural diffusion to thrive. Insaka was a place of exchanging ideas and custom. Morrow (1986) notes that girls sang and danced at the Insaka and later than their normal bed time at the full moon protected however by the tall wall fence and gates were always locked at six-thirty. In Shaw's language, some girls were near to losing all their restraint as the drumming got swifter and wilder is symptomatic of her belief like other forms of colonial Christianity that Africans have loose morals and were unrestrained in their sexual appetites.

Hence, in a perverted logic of modernity/coloniality the Bemba girl child must be saved by *the 'peascod', English country dance* that is supposedly free from all sexual connotations. The 'disease' of modernity/coloniality matrix is one of being lopsided supposedly holding the forms of colonial Christianity are doing God's way by saving Africans from the life of sin and damnation. It could be argued that absolute ontology is the missional governmentality that is

the obsession to control the human body and its behaviour in regards to missional moral norms. This is the reason why this study advocates for relative ontology as a lens through which decoloniality project should be conducted because it allows different ways of understanding reality. This is supported by McNiff and Whitehead (2002:17) who states that relative ontology allows people to create their own s identities in ways that foster communal living through the accommodation of multiple values and positions in spite of their potential differences. This is contrary to absolute ontology that insists that there is only one way of living moral lives and that should be based on missional moral norms. These missional moral norms underpinned by absolute are universal and unchangeable and therefore should be repudiated.

6.13 Why did these missional moral norms influence the religio-culture and how is it reflected in contemporary Barotseland and Bembaland?

The study found that the forms of colonial Christianity took an extreme exercise of power at the missional stations, churches and schools in regards to discipline and church suspensions. The study posits that the answer lies not in the past but in contemporary churches and its practice of church discipline and excommunication of its church members. Under the forms of colonial Christianity and the missional moral norms, the Lozi cultures clashed with the alien culture. For instance, beer drinking, divorce, polygamy and initiation rituals (unless Christianised like at GBS) were prohibited and sanctions were meted out for compliance failure. The method and effects of missional discipline echoes Foucault's point that discipline is used to control and internalise each and every individual in terms of the set bench marks [missional moral norms] (Foucault, 1977). Part of the reasons for insensitive and harsh missional disciplines and suspension may be, first the lack of trust for the Lozi and Zambia cultures. This is supported by Tlhagale (1998:1) who argues that the African culture was not recoginsed as having its own wisdom, insights and values that informed the lives of the Africans. Second, the disregard of the human essence of the Lozi and Bemba. This is evidenced in Coillard's comments in 1899 about the Lozi people,

> *African, the heathen world is sunk in the misery, they sunk in animal life, they are sunk in darkness and I repeat there seems to be a special curse of malediction on the land of Africa. We see even her children bear the symbol of unhappiness and misery* (News from Barotseland, 1899:14. No.3).

It is clear from Coillard comments that the Lozi lived in the heathen world despite having a well-established and functioning Barotse Kingdom. What special curse is malediction being

referred? The modernity/coloniality purports to be helping the Lozi attain to the level of Eurocentric civilisation while maintaining in the same vein that they are sunk in animal life and are people of darkness with her miserable children. This inevitably leads to harsh implementation of disciplinary measures to control the animalistic body of the Lozi and Bemba. This sowed the seeds of mistrust and suspension between the host and alien cultures.
This sowed the seeds of severe body floggings and public humiliation because the Lozi and Bemba are sunk in animal life and as such they do not feel pain or shame. Hence, it could be argued that the Lozi and Bemba human essence is reduced to the possessions that could be owned by the powerful due to their privilege position of having more advanced epistemology than the indigenous.

The study contends that missional moral norms and its modus operandi of suspending erring converts has left a legacy of church discipline and excommunication that lack mercy and compassion in contemporary churches in Zambia. The contemporary church discipline and excommunication leaves its members to hang dry; that is disciplined church members are abandoned to their devices with minimal or no pastoral care to restore them to fruitful life of obedience to God. Church discipline refers to denying one to access to church sacraments and leadership positions due to one's failure to live up to church moral standards (Snow, 2019). Church discipline is similarly linked to Foucault's analysis of power where he argues that self-regulation is encouraged by institutions and this becomes the norm in modern societies with individuals acting as instruments of sanctioning themselves (Foucault, 1977:194).

In contemporary churches in Zambia, church discipline is enforced by the mutual community surveillance [that is self-regulation encouraged by the church] of the church members. The contestations of Church discipline now include anyone teaching contrary to the Holy Bible and Church doctrines, witchcraft, ancestral worship, sexuality contrary to Bible and Church doctrine (Chilenje, 2007). The study revealed that before the advent of the forms of colonial Christianity and their missional moral norms the Lozi and Bemba never had church discipline with severe sanctions of any sort within their indigenous religions. It has already been discussed that the Lozi and Bemba had their own religion with the awareness of the divine supernatural being whose name varies culturally. What is glaring evident is church discipline was severely imposed in indigenous religions. In Lozi and Bemba communities the individual is part of the whole and hence as integral participant of its ceremonies and rituals. In other words, church discipline with severe sanctions such as suspension of church members from participating in rituals and sacraments was one of the products of missional enterprise that saved its interests

and not the indigenous people. It could be argued that church discipline is alien to the way of life in contemporary Zambian churches.

The question to ask is, Is church discipline about the preservation of the church self-image? What about learning from Jesus, the Son of God who shared the Last Supper with Judas knowing fully well that Judas would betray him. What is clear about the contemporary church discipline is that it perpetuates the system of missional discipline that was perceived as harsh and insensitive to the Lozi and Bemba cultures. It is evident from the example of Jesus that he never banished Judas from sharing the Last Supper meal with him and the eleven as he was known as a thief and later would betray Jesus. Jesus instead welcomed him at the table. It is important to note that mercy and compassion demonstrated in Jesus' interaction with the publicans was the heart of his *Missio Dei*. It could be argued that the effects of the coloniality emanating from the forms of colonial Christianity continue to plague the churches in meting out uncompassionate and harsh church discipline to the erring church members. African churches like Zambian churches should be community oriented based on the ethos of communality that is family and pastoral in contrast to the individualistic approach observable in churches located in the Global North to whom church discipline is not as catastrophic to its church members as the churches in the Global South.

6.14 What might be the influence of missional liturgy on the religio-culture and how is it reflected in contemporary Barotseland and Bembaland?

The study found that the forms of colonial Christianity taught missional liturgy in the missional schools, stations and churches that were a novelty to the Lozi and Bemba cultures. This is supported by Mushibwe (2009) citing Taylor (2006) that missionary saw colonial invasion as providential for the purpose of evangelism as they regarded the African religio-cultural practices as immoral such as the lewd dancing during traditional ceremonies and some of the missionaries prohibited the teaching of African music because they thought it was a form of paganism. It is clear that for the Lozi and Bemba, music is an integral part of their cultures and is incorporated in the rites of passages proudly handed down from one generation to another via oral tradition. Indigenous liturgy worship albeit informal has always existed within African communities. Thus, liturgy is understood as a pattern of conducting worship that could be either formal or informal.

It is lamentable that most of the churches in contemporary Zambia and in particular English leaning congregations have silenced the indigenous ways of worship while maintaining the

missional liturgical worship. This missional liturgical worship owes its origin in the forms of colonial Christianity. Jere and Ndolo (1978:1-3) affirms that missionary liturgy is formalised and tended to include prayer, hymns of praise, preaching for the edification of the Christian, conversion of sinners and offering. For instance, the singing was mainly characterised by hymns translated in either Lozi or Bemba as illustrated by Litunga Lewanika's favourite hymn,

> *Litaba tse gu imelang*, the Lozi rendering of `*What a friend we have in Jesus*' (Smith, 1925 and Steed, 2004).

It is clear that Litunga Lewanika found missional hymn singing a source of joy and enjoyment. What Litunga Lewanika failed to grasp was that the missional hymns silenced the Lozi own creation of hymns and introduced a different way of worship that was missional oriented. This is true with most English leaning congregations. In addition, in Bembaland and Barotseland, the erosion of indigenous songs in worship happened at the missional schools and missional churches. For instance, the LMS's report in 1933 shows how the singing of hymns at GBS and BBS were a means to conversion as shown:

> *The evidence before us of the quality of worship in such schools is highly varied.... The variety of the evidence suggests differences in the standard applied; while undoubtedly in many schools the teacher by easy songs, by well-chosen scripture passages, and by such simple prayers as can be shared by little children, does succeed in lifting their hearts Godward* (Box 18, CWM/CA - LMS Report, 1933).

The study revealed that missional liturgical style of worship such as songs, reading scriptural passages, prayers and sermons were well embedded in missional schools and churches method of Christianisation of the indigenous people. The LMS report, in a coloniality way, revealed their prejudice towards indigenous style of worship that only missional liturgical style of worship succeeded in lifting the students' hearts Godward. It could be inferred from the above that the LMS eroded the indigenous liturgical style of worship as they perceived it to be incapable of lifting the hearts of young students Godward. What is clear is that missional liturgical style of worship that is the prescribed and rigid form of worship was prevalent in many missional schools and churches. This is evidenced by Maggi Mann (1899) of PEMS commenting in the following manner:

> *The boys now can sing Moody and Sankey's hymns very well and if you could only hear them and not see them, you could think that they are English boys* (News from Barotsiland, 1899).

Mann's comments reveals the insidiousness of missional worldview in action at Lealuyi mission school in Barotseland. Mann's reveals coloniality in hymns that is the only benchmark of acceptable decorum in liturgy-music is the English standard located in the Global North. It could be argued that the missional liturgical style of worship (hymns) was indoctrinated in the students' minds as the only form of worship that God will be pleased to accept. It silenced the indigenous mode of worship. What the forms colonial Christianity failed to grasp was that the missional liturgical style of worship namely singing old hymns composed during the Victorian era were alien to the experience of the Lozi and Bemba people. It is important to note that indigenous worship arises from a place of lived experience. Indigenous worship is there in the field, at insaka and in our minds and doing things among others. This is because for African, religion is a way of life and not something done at a particular time and space. Using the coloniality lens, the study argues that missional liturgical worship brought with it missional costumes, mannerism and style of conducting worship that was benchmarked to the forms of colonial Christianity standards underpinned by absolute ontology.

What this meant was that it created LMS and PEMS to be teachers and therefore superior and Lozi and Bemba to be students and therefore inferior. It is the phenomenon of modernity/coloniality matrix manifesting itself in places of sacred worship and rituals. This is known as coloniality of liturgy that is the prayers, hymns, costumes and sermons among others echo the legacy of the forms of colonial Christianity. Notwithstanding the enjoyment that can be had from music and song, this study contends that the coloniality of liturgical style of worship as a matrix runs deep in contemporary liturgical style of worship in most churches in Zambia.

It is important to note that the Lozi and Bemba religions were rooted in their culture and customs and as such it became religio-culture worldview. It should be remembered that religion among the Lozi and Bemba was received and passed on from one generation to another via oral tradition delivered under soft infrastructure that is indigenous liturgy. Hence, the liturgical style of worship was incorporated within their socio- religion way of life. The indigenous liturgical style of worship was diffused within their daily of experience of the divine called Nyambe (Lozi) and Lesa (Bemba). It is not an exaggeration to argue that some awareness of the divine

albeit raw has been prevalent in the Lozi and Bemba ethnic groups. The knowledge of the divine preceded the arrival of PEMS as Litunga Lewanika notes:

> *`What have I to do with the Gospel and their God?' `Had we not got gods before their arrival? What I want is . . . especially missionaries who build big workshops and teach us all the trades of the White men: carpenters, blacksmiths, armourers, masons and so on. That's what I want . . . (*Sundkler and Steed 2004, 461).

The finding shows that the concept of God preceded the advent of missional enterprise of PEMS and LMS. As the Litunga Lewanika reveals above the concept Nyambe (God) has always been an integral part of the Lozi existence. This is why it is important to remember that the forms of colonial Christianity did not introduce God to the Lozi and Bemba. God has always been embedded in the Lozi and Bemba socio-religious way of life as Mbiti (1971) says, religion is traditional that is rooted in culture. Simply put God is experienced not thought. God, religion and indigenous liturgical style of worship is experienced at home, in the fields, in rituals and relationships among others. Socio-religious life is the essence of the Lozi and Bemba existence and their existence is underpinned by their socio-religion. The study holds that the Lozi and Bemba are aware of their spirituality and relationship with the divine who pervades parts of their existence. The Lozi and Bemba respond to the awareness of Nyambe or Lesa through varied ways of indigenous liturgical worship that is anchored in relative ontology as opposed to missional formal liturgical based on absolute ontology. It could be argued that indigenous liturgical style of worship cannot be separated from culture, that is, it is not something they do at the certain time and space but is something that pervades their way of thinking and doing. This idea is supported by Letsosa and De Klerk (2007) who affirm that culture is not merely superficially related to humanity, but deep-seated, one cannot be fully without it. It could be argued that if religion is an essential part of culture it follows that indigenous liturgical style of worship is cultural.

6.15 Why did these missional moral norms influence the religio-culture and how is it reflected in contemporary Barotseland and Bembaland?

The questions to ask are, should African rituals in contemporary churches in Zambia still be controlled from the centre? How can the church in contemporary Zambia embark on the journey of decolonisation of the missional liturgies to lead us to a state of decoloniality and still remain biblically relevant? In other words, how can Zambian churches particularly the English leaning churches being delivered from the dark shadows of coloniality of liturgy? The study argues that

indigenous liturgy is a thread that straddles between socio-religious existence and the divine. Hence, African liturgy that incorporates indigenous style of worship among Lozi and Bemba extends beyond the church building and specific day or time but is something they are and experience. African worship is evidenced in their everyday living, eating, dressing, under a tree and drawing water from the stream among others. God is at the forefront of everything the African does. For instance, notwithstanding the fact that indigenous dance and songs were prohibited at GBS, however, the young students still danced and sang at the communal meeting in the evening on selected weekends as act of resistance to modernity and coloniality (Musambachime, 1979). What this shows is that despite the erosion of many Lozi and Bemba cultural practices by PEMS and LMS, dance and song became the way the young girls expressed their quest for freedom from the shackles of missionality that is missional enterprise.

In a similar way but a different context, the alienation between the Eurocentric liturgical style of worship and African/Black experiences continue in the diasporic churches. The issue is that the Eurocentric churches and Africans/Black Christians living diaspora contest the relevance of formal liturgical worship underpinned by modernity worldview. The Eurocentric churches still hold on the idea that preserving the old liturgy alongside old hymns is sign of true godliness and piety. It fails to adapt to the needs of the lived experiences of the African/Black Christians and Asian/Latino. This in turn has a negative impact on their spiritual development. It could be argued that Christians from non-Eurocentric background find the Eurocentric formal liturgical worship cold and unedifying despite the fact that the Non-White and White Christians live in the same communities. This is compounded by the fact that Christians of the Afro-descendants for instance in Britain are living far away from the land of their ancestors. This is because, for a Black Christian, ritualistic worship is more than just standing up, singing hymns and then sitting down but it is a daily encounter with a compassionate and loving divine being.

Escobar (2014) affirms that the art of living is learned in relation to the particular land inhabited by these communities as they think-feel with the territories, cultures, and knowledges of their peoples. It could be argued that the failure of the liturgy to meet people in their own concrete spaces will result in that church or congregation to die out. Perhaps this explains why the churches in Global North are struggling to recruit young people in their congregations. This is supported by Steenbrink (1991:3) cited in Letsosa and De Klerk (2016) that missional liturgical worship/music is not very effective to bear witness to those outside the church nor is it powerful enough to edify the lives of the faithful with its community. This study contends that liturgy should be transformative and people based. It is in this sense that liturgical music/worship

should move away from being prescriptive to becoming a community based liturgy underpinned by people's experience. In this way, liturgy becomes the liturgy of life that is faith and action are fused into one by the sanctifying work of the Holy Spirit. It is not farfetched to say that for an African, worship is his/her essence of existence that is liturgy of life. This is because worship and life are deeply rooted in their everyday experiences. This is supported by Letsosa and De Klerk (2016) who point out that music is to worship as breathing is to life, this is the heritage the African have music pervades their way of life whole human life.

More so, the Lozi and Bemba cultures, their worship and rituals are that is informal liturgies centred in Nyambe/Lesa, the Supreme Being and creator of the universe of which they inhabit. Hence, their worship is not far removed from them but it is very much near to them so much that they encounter it in their daily rituals and mundane of life. It is clear that liturgy of worship that is music and the word have the power to cut through the inner recess of one's thoughts and arouse one's emotions/memories that reside in the conscious and subconscious to enable them to experience the divine whether under a tree, in the field or at the Insaka. It is contention of this study that music in worship should be accessed in the medium of the language that is easily accessible to people but freed from coloniality. For instance, using the favourite translated missional hymn of King Lewanika,

> *Litaba tse gu imelang*, the Lozi rendering of `*What a friend we have in Jesus*' (Smith, 1925 and Steed, 2004).

It should be acknowledged that the liturgical music in the form of hymns play an important role in uplifting the soul Godward whether indigenous or missional hymns. However, it is crucial to note that liturgy and music of whatever origin should be easily accessed by all people of rank and file in their own language whether they can read nor write. More importantly, the missional hymns such as *what a friend we have in Jesus (Litaba tse gu imelang)* demands the liturgists to interrogate for coloniality leanings and hence should undergo the process of decoloniality. This is because decolonisation/decoloniality of the missional liturgy demands that hymns and songs should celebrate and affirm practices (praxis) arising from people's lived experiences. In doing so, decoloniality of missional liturgy will speak to people's concrete experiences in places such as the villages at insaka, urban areas and town ghettoes among others and become alive in a worship context in Barotseland and Bembaland. The challenge that faces the liturgists and theologians to decolonise the way of doing missional liturgy within the churches in contemporary Zambia.

The decolonisation of missional liturgy is the vital element of a wider part of the liberating process of the forms of colonial Christianity. It has already been discussed that the missional enterprise of the PEMS and LMS influenced a large sway of education, moral norms and liturgy. It has also been establish that coloniality as an idea/system permeates everything that happens in the post missional churches in areas what of it means to be a human being, worship of God and knowing knowledges. Lamentably, coloniality in the form of missional enterprise system lingers on like a melancholic ghost in post-missional churches that demands deliverance in the form of decoloniality. This is supported by Maldonado-Torres (2007) who asserts that people continue to live with the legacy of colonialism [missionalism] in the lived coloniality of being [missionality of being] including how worship is done [the liturgy of worship and liturgy of the word].

It is should be noted that corresponding to and the advent of the forms of colonial Christianity in Africa in conjunction with the subjugation of African kingdoms and people especially by the British, the British Hymnody was imbued with coloniality. These colonial British hymns at the zenith of the British Empire were exported and imposed on the indigenous Lozi and Bemba in the garb of missional liturgy. In the case Zambia this was evident in the missional schools and missional churches where coloniality of the liturgy influenced the way the music and hymns were understood, taught and sang and has strongly shaped worship done by the Lozi and Bemba as reflected in the Zambian churches. It is important to note that decolonialisation of the liturgy will enable Zambian Christians to see how the instruments of oppression that is coloniality are present in hymn signing. Hence it will empower them to imagine and devise their indigenous worship rooted in their own lived experiences.

This is supported by Alexander Schmemann (1961) that true worship is not symbols nor rituals but the possibility to introduce into the world transformative and transfiguring fire of which the Lord pines. Schmemann bemoans the absence of transformative power of the liturgy in lived experiences of Christians. The study argues that in contrast to missional liturgy, the liturgy that is Christ affirming should return to the sources where people live, eat, cry and celebrate. In doing so, the liturgy and music that is liturgical music diffuses neatly in any culture and language and therefore it never needed to be clothed in the missional garb. This is because the liturgical of music stands on its own and has inherent power to penetrate any human culture while promoting its language. It is the contention of this study that for decoloniality of missional liturgy to be successful, the church leaders must discover other ways of knowing, thinking, doing and feeling worship.

The study argues for the lived experiences that is returning to sources as the basis of formulating music that is alive and transformative it uses Exodus 15:1 as a premise for its evidence. Exodus 15:1 is the illustration of the liturgical music that demonstrates the Jewish people rejoicing over their deliverance from the land of slavery in Egypt. The Jewish people sung and celebrated their deliverance from the land of slavery in the language, style, lyrics and dance borne out their lived experiences. The exodus account alludes to what has already been discussed that liturgy is undergirded by human experiences and hence if done in that way it leads to the edification of the members of that community. For instance, students at GBS and BBS communities show how the missional liturgical worship received a glowing report,

> *Succeeded in lifting children's hearts Godward* (Box 18, CWM/CA - LMS Report, 1933).

It is clear that missional liturgical music had the power to reach the areas of heart and mind where other forces fail to penetrate. It could be argued that this was because for Bemba students, music and singing have been integral part of their ceremonial rituals. It also included mainly utterances such as blessing, invocations, singing, prayers and petitions among others. This is affirmed by Viljoen (2001:426) cited in Letsosa and De Klerk (2016) that religious songs existed for every occasion: from personal prayers, funeral songs, love songs, war songs, working songs and songs praising God to songs that accompanied many different festivals and sacrifices. It should be noted that it was not because the missional liturgy was causal factor in lifting the children's hearts to God but rather that the children have been exposed and brought on singing while they were infants. Malobola (2001) affirms that cultural singing and dancing as a very profound way of expressing emotions. This is an experience which validates a way of living of the people. It is also noted that singing gives the African people communal pride, self-esteem, and a sense of belonging.

Whitla (2020:150) notes that a hymn can be either an embodiment of coloniality or a song of liberation or even both at the same time, depending on the context. From the LMS's report, notwithstanding the positive effect of the songs on the young students, it could be argued that the songs they sung were an embodiment of coloniality but not liberation. It must be pointed out that the decoloniality of the missional liturgy that is hymns, sermons and sacraments is a broad part of the liberating process for the Lozi and Bemba people among others in contemporary Zambia.

For instance, returning to the Litunga Lewanika's favourite hymn translated into Lozi

Litaba tse gu imelang, the Lozi rendering of

What a friend we have in Jesus

All sins and grief to bear

What a privilege to carry; Everything to God in prayer

(Smith 1925 and Steed 2004, Christian Hymns, 2004).

In the following verse, it reads as,

Are we weak and heavy laden, cumbered with a load of care?

Precious Saviour, still our refuge—take it to the Lord in prayer!
Do your friends despise, forsake you? Take it to the Lord in prayer!

In his arms he'll take and shield you; Thou wilt find a solace there (Christian Hymns, 2004).

On one hand, using the coloniality lens, the hymn draws attention to the fact that whatever the missional say or does to the Lozi and Bemba people they should not resist it but simply take it to the Lord in prayer. It could be argued that perhaps this hymn was taught to Litunga Lewanika just before or after it signed the Concession Treaty in 1899 so that it pacifies the most painful betrayal of the Lozi people by Coillard of PEMS and Cecil Rhodes of BSCA. Instead of resisting this treatment it could argued that they were taught to sing hymn composed at the zenith of British Empire.

However, on the other hand, using decoloniality lens, the Litunga sung this song as an act of resistance and defiance to the BSCA and betrayal by Collard. It could be argued that Litunga Lewanika enjoyed singing what a friend we have in Jesus because it spoke to his lived experience of pain and suffering of the people of Lozi. In Jesus, not in BSCA, he has a friend which is his refuge, hence singing song gave the Litunga hope in terms of uncertainty. Similarly, what true of the Litunga is true on the experiences of most Christians in the post missional churches in contemporary Zambia. The question to ask is what remains of the missional liturgy and missional hymns? For this study, it is important to acknowledge that while the missional hymns still contain elements of coloniality in them, it is the act of singing that can just be as important as the words as they bear witness to the lived experiences of the Lozi and Bemba Christians. MacDonald (2016) supports this point and says that the act of singing hymns [songs] can be a mode of resistance and is also the way indigenous culture was carried.

In decoloniality stance, what a friend we have in Jesus is one of the hymns that remains as an anthem that affirms the Zambian sufferings such as grief, pain, COVID-19 pandemic, economic hardships among others and celebrates an intimate loving relationship with Jesus when it is reconfigured into lived experiences. In this way the daily lived experiences of people is affirmed as Whitla (2020) affirms, when worship [missional liturgy] is transformed in the community and give up the Eurocentric modes and embrace the painstaking process of conversion which requires us to be something rather than what we are. Hence, from a decoloniality point of view, in the space of liturgical worship and music, the arena becomes the locus of contestations of old hymns and reconfiguring theology of hymnody. In doing so, study maintains that the indigenous liturgy of worship, music and the word becomes a place of reflective experiences underpinned by relative ontology. It is from this space that the new songs and hymns are reconfigured and centred on Jesus as the friend of the oppressed and saviour of the despised.

6.16 Conclusion

The findings in the study found that the PEMS and LMS as the forms of colonial Christianity influenced the indigenous education systems, moral norms and the liturgy in the Barotseland and Bembaland. It has also been noted that the PEMS and LMS influence has had some positive and negative effects on the Lozi and Bemba cultures. The Lozi and Bemba cultures such as initiation ceremonies and rituals were life affirming rituals that aimed at teaching young people to mature into responsible adults. However, the negative influence of the missional moral norms on initiation rituals such as sexual cleansing and imbusa eroded the Lozi and Bemba cultural practices.

Throughout the discussion it has been noted that missional education via missional schools eroded the indigenous knowledge systems of the Lozi and Bemba. It has been discussed that the indigenous systems based on the cosmological worldview of the indigenous people of Zambia was punctured by the forms of colonial Christianity. However, through the analysis of the findings it has been discovered that the IKS in moral norms, education and liturgy provide essential and vital knowledge tools and skills that enables the Lozi and Bemba to navigate their way maze of contestations of coloniality and decoloniality in contemporary Zambia. The study has revealed that missional liturgy can only be meaningful if it relates to people's everyday lived experiences. The study acknowledges that the Lozi and Bemba cultures can exist within the context of Christianity and maintain their uniqueness as places of doing theology and liturgy

in the context of think-feel experiences. Hence, the establishment of indigenous cultural practices and knowledge systems of the Lozi and Bemba should become the locus of inspiration in teaching young people Christian's values and moral norms. The next chapter presents the summary and conclusions of the study.

Chapter Seven
Summary and Conclusions

7.1 Introduction

Chapter six presented the findings and analysis of data from desktop data and archival records in the context of the forms of colonial Christianity and Zambian cultures. Particular focus was on the influences of PEMS and LMS on the Lozi and Bemba cultures in Barotseland and Bembaland. This was done by identifying the three emerging themes: missional moral norms, education and liturgy and interrogating their coloniality leanings. The latter part of chapter six presented the discussions on the contestations of the Lozi and Bemba cultures and missional cultures in the light of the decolonisation of these missional moral norms, education and liturgy in contemporary Zambia.

Hence, chapter 7 summarises and concludes all the themes and concepts from the previous chapters to create a harmonious symphony of ideas, insights and new knowledges cascading from each chapter. In doing so, each summarised chapter demonstrates how the study's objectives were met related to the key research question. The latter part of the chapter presents the study's conclusions, closing the gap that emerged through the research work.

7.2 General overview of the study

This study examined the influence of PEMS and LMS on the Bemba and Lozi cultures in contemporary Zambia using the theories of relative ontology alongside coloniality. The theories above underpinned the desktop and archival research methods that were qualitative and non-empirical in nature. The study holds that the PEMS and LMS as mission bodies represented a particular form of colonial Christianity which influenced the indigenous education systems, moral norms, and the liturgy in the missionary establishments within the Barotseland and Bembaland. It has been argued that PEMS and LMS influence on the Lozi and Bemba cultures has positively and negatively affected their people. The positive contribution of the forms of colonial Christianity was the repudiation of the boiling water test and the killing of twins in most African cultures.

However, the negative influence of the missional activities on indigenous rituals was the denunciation of all forms of sexual cleansing as pagan and barbaric. Furthermore, the findings showed that missional education via missional schools eroded the indigenous knowledge systems of the Lozi and Bemba people. The study argued that the new faith systems punctured

the indigenous knowledge systems based on the cosmological worldviews alongside the new episteme of the LMS and PEMS. The study further argues that the indigenous knowledge systems in indigenous moral norms, education, and liturgy provided the vital knowledge tools that enabled the Lozi and Bemba to navigate their way through a maze of contestations of decoloniality in contemporary Zambia.

The study acknowledges that the Lozi and Bemba cultures can exist within the context of Christianity and maintain their uniqueness as places of doing theology, moral norms, and liturgy in the context of think-feel experiences. The study notes that cultural practices such as initiation ceremonies and rituals such as imbusa should be incorporated into Christian teachings because they believed them to be life-affirming rituals to teach young people to mature into responsible adults.

In addition, when applied to practical theology and missiology, reviving indigenous knowledge systems alongside indigenous proverbs of the Lozi and Bemba would provide the locus of inspiration in teaching young people about Biblical Christian values and moral norms. The findings revealed that missional liturgy could only be meaningful if it decolonise and the Lozi and Bemba reinvent their ways of worship based on their everyday experiences.

The following sections conclude the summary of the chapters. The study consisted of seven chapters that attempted to answer the study's objectives and the key research question. The summaries of the chapters were presented as follows:

7.3 Chapter Summaries

Chapter one presented the introduction and background of the study. The main focus was to set the research roadmap of how the study would be conducted. The chapter included the motivation as a Zambian who now lives in the diaspora and highlights the quest to study the socio-history of the missional enterprise. Furthermore, the chapter provided the aim of the study by assessing the positive and negative influences of the PEMS and LMS on the Lozi and Bemba cultures in the context of the Barotseland and Bembaland kingdoms. The research problem, as underscored, provided the impetus for embarking on this study. The study further outlined the key research, objectives and sub-questions of the study. Since the forms of colonial Christianity and the Lozi and Bemba cultures consist of complex terminologies within the context of coloniality and Christianisation, definitions of keywords were required. The latter part of the chapter outlined the chapters demonstrating their interconnectedness to each other.

Chapter two positioned the Lozi and Bemba cultures within the literature in the context of Barotseland and Bembaland. The first part of chapter two presented the religious culture of the Lozi ethnic group within scholarly literature, focusing on the Lozi concept of God, the Sikenge initiation rite for girls, the Litunga and their celebration of the Kuomboka ceremony. It was observed that the idea of Nyambe (God) is fundamental to the identity and ontology of the Lozi ethnic group. Nyambe is accredited with creating the universe, and their faith was expressed in ritual ceremonies marking special events or requests for protection and assistance. However, Nyambe, for the Lozi, was a deistic god who did not participate in their everyday lives. It also noted that the Litunga's supremacy and control over the land was affixed in the belief in his divine ancestry and the mediating functions of all dead kings between Nyambe, the creator and the Lozi as his people.

One of the critical features of the Lozi cultural identity is the ceremony of Kuomboka, which is celebrated annually in contemporary Barotseland. The Zambezi River flood plains, with annual migration from the flood plains to higher ground at the start of the rainy season, influence the Kuomboka ceremony. Furthermore, it was pointed out that Litunga is the centre of the ritual of the Kuomboka ceremony.

The Sikenge ritual is a specific initiation for girls in which girls go into seclusion to learn about adult life in preparation for womanhood. Regarding religion, Sikenge celebrated the first menstruation, viewed as a sacred and divine occurrence in which the initiate received the gift of sexuality from her ancestors. At this stage, a girl's life becomes closer to their ancestors to receive the gift of motherhood.

The second part of the chapter highlighted the religious culture of the Bemba ethnic group. It observed their belief in God (Lesa), and this belief in Lesa informs their cosmology. The ancestral spirits are integral to cultural practices such as initiation ceremonies. It was noted that these spirits are believed to be immortal as they have entered the spiritual realm, and the concept of personhood is integral to understanding the link between the living and the dead.

Furthermore, the study examined the factors that led to the erosion of the two mighty kingdoms in Bembaland. It was noted that colonialism and its modernity/coloniality worldviews, that is, the introduction of the different economic systems and centralised government systems, contributed to the erosion of the Mwata Kazembe Kingdom. At the same time, the Kingdom of Chitimukulu was rendered impotent though it survived the effects of coloniality.

The study also discussed that Bemba rituals, though silenced by missional enterprise, have survived the dark shadow cast by the ghost of the coloniality matrix, namely sexual cleanings, ichisungu, imbusa and child brides. It has highlighted that imbusa and ichisungu incorporate indigenous knowledge systems within the context of the rituals. However, it demonstrated that the imbusa practice remains a place of contestation in churches in contemporary Zambia. On the one hand, it is contended that imbusa, with emblems used in its ritual, is associated with demons. However, on the other hand, it is refuted that the imbusa tradition is a neutral space wherein prospective brides are taught indigenous moral norms that enable them to have a strong base for setting up healthy and prosperous families in the future. Mukuka (2018) sees ichisungu as a rite that reinforces and pronounces the status of young women as they are ushered into society through a changed situation. Furthermore, Mukuka explains that ichisungu is a very rich initiation rite with sets of parameters to govern its ritual practice, making it relevant and meaningful to the social life, not only for a woman but also for the entire community.

Later in the study, it was acknowledged that the forms of colonial Christianity positively contributed to the end of child marriages in both Barotseland and Bembaland. However, child marriages continue in some regions due to family poverty and irreconcilable customary and legal laws in contemporary Zambia. It was noted that although the LMS silenced sexual cleansing in Bembaland, it has morphed by reinventing its ritual of sexual practice by incorporating alternative methods of sexual cleansing, such as jumping between the legs of the widow.

Chapter three presented the methodology of the study. The study highlighted the phenomenological approach in analysing data on the lived experiences of Lozi and Bemba during the evangelisation process of the PEMS and LMS in Barotseland and Bembaland. It outlined the interpretive and explanatory research designs. It argued that interpretivism was adopted as the philosophical paradigm for this study because it is linked to the relative ontological position of constructivism. The interpretive paradigm was selected to understand the subjective world of human experience. Two types of methods were used to collect data: desktop data and archival data. The archival data were solicited from the School of Oriental African Studies (SOAS) in London, United Kingdom. The two methods of collecting data were chosen because they were suited for the phenomenon (the forms of colonial Christianity) being examined and analysed. The reason to investigate forms of colonial Christianity was that it situates itself in the colonial era underpinned by a modernity matrix (worldview) before colonial Zambia gained its independence in 1964. The Council for World Mission/London

Missionary Society (CWM/LMS) archival systems under the auspice of SOAS library contain all the information from former British colonies of which Zambia is part.

In chapter four, the study presented two theoretical frameworks underpinning the research. First, it gave the ontology theory consisting of absolute and relative. It was observed that PEMS and LMS, with their missional message and moral norms, were undergirded by an absolute ontology that owed its origin the Cartesian ontology. In contrast to absolute ontology, it was argued that relative ontology theory is based on the principle that multiple realities are valid and demand equal existence.

Second, the study also provided coloniality theory as the framework on which the study was constructed. Quijano (2000) and Mignolo, Maldonado-Torres and Grosfoguel (2007) represent the concept of coloniality. These authors understand the concept of coloniality as an all-encompassing phenomenon present in systems, structures and ideas that consist of the residual of the matrix of colonising processes, tendencies and the way of doing things that find their expression in missional moral norms, missional education and missional liturgy.

Chapter five discussed the location of the PEMS and LMS as mission societies in Barotseland and Bembaland. The chapter explored the precolonial historical background, Bantu migrations, early trade, slave trade, Berlin Conference and precolonial Christianity in Africa. The chapter reconnoitred two forms of colonial Christianity: PEMS in Barotseland (North Western Rhodesia) and LMS in Bembaland (North Western Rhodesia). Hence, the study explored and examined the missional activities in schools, stations, and churches among the Lozi and Bemba ethnic groups. The missional moral norms, education, and liturgy were based on British Victorian standards and moral norms. It observed that GBS and BBS were missional schools that facilitated the erosion of Bemba culture. It was argued that the out-of-context missional education provided for young boys and girls must be revised in the Barotseland and Bembaland context. It was affirmed that educating young women was to prepare them to be homemakers for the young men who trained as pastors and evangelists.

Later in the chapter, it discussed the British colonial rule in Barotseland, initiated by the Lochner Treaty in 1890 and Bembaland, culminating in Zambia becoming a British colony in 1924. It was observed that the PEMS were complicit in facilitating the signing of the Lochner Treaty in 1890 between Litunga Lewanika and BSCA. This illustrated what the study has been demonstrating throughout the chapters the link between the forms of colonial Christianity and colonialists in serving their colonial interest to the detriment of the Lozi and Bemba people.

Chapter six presented the findings and analysis of the data from the desktop and archives. It noted and discussed three emerging themes: missional moral norms, missional education and liturgy. It was first discussed that the forms of colonial Christianity imposed missional moral norms in conjunction with coloniality of discipline and punishment, such as floggings and church discipline, to deter students and new converts from breaking the missional moral norm code. It was observed that the imposition of these missional ways of life and thinking took place in missional schools, stations and churches. PEMS and LMS collaborated with colonialist governments to do these missional activities, as mentioned above. The colonialist government and the forms of colonial Christianity served each other's interests. The act of colonial self-interest is what the study called coloniality occurred in missional moral norms, missional education and liturgy. In contrast to missional education and culture based on absolute ontology, it was argued that relative ontology theory is based on the principle that has always underpinned indigenous knowledge systems about moral norms, indigenous education and the mode of the liturgy. African ontology is influenced by a relative ontology that underscores the validity of multiple realities.

7.4 The key nuggets from the study

The study assessed the influences of PEMS and LMS on Lozi and Bemba cultures in Barotseland and Bembaland to find answers to the research questions. After the summaries of the chapters, the following was gleaned as a way of concluding the study. More importantly, it must be mentioned that the research questions derived from the study's objectives were presented to assess the influences of colonial Christianity on the Lozi and Bemba cultures in the Barotseland and Bembaland kingdoms. Particular focus was on the consequences of PEMS and LMS as missional societies with coloniality leanings on the indigenous moral norms, education and liturgy of the ethnic groups of Lozi and Bemba.

The study found significant evidence that PEMS and LMS, as forms of coloniality Christianity, collaborated with the colonialists in establishing and maintaining their missional education and missional stations in the Barotseland and Bembaland kingdoms. In fact, in the context of collaboration between the forms of colonial Christianity and colonialist governments, it happened because they both shared the mutual interest of colonising the mind, soul and body of the Lozi and Bemba people. It was argued that missional enterprises that are the forms of colonial Christianity were active collaborators in facilitating the spread of missional moral norms and missional education based on British Victorian standards and values in eroding the

indigenous knowledge systems in moral norms, education and liturgy. Subsequently, the erosion of Lozi and Bemba cultures made way for increased links with colonialists, for instance, that gave birth to a child called Lochner Treaty in 1890 in Barotseland. Coillard of the PEMS mission society was fully involved in facilitating the smooth agreement between Litunga Lewanika and BSCA. Hence, the following has been summarised as concluding critical nuggets of the study.

7.5 Decoloniality of Missional Moral Norms

In concluding the influence of the missional moral norms on the Lozi and Bemba cultures in Barotseland and Bembaland, the genesis of appreciating the moral norms of the Lozi and Bemba cultures is to realise that their morality stems from their indigenous ontology based on their cosmological worldview. In other words, moral norms or morality have been embedded in the Lozi and Bemba cultures of their cosmological ontology. That means the Lozi and Bemba did not have a moral code ascribed to stones like Moses and the Jewish people in the Old Testament. It is a fact of life that there are written and non-written rules and both are rules. This is affirmed by Gyekwe (1996), who points out that African moral norms did not appeal to religion and that religious laws and precepts do not determine what is morally right or wrong. What has been established in this is that the Lozi and Bemba had moral functioning kingdoms that were prosperous before the advent of the forms of colonial Christianity.

From a decoloniality point of view, it should be argued that Lozi and Bemba's moral norms were derived from lived experiences among each other. Through lived experiences, the Lozi and Bemba forged their amiable social contracts between the kings and the subjects and between the subjects and the subjects. The study has b already demonstrated that lived experiences are spaces where indigenous people encounter the divine, and here the divine encounters the indigenous people. In a sense, God is not UP there but is DOWN here in the mundane of everyday interactions, sufferings, pains, and celebrations. Hence, from a decoloniality perspective, African moral norms stem from social-cultural experiences. Nkansah (2018) affirms that African moral values are essentially 'socialistic' and 'humanistic' in character. Socialistic in the sense that their moral norms are derived as a result of their relationship with each other as members of a community, and humanistic in the mind they judge the rightness or wrongness of a moral act based on the ability of the particular moral action either promote or degrade human dignity (Nkansah, 2018). In Lozi and Bemba cultures, moral norms are right or wrong depending on whether they encourage good welfare for the community. In this collective sense, the individual is responsible for maintaining harmony for

the community, not their individualistic interests. What this means is that morality stems from the BOTTOM and not UP. This means that it proceeds from lived experiences of Lozi and Bemba, not from the prescribed code of conduct handed down to them by PEMS and LMS. More importantly, indigenous moral norms have always been less punitive and exclusivist but corporative and inclusivist.

7.6 Decoloniality of Missional Education in contemporary Zambia

It must be pointed out that the influence of missional education, especially at Mbereshi in Bembaland, was both negative and positive in the lives of young men and women, as already alluded to in the study. However, it has been shown that the missional education system vis-à-vis colonial education system hindered and continues to hinder the Lozi and Bemba trajectory of civilisation. The study holds that part of the problem or issue might lie in who is the custodian of knowledge being taught in learning institutions. It has been argued that the coloniality leanings are still alive and well in curriculums, structures and organisation of schools, colleges and universities. This study contends that the decoloniality of education embarks on the decoloniality of the methods and systems of transmitting that coloniality of knowledge. In other words, learning should be freed from the shackles of missional education and its epistemologies. This process is known as episteme freedom. Ndlovu (2018) affirms that people without their way of knowing are people without a history and a future. This is why the study posits that the use of proverbs indigenous knowledge systems underpinned by relative ontology should be brought to the fore and become a vehicle to deliver indigenous knowledge systems (IKS) in all learning institutions.

Simply put, African proverbs should become the academic tools that aid learning in schools and universities. In other words, the decoloniality project is incomplete on Lozi and Bemba people break free from the dark shadows of coloniality hidden in our textbooks, colonial language, sciences, history and economics. In the context of Zambia, particularly Barotseland and Bembaland, it is in this light the decoloniality academics, liturgists and ethicists must heed the words of Mignolo (1995) that while the imperial vision seeks to impose, reproduce and maintain dominant Euro-American hegemony over the world, the decoloniality paradigm struggles to bring into intervening existence another interpretation that brings forward, on the one hand, a silenced view of the event and, on the other, shows the limits of imperial ideology disguised as the proper (total) interpretation of the events.

Decoloniality of education inducts a new way of thinking and doing education that will lead to episteme freedom. The study holds that episteme freedom is interwoven with ontological independence; in other words, Lozi and Bemba will only be accessible as ontological beings if they achieve their episteme freedom, their knowledge freedom. In this sense, Lozi and Bemba's human freedom is directly linked to their knowledge freedom. It is crucial to mention that episteme freedom constitutes the right to think, theorise, imagine and interpret cosmology from one's location. The study insists on liberation from any encumbrances in areas of knowing knowledge and seeks spaces in some villages in Barotseland and Bembaland as sources of basic knowledge that is informed by their own lived experiences. This is what Bonaventura de Sousa Santos (2016) calls cognitive justice, which is the diverse ways of knowing by which human beings across the globe make sense of their existence. This, in turn, will result in the democracy of knowledge that unlocks the potential of indigenous knowledge systems in theological education and practical theology, among others, in contemporary Zambia.

7.7 Decoloniality of Missional Liturgy in contemporary Zambia

It has already been discussed that the arrival of PEMS and LMS and colonialists in Barotseland and Bembaland influenced and impacted the cultures and everyday experiences of Nyambe and Lesa. This was done by establishing their missional stations, missional education and missional churches that acted as drivers of Christianisation and supposedly missional/colonial civilisation. As part of these missional activities, they imposed missional culture, that is, their missional behaviour and worldviews, to the indigenous new converts. It was noted that the forms of colonial Christianity were perceived as a victory over savagery and paganism when the Lozi and Bemba new converts attended their catechumen and catechumen classes, learnt their missional moral norms, sang missional hymns and songs and wore their missional/colonial costumes. For PEMS and LMS, the Lozi and Bemba new converts have come of age enlightened to missional Christianity underpinned modernity/coloniality matrix.

The new hymns and songs the indigenous new converts sang were translated into their indigenous languages, and many were still sung in English. For instance, in Barotseland Litunga

Lewanika's favourite hymn, *Litaba tse gu imelang*, the Lozi rendering of `*What a friend we have in Jesus*' (Smith, 1925 and Steed, 2004). Furthermore, in Bembaland, the students at GBS and BBS missional schools show how the hymns and songs as means of missional worship received a glowing LMS report saying that,

Missional hymns and songs *lifted children's hearts Godward* (Box 18 CWM/CA - LMS Report, 1933).

This, in a sense, was the beginning of the imposition of missional liturgy and hymns on the Lozi and Bemba ethnic groups. Even though the missional hymns had the power to reach the areas of heart and mind that other humanitarian agencies and forces fail to penetrate. The study argues that music and singing were part and parcel of the Lozi and Bemba and an integral part of their rituals and ceremonies, such as imbusa, ichisungu and Sikenge, before the advent of the forms of colonial Christianity, for these ethnic groups' singing, drumming and dancing were embedded in their religio-cultural way of life before the arrival of the forms of colonial Christianity. Viljoen (2001:426), cited in Letsosa and De Klerk (2016), affirms that in Africa, religious songs existed for every occasion: from personal prayers, funeral songs, love songs, war songs, working songs and songs praising God to songs that accompanied many different festivals and sacrifices. This happened at insaka, open spaces in villages, fields while farming and hunting, and at the river while drawing water. In other words, an indigenous liturgy for the Lozi and Bemba was derived from their lived experiences, as alluded to above. The indigenous liturgy was informal and accessible to any rank and file. Malobola (2001) affirms that cultural singing and dancing are profound ways of expressing emotions. This is an experience which validates the way of living of the people. It is also noted that singing gives the African people communal pride, self-esteem, and a sense of belonging.

PEMS and LMS succeeded in imposing their missional liturgy on the Lozi and Bemba religio-cultural way of life that punctured their indigenous liturgical form of worship. It is clear that God is not the God of only missional liturgy but the God of human liturgy anchored in their lived experiences. The study holds that missional liturgy was the beginning of the erosion of the Lozi and Bemba indigenous liturgy based on their cosmological worldview and ontology of being. Nyeko (1983), cited in Acquah (2011), affirms that when new African converts accepted Christianity [forms of colonial Christianity], they began to live two lives alternatively, one surrounded by African culture and beliefs and one surrounded by missionaries' culture and views. This study adds that the Lozi and Bemba Christian converts also began to straddle the two alternative liturgies: missional liturgy with coloniality leanings and indigenous liturgy with African ontology leanings. The missional liturgy with cultural baggage was imposed on these ethnic groups as a core piece of the supposedly Christian faith for which most new converts knew no different.

However, the goal of decoloniality of the missional liturgy is to allow the Lozi and Bemba Christians to undress the coloniality dress from the liturgy they received. In contemporary churches, liturgical worship and music continue to be the locus of contestations between the missional hymns and modern Zambian songs, the pews and chairs, the pulpit and the open stage, and the choir and the band, among others. In this context, the decoloniality of the liturgy should redress liturgy, so that liturgical worship finds its home in their village, town and city. In these villages, towns and cities, their lived experiences, the liturgy of indigenous songs, and the liturgy of life diffuse into one harmonious whole of the liturgy of life and worship. Whitla (2020) affirms this when 'worship [missional liturgy] is transformed in the community, and Eurocentric modes are discarded, we embrace the painstaking process of conversion which requires us to be something rather than what we are'. Hence, in the decoloniality project, there is a need for a process to redress African liturgy. This demands liturgists and theologians to examine what is alien or not in the way of doing indigenous liturgy in contemporary churches in Zambia. In doing so, this study maintains that the indigenous liturgy of worship, music and the word becomes a place of reflective experiences underpinned by relative ontology. New songs and hymns are reconfigured from this space of lived experiences and centred on Jesus as the friend of the oppressed and saviour of the despised. Hence, this study holds that the decoloniality of the liturgy in Barotseland and Bembaland would re-ignite the joy of communal worship and a sense of well-being in their worship spaces.

7.8 Conclusion

In conclusion, it can now be affirmed that positive and negative influences came from the PEMS and LMS and their activities in Barotseland and Bembaland. It is noted that any culture can negatively influence a particular group; hence, the decoloniality project should be critical in removing harmful aspects of the Lozi and Bemba cultures in contemporary Barotseland and Bembaland, in a sense Zambia. For example, child marriages and the killing of twins eroded cultural practices, although child marriages notoriously persist due to poverty. The debates on child marriage should be examined in light of what Jesus would do. Having explored the influence of PEMS and LMS on the Lozi and Bemba cultures, it is concluded that coloniality leanings were imposed on the moral norms, education and liturgy of the Lozi and Bemba cultures. Hence, the problem identified is that the Lozi and Bemba cultures in churches and society in Barotseland and Bembaland are still experiencing and maintaining coloniality in their everyday experiences in matters of missional moral norms, education, and education liturgy.

The consequence of coloniality is that many people have adopted the coloniality mentality of perceiving most things and viewing African culture as inferior to the forms of colonial Christianity.

From the above, Lozi and Bemba can draw lessons from their indigenous knowledge systems (IKS) to shape their moral norms, education and liturgy as viable alternative knowledge that should co-exist alongside the missional knowledge. There is an urgent need for the indigenous knowledge systems (IKS) to be revived, celebrated and taught as knowledge in its own right. In the context of the decoloniality of missional moral norms, education and liturgy, African scholars, academics, and ethicists, among others, should repudiate the classicist mentality of the colonial forms of Christianity who conflated their missional culture with the Christian faith. Essentially study has provided insights, for instance, on the decoloniality of the liturgy that the churches in contemporary Zambia should revive and reconfigure their current liturgy based on indigenous liturgy that was experienced as a way of life reinforcing the Biblical teaching that worship is a way of life not just something done is done particular time and space.

Hence, singing, drumming and dancing should unashamedly be celebrated within our worship space where they may be. In the context of the decolonisation of moral norms, the church should abandon punitive church discipline that lacks pastoral care and embrace a morality that Jesus centred. Jesus-centred morality think-feel with people at their concrete places or lived experienced and says to them neither do I condemn you, go and sin no more. In other words, people live in a particular context and time. In the context of the decolonisation of missional education, the Lozi and Bemba people, like the rest of Zambians, should strive for episteme democratisation. The academics should imagine a future that has yet to exist but existed before the advent of the forms of colonial Christianity. An education underpinned by the proverbs indigenous knowledge systems anchored based on a relative ontology that celebrates the existence of multiple worldviews and knowledges.

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Date 11/03/2023

To whom it may concern

Re: Editorial/Proofreading

This letter confirms that Yove Editors edited and proofread the PhD Thesis of Mr Yonah Mwampulo entitled: **THE FORMS OF COLONIAL CHRISTIANITY AND ZAMBIAN CULTURES IN CONTEMPORARY ZAMBIA.** The work done included language, i.e. grammar, spelling, cutting out duplications and rearranging statements and paragraphs, and inserting the table of content. The work done was cosmetic, i.e. proof reading and editing; therefore, the content of the work was not altered.

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Appendix 2: Ethical Clearance Ceritifacte

Mr. Yonah Mwampulo [redacted]
School Of Rel Phil & Classics
Pietermaritzburg

01 September 2022

Dear Mr Yonah Mwampulo,

Original application number: 00003363
Project title: Colonial Christianity and Zambian Culture in contemporary Zambia
Amended title: Forms of Colonial Christianity and Zambian cultures in contemporary Zambia

Exemption from Ethics Review

In response to your **amendment** application received on, your school has indicated that the amendment has been granted **EXEMPTION FROM ETHICS REVIEW.**

Any alteration/s to the exempted research protocol, e.g., Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through an

amendment/modification prior to its implementation. The original exemption number must be cited.

For any changes that could result in potential risk, an ethics application including the proposed amendments must be submitted to the relevant UKZN Research Ethics Committee. The original exemption number must be cited. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number.

PLEASE NOTE:
Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours sincerely,

---------- **Prof Philippe Marie Berthe Raoul Denis Academic Leader Research School Of Rel Phil & Classics**

UKZN Research Ethics Office Westville Campus, Govan Mbeki Building
Postal Address: Private Bag X54001, Durban 4000
Website: http://research.ukzn.ac.za/Research-Ethics/

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South Africa.

20th September 2021

Dear Yonah,

RE: USE OF SOAS LIBRARY SPECIAL COLLECTIONS FOR RESEARCH

I am writing to confirm your visit to SOAS Library to make use of original sources from the archive of the London Missionary Society held in our Special Collections department, as part of your doctoral studies at the University of KwaZulu Natal. I understand that your research topic is under the title, "The Influence of Colonial Christianity on Zambian Culture". For reference I confirm your visits to SOAS Library, which took place on 26th and 28th July 2021. If you have any further requirements or queries, please do contact us by telephone on +44 (0)20 7898 4180 or e-mail special.collections@soas.ac.uk.