



BULLETIN

Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection
"Promoting faith and justice"



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QUOTE

Leadership

"the more powerful you are, the more your actions will have an impact on people, the more responsible you are to act humbly,"

(Pope Francis)

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LETTER FROM THE EDITOR

Dear Readers,

Leadership has always been in the limelight when it comes to addressing issues at any level of organisation. We speak of leadership in a home, or in a local community, or in a nation, and amongst a group of nations. Most of the times the success of a community, or an organisation, or a nation is attributed to the presence of good leadership in those entities. Similarly, the failure of the same entities to address key issues and to make progress is generally attributed to poor or bad leadership.

Inevitably this gives rise to the general belief that good leadership is an important factor to development or progress of any given organisation, or society, or nation. For instance, we have heard some people lament a lot about leadership deficit in most of our African countries. In the light of this, we ask ourselves what is leadership and why does it matter?

According to Stephen M. Smith, leadership is the ability to adapt the setting so everyone feels empowered to contribute creatively to solving the problems. Simply put, leadership is an art of motivating a group of people to act towards achieving a common goal. This leadership definition captures the essentials of being able to inspire others and being prepared to do so.

The most popular theory of leadership today is transformational leadership. Bernard M Bass defines transformational leadership as a process where “leaders and their followers raise one another to higher levels of morality and motivation. It is a style of leadership where a leader works with subordinates to identify needed change, creating a vision to guide the change through inspiration, and executing the change in tandem with committed members of the group or community.

The lead articles in this issue of JCTR Bulletin are on various aspects of leadership. An article by Kelly Michelo focuses on church or religious leadership and he points out the need for unity among such leaders in order to be an effective voice of conscience and reason to the nation. The article by Wilfred Sumani call for innovative leadership that thinks outside the box and that develops and enacts models of development that do not simply reproduce what has been tried and tested.

Mayamiko Kachipapa explores the three-pronged dynamics of power, leadership and gender and highlights the importance of having leaders with character and skill other than leaders with power. Charles Chilufya discusses spirituality and ethics as the basis for good leadership for development and as a catalyst for positive change in the society. From a practical point of view of our discourse, Geoffrey Chongo presents an example of the glaring development deficit in the North Western Province of Zambia.

The rest of the articles in this issue of JCTR Bulletin also showcase different dynamics of leadership. I wish you good reading.

Alex Muyebe, S.J.
Editor

Dangers of A Partisan Church Leadership in Zambia

Introduction

The events that took place prior to and in the aftermath of 2016 Presidential and general election have left Zambia a divided country more than ever before. Before and after the election, we have seen violence perpetrated by cadres from the two political divide, Patriotic Front (PF) and United Party for National Development (UPND). We have also witnessed police brutality, ranging from violently beating cadres from the opposition to arresting of Mr. Hakainde Hichilema, the UPND leader on trumped up treason charges. All these are indicators of the breakdown of the rule of law and democratic principles.

Civil Society has sometimes been afraid to speak out against such ill happenings and church leaders especially the religious leaders in the Catholic Church have not been united in being a voice of conscience and reason to the nation. In this paper, I will reflect and argue that church leaders who have taken a tribal and partisan stance have betrayed the Church's mission in Zambia and should apologise to the Christian faithful.

The Country's Profile

Zambia is a country of plenty, rich in natural and human resources. The Church in Zambia is rapidly growing and religion plays an important role in people's lives. For example, a significant proportion of social and economic services offered to the marginalised communities in Zambia, is offered by the church.

However, there is a paradox. According to the Global Hunger Index (GHI) 2016, Zambia is the third hungriest nation in the world. As our recent experience before and after the elections has shown us, Zambia is also very divided. To quote the words of the celebrated Kenyan lawyer and orator Patrice Lumumba "Africa today (we can also say Zambia) is at war with itself."

Zambia has called itself a Christian nation and the paradox about this is that Zambia as a country is characterised by contradictions and extremes in its social fabric. It is yet to be seen whether religion which is at the heart of the country's social fabric will continue to sow the seed of unity other than the seed of division as is the case in other parts of Africa such as Nigeria and Somalia.

Relationship Between Religion and Politics

The 2016 elections have stirred up a new experience as far as the relationship between religion and

politics is concerned in Zambia. Unlike in the past where copies of church statements were passed around with great interest in churches, nowadays many people treat pastoral statements with disdain because partisan interpretation or reading of such statements has unfortunately become the order of the day.

It is clear that the church should not be partisan. But when a church leader is clearly partisan, the congregation finds it hard to discern any objectivity in any pronouncements or statements issued by that leader in the name of the church. Experience in this country has shown that church leaders who are devoid of strong backbone or who operate without strong principles easily become gullible or vulnerable to scheming skills of opportunistic politicians who are fond of exploiting religion to promote self interest and promote a political agenda. The challenge is how to ensure that religion is not used to promote partisan politics and to ensure that religion retains its position as an independent voice of conscience.

Religion as a Voice of Reason

It is easier to declare as the 2009 Second Special Assembly of the African Synod did and I quote: "Religions are called to maintain impartiality and in no case take partisan positions. They are to be a discerning, objective and realistic voice for the voiceless without compromising their impartiality." Nevertheless, often times reality has proved far more complex and complicated. For example, the senseless and heartless killings by removing body parts (ma set) which this country experienced at the beginning of the year and the political violence during the election campaigns blinded some of the religious leaders who clearly became partisan. This has inevitably made the church look compromised in the process.

Another challenge is the lack of voices of reason among the citizens and politicians. The African Synod mentioned above recognises this challenge and calls politicians to repent or quit rather than cause public havoc and giving the church a bad name. The citizens do not have to be bought by politicians but should exercise their democratic rights not out of political coercion or manipulation but out of moral conscience.

The Reconciliatory Role

Our Holy Father, Pope Francis has time and again emphasised the "Heart of Mercy." For the Catholics this means rejecting the mindset of hostility and violence and embarking on building bridges for

peace. Among our politicians we have seen, one appalling contradiction. The same politician is one day appealing to faith while on the next day he/she is promoting hate speech and division. Here, I believe, the approach of the African Synod of calling on the Church to actively engage political leaders in formation and pastoral care offers a better chance of success to achieve reconciliation.

I am of the opinion that the Church in Zambia would achieve more success in reconciling the nation if it were to engage in serious research and advocacy in line with the Second African Synod which states and I quote “Episcopal conferences at all levels are to establish advocacy bodies to lobby Members of Parliament, governments and international institutions so that the Church can contribute effectively to the formation of just laws for the good of the people.” Such a strategy or approach would include promoting multi-dimensional programmes of civic education, the formation of social conscience at all levels and encouraging competent and honest citizens to participate in party politics.”

I believe that the Church can do more. For example, it can begin by advocating to abolish the institution of cadres in our political parties. The experience of the previous elections can testify on how cadres especially young people have been used for selfish motives of the politicians. I am of a strong view that cadres as they come to be known in Zambia have no political or economical use. It is not easy to know who they represent whether it is the unemployed youths or the political class.

As I conclude, I would like to say by quoting Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and I quote “Our lives begin to end the day we become silent about the things that matter.” I strongly consider that the role of the Church is to denounce the silence and indifference which characterise Zambia today. As St. Paul rightly puts it, “Let us speak the truth in love.”

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Introduction

It is undeniable that the world today is experiencing a leadership crisis. We are on the cusp of a leadership revolution. The election of Donald Trump to the presidency of the United States of America in 2016 sent shock waves to the political establishment and relativised some of the most sacred tenets in political discourse. Trump’s victory was partly a consequence of people’s disaffection with the political class seen to thrive on good-sounding rhetoric whose impact, however, remains elusive and illusory. It was also partly as a result of the American electoral system whereby presidents are elected by members of the Electoral College rather than by the direct vote of the people. Thus, though Hillary Clinton won the popular vote by a wide margin, she did not make it to the White House because she did not garner the majority vote of the Electoral College. Henceforth, some political

commentators have wondered whether the American electoral system is yielding democratic dividends. A revision of the American electoral system may be in sight.

Unstoppable Winds of Change

In the Church, the election of the Argentinian-born Pope Francis was a revolutionary break with the centuries-old tradition of limiting the successor of Peter to a holder of a European passport. The pre-conclave sessions among the electors may have signalled seismic changes that needed to be effected in the way the business of the Petrine Office was transacted. To enhance the spirit of pastoral collegiality, the electing prelates laid out in advance the task of the incoming Pope instead of leaving it to Benedict XVI’s successor to draw up his agenda.

During the 2017 presidential campaigns in France, more than 40 000 French citizens signed a petition asking the former US President Barack Obama to stand for president of France. The champions of the Obama17 Campaign were not a bunch of constitutionally illiterate people unaware of the legal cul-de-sac of a non-French citizen to run for president. Rather, they were deeply incisive people intent on pushing French politics into what Bill Eckstrom would call the complexity growth ring. By rooting for a foreign national to assume the office of the supreme magistracy of France, the Obama17 campaigners were not only expressing dissatisfaction with the political class in France but also wanted to challenge the French citizenry to think beyond the established norms of restricting the French presidency to French citizens. These, and many more, are signs that humanity is rethinking political leadership in order to find more viable alternatives to the entrenched models which perhaps have outlived their usefulness.

By and large, the reigning conception of leadership tends to be centralised rather than diffuse. Once citizens vote in the president and members of parliament, for example, the former, as it were, surrender their power to those they elect and cannot directly influence the course of things. The president is free to appoint his or her cabinet ministers, competent or inept. The president has the prerogative to sign presidential orders, progressive or retrograde. In the wake of popular dissatisfaction with the incumbent, the most citizens can do is hold protests and boycotts so as to force the powers that be to heed the voice of the people. There is a sense of powerlessness on the part of the people even in the most democratic of nations.

This essay explores the role innovators can play in providing an alternative conception and exercise of leadership in the world at large and in Africa in particular. Innovators, the essay argues, need to be given greater recognition, power and resources so as to move society forward in its pursuit of political and socio-economic freedoms.

Understanding Social Change

The quest for harmonious and fulfilling social coexistence proceeds on three axes: values, systems and drivers. Values are abstract condensations of people's concrete aspirations. Happiness, for instance, is realised when people have access to material and spiritual needs such as food, shelter, interpersonal relationships, security and self-fulfilment. Freedom too is attained, at least in part, when people have the right to make their own choices and decisions without external coercion. To realise these values human societies come up with systems or structures of

social organisation. Liberal democracy, for example, seeks to aid the actualisation of freedom. Citizens exercise their freedom by choosing their leaders and by enjoying the right to private property through the exertion of labour and capital. Communism as a social system seeks to ensure the equality of all men and women by instituting a classless society.

Unlike liberal democracy where each harvest what one sows, communism operates on the principle, 'From each according to his or her capacity, to each according to his or her need.' The institution of the monarchy places great premium on unity between the crown and the subject. To ensure that the centre holds, monarchies are characterised by symmetrical power distribution called hierarchy. But values and systems of social organisation are a dead letter if they do not translate into concrete experiences of the desired values. A society needs drivers capable of leveraging systems and values into wealth, health and security. Traditionally, monarchs and politicians have been entrusted with the responsibility to drive social systems toward the attainment of people's aspirations.

These three axes—values, systems and drivers—account for political change. A society may uphold the same values and operate within the same political framework but change leaders if the latter do not help people to actualise people's values. More radically, society may abandon or modify one political system in favour of another whose functioning promises a more secure and sustainable actualisation of a given set of values. The Arab Spring, guided by the slogan 'The people want to bring down the regime' was a revolt against leaders who prevented people from accessing their needs, dreams and aspirations. In Egypt, the popular revolution led in 2011 to the end of Hosni Mubarak's 30-year occupation of the presidential seat. However, the incoming president, Mohammed Morsi, did not live up to the expectations of the people and was consequently asked to step down barely a year after assuming office, thereby giving way to Abdel Fattah el-Sisi. These changes are but a tiny illustration of a grander pattern of historical evolution.

Models of Social Organisation

Humanity has experimented with different models of social organisation. The hurdles of one model, often accompanied by changing interests and values, necessitated the adoption of another way of organising society. Hunting and gathering communities were loosely organised because they were always on the move. Problems such as scarcity of water or food were resolved by simply moving to a different place. They did not need complex legal frameworks to resolve competing or conflicting interests because

litigants could simply go their separate ways.

As natural resources began to thin out and people started cultivating crops and raising animals, however, communities became more sedentary and needed more elaborate social structures to organise common life. Families grew into clans, clans into villages, villages into towns, towns into kingdoms, kingdoms into empires. At each stage the complexity of social configuration increased, with more tools for mediating peaceful existence and ensuring representation of people's interest. Laws, written or oral, were put in place. To forestall conflict, mechanisms for succession to the throne were established.

For the most part, succession was hereditary. Those without the royal blood could not aspire to the throne, no matter how wise they were. In such political dispensations, there was no place for political canvassing. Nonetheless, some of the wise people were enlisted as advisors to the royal house. During the Middle Ages, feudalism created an intermediate social structure between kingdoms and families. Serfs (peasants) worked for nobles (owners of land also known as manor) in exchange for grain and security.

The contradictions, to use a Marxist term, of the monarchical and feudalistic ways of organising society led to the search for alternative models of social configuration. As the life of peasants improved with increasing access to education, they grew dissatisfied with the restrictions of freedom, such as inability to own their own land or to benefit by their own talents independently of the ruling class. The French Revolution (1789-99) was a revolt against the ills of the monarchy and feudalism, on the one hand, and, on the other, a quest for a more representative and just system of government. The bourgeoisie aspired to political power, just as the peasants demanded for access to land. As people went back to the writings of 16th-century philosophers such as Locke, Descartes and Spinoza, they began to imagine a different way of organising society.

The American Revolution against the British Empire, undertaken a decade earlier (1775-83), emboldened the French to push for an alternative social configuration that would guarantee and expand the freedoms of the people. The belief that the king was divinely ordained was disavowed, thereby creating a possibility for dissent. In the events of 1789, the nobles rose against the monarch while the peasants staged an uprising against the nobles. These movements led to the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, on 26 August, 1789. A new constitution was put in place and people (more than half of the adult males) were eligible to vote. 1789

marked the beginning of time. For instance, 1792 was called "the fourth year of liberty." France had done something new.

Modern constitutional democracy is but an elaboration of such political initiatives. Writing on the authority of Immanuel Kant, W.F.G. Hegel and his interpreter Alexandre Kojève, Francis Fukuyama sustains that liberal democracy represents the ultimate political quest for humanity. Liberal democracy is the Archimedean point from which whole history of the human struggle for freedom can be lifted. In his opinion, we should not hope for a political system more accommodating of human aspirations than liberal democracy. Humanity's task henceforth is to implement this form of social organisation. Universal History (not to be understood as mere occurrence of events) ended with the advent of liberal democracy. While "liberalism" focuses on the right to private property, "democracy" is essentially the right to elect leaders without any manner of coercion.

Africa's Freedom and its Discontents

Having graduated from the colonial political school in the 1960s, African countries toyed for a while with political systems premised on a hotchpotch of the ideals of liberal democracy, socialism and African traditional cultures. Eventually, however, they diverted into the highway of one-party-state dictatorship. In some countries such dictatorships have brought about a lot of development, while in others they have set in motion a cycle of political violence with no end in sight. By and large, however, communism or dictatorships did not deliver on the aspirations of the people: freedom and development. Corruption was rampant and the freedom of expression was a forlorn possibility.

In the wake of numerous political dysfunctions, theorists urged that Africa would only develop if her leaders were democratically elected. Only then – the theory argued – would the people hold their leaders to account and ensure an equitable distribution of goods and services. Fukuyama sums it well:

In sub-Saharan Africa, African socialism and the post-colonial tradition of strong one-party states had become almost totally discredited by the end of the 1980s, as much of the region experienced economic collapse and civil war. Most disastrous was the experience of rigidly Marxist states like Ethiopia, Angola, and Mozambique. Functioning democracies emerged in Botswana, Gambia, Senegal, Mauritius, and Namibia, while authoritarian rulers were compelled to promise free elections in a host of other African countries .

In the 1990s more African countries adopted democracy as a political system. The end of Apartheid in South Africa in 1994 was a significant milestone in Africa's march to freedom. The African experience of democracy, however, has made it clear that mere succession of democratically elected leaders does not hold the magic wand for Africa's development. Every four or five years, many African countries go through the elaborate, if controversy-ridden, ritual of electing new leaders. During political campaigns, there are more posters, music and slogans than quality dialogue with the electorate. Once elected, the leaders carry on as they please while the hapless electorate, knowing that no amount of whining will put food on the table, go back to pushing heavy carts and selling talk time on the streets, as they wait for another election.

Promises vociferously made through loudspeakers are unscrupulously pushed aside after elections. Billions of dollars in foreign aid have gone down the drain on account of corruption and inefficiency. Dambisa Moyo's negative evaluation of the impact of aid is correct from this point of view; however, many would agree that the problem is not aid as such but how it is used: in Africa most of the aid money has been handled by leaders without vision or developmental ambition, leaders who settle for the existentially insignificant prize of self-aggrandizement through the accumulation of wealth.

Tired Limbs and Empty Rituals

The growing voter apathy is a telling sign that the people have lost confidence in the present political system. In response to the growing voter apathy in the run-up to the August 8, 2017 elections, some Kenyan political and religious leaders were reported to have resorted to stringent measures to compel people to go for voter registration. One Bishop Daniel Njagi of the Africa Revival Christian Church, for instance, allegedly threatened not to serve communion to those in his congregation who did not hold a voter registration card. Similarly, Embu County Commissioner Esther Maina is reported to have threatened to withhold public services and food aid to those who had not registered as voters.

Clearly, there is little enthusiasm on the part of voters to go through the tedious process of electing new leaders who eventually will not make any difference in the lives of the common folk. In the absence of basic services such as water, food, electricity, security and roads, it matters little whether there is a government in place or not. Many Africans live in a virtual stateless condition. There is no one to inspire the dreams of the young and to strengthen the weary bones of the aged.

Politics as Family Business

Political leadership in Africa and beyond has in some cases succumbed to the dynamics of family dynasties: United States of America's George H.W. Bush and his son George W. Bush (with an unsuccessful bid to continue the dynasty with Jeb Bush); John Adams and his son John Quincy Adams; William Henry Harrison and his grandson Benjamin Harrison; Theodore Roosevelt and his cousin Franklin Roosevelt; the Cuban brothers Fidel Castro and Raúl Castro; the Malawian brothers Bingu wa Mutharika and Arthur Peter Mutharika; Canada's Pierre Trudeau and his son Justin Trudeau; Botswana's Sir Seretse Khama and his son Ian Khama; Democratic Republic of Congo's Laurent-Désiré Kabila and his son Joseph Kabila; Togo's Gnassingbé Eyadéma and his son Faure Essozimna Gnassingbé; Gabon's Omar Bongo and his son Ali Bongo Ondimba; Kenya's Jomo Kenyatta and his son Uhuru Kenyatta – the list goes on.

Hillary Clinton's victory in 2016 would have brought back the Clintons into the White House, just as Malawi's Atupele Muluzi's presidential bid in 2014 would have brought back the 'good old days' of his father Bakili Muluzi's reign. These genealogies would seem to suggest that leadership is in the blood, and yet such is not always the case. Though family succession is not the problem in and of itself, it becomes quite sticky when a competent 'outsider' has more difficulty making it to the top office than his or her blatantly inept counterpart with family political capital.

In many African countries, the recycling of politicians is the order of the day. Some personalities have held ministerial or parliamentary positions since the 1960s not because of their excellent track record but because they are seen to be entitled to those positions. In many African countries, allegiance to the incumbent guarantees nomination to political seats more than one's integrity and competence. Nor has the drive toward the devolution of political power solved the mystery of Africa's stagnation. Local leaders tend to be carbon copies of national leaders—what with the desperate quest for party endorsement—with all the trappings of cronyism and corruption. Political negotiation, in such situations, is reduced to wrestling over limited resources for the development of constituencies or wards, if at all the money gets to the people at all.

Culture of Hand-Outs

If one may indulge in a certain degree of historical reductionism, the problem with Africa's political economies is that they are oriented toward receiving rather than creating. People want to accede to political positions in order to receive the blessings accruing

from such posts, instead of being driven by the ambition to create value and equity for the citizenry. Similarly, the electorate votes for candidates who give hand-outs or promise a certain number of short-term (often personal) benefits, such as free food and clothes, money and free fertiliser.

There is a penchant for free things among the vast majority of the African voters. Not many voters and political aspirants do conceive of such grand projects as constructing mega power plants or building computer-manufacturing companies on home turf. The most ambitious programme that can be imagined is, as in the case of Kenya, to provide a laptop for every primary school pupil (One Laptop Per Child – OLPC). Most of the bloody wars fought on the continent are pre-civilisation in nature, in the sense that they are characterised by the struggle for the control of available resources such as oil, minerals, water and donor money – in sum, things received from nature or from the donor community.

In Africa, there is little investment in research and development (R&D), the engine of progress. In 2016, Africa's R&D spending was 1.1% of the global R&D spending, while in the same year China alone invested 20.4% of the global R&D spending. Consequently, Africa continues to receive finished products (including needles and toothpicks) from other continents. In 2016, only South Africa featured in the R&D top 40 global investors, standing at position 33. South Africa's 2016 Gross Expenditures on Research and Development (GERD) was 6.7 billion US dollars.

It comes then as no surprise that South Africa is one of the economic powerhouses on the continent in spite of the political problems dogging Madiba's fatherland. South Africa's recent launch of the most powerful radio telescopes in the world (with the capacity to search up to 9 billion light years away), according to a BBC report, bodes well for the progress of the country. Such investments do not entirely depend on Jacob Zuma or the current minister of science and technology: they started well before Zuma's accession to power and will continue well after his name has faded out of the short memory of political expediency.

Culture of Empty Talk

Another handicap of Africa's leadership is the all-too common divorce between word and action. The African word seems to have little or no performative value. There is in Africa what the Congolese scholar Kā Mana calls the "crisis of action," namely the inability to pass from discourse to implementation. In his view, the central paradox is the contrast between the profusion of discourses and the sterility of the praxis

of social transformation - the sheer disproportion between theory and practice, the instituted and the lived, the conceived and the experienced.

We in Africa are constantly producing global analyses of our current condition; we are always developing attractive theories about ourselves; we propose rigorous and fiery diagnostics and we present lucid remedies which fill books and documents. And yet hunger, disease and ignorance continue to plague the continent. In a word, Africans do not walk the talk. Kā Mana therefore urges that what Africa needs is not simply "thought" as such, but "thought" as "will," the ability to start something new so that tomorrow will be better than today. Citing Hannah Arendt, Kā Mana affirms that power is only actualized when word is not divorced from act, when words are not empty, when words do not serve to veil the intentions but to reveal realities. In fact, word divorced from action is word denatured.

Kā Mana's diagnosis of the African predicament can be borne out by the numerous "visions" or "development plans" that, after the official launch, have ended up in the dustbins of amnesia. The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) have slowly given way to Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) before the fruits of the former can be seen. Before people are familiar with the pillars of the SDGs, Agenda 2063 has been introduced into public discourse. Recently, African governments pledged to end hunger in Africa by 2025, just eight years away from now. But when we reach 2020, it is not unlikely that the deadline will be pushed further back by twenty years or more.

Speaking of the African Union's Agenda 2063, the reader will be struck by the quasi-Messianic terms in which the dreams of the African leaders are couched: the sound of guns will not be heard on the continent anymore; every person will have access to enough food, clean water, education, health, energy and information technology; Africa will be self-reliant. If nothing changes in the way African leaders transact business, even Agenda 2063, elaborate and articulate as it may be, will fade into the recesses of history without having achieved its desired impact. Development cannot simply be spoken into existence, it has to be done.

Enter the Innovator

What Africa needs, as Kā Mana asserts, is the ability to start something new. In other words, Africa needs to start innovating. Can political leadership, as we know it, be trusted with this task? Can our leaders think outside the box of what is already there and imagine what can be or ought to be? Can they develop and enact models of development that do not simply reproduce what has been tried and tested

in the West? Can they fulfil the dream of the African Union encapsulated in Agenda 2063 on the basis of locally available resources (Domestic Resource Mobilisation – DRM), without continuously taking recourse to the donor community? This is where Africa needs the contribution of innovators.

An innovator is commonly defined as someone who introduces something new. A more detailed definition of an innovator would be a person who envisions a new thing or new way of doing things and brings it into existence. Like mystics, innovators see what ordinary people do not see. Like Michelangelo, innovators contemplate the figure of David in a rugged block of marble and use the chisel to bring it out. Innovators create something new out of available resources and possibilities. They see highways where others see only mountains and valleys; they see a port where others see only water and weeds. They are not afraid to fail, convinced that what is worth doing is worth doing badly. Once they conceive a project, they stop at nothing until it is realised. They work long hours and invest the last penny to achieve their dream. Their inventions expand the realm of what is possible.

Like charismatic figures, innovators often operate without institutional and conventional boundaries: institutions of age and conventions of style. In politics, there are age restrictions as to who can cast a ballot or stand for an office. In the United States, for instance, a person must be at least 35 to stand for President. In the same country, one must be at least 18 to be allowed to vote. Innovators, on the contrary, refuse to be smothered by institutions, conventions, procedures or protocols. Mark Zuckerberg launched the epoch-changing Facebook at the age of 20. Had Zuckerberg submitted a proposal to the Senate to start Facebook, it is most likely that the Senate would not have issued a nihil obstat for Facebook.

Today, however, Zuckerberg's invention has become one of the important communication tools exploited by the aristocrat and commoner alike. Twitter was not commissioned by the President of the United States; yet today President Donald Trump uses Twitter as a communication medium to circumvent what he calls fake news. Twitter has in recent years been used as a platform for political mobilisation when other avenues are blocked by state censorship. Civil societies and interest groups use various hastags to rally support for their cause.

Though Elon Musk does not hold any public office, his inventions, such as the electric car and space explorations, will most likely influence public policy in the long run. Since Tesla provides an alternative to traditional petroleum fuel vehicles, governments may eventually outlaw the latter. The scope of his

Boring Company goes well beyond the precincts of private enterprise, for it seeks to introduce faster and more efficient underground transport networks without sacrificing the convenience of private cars. Such an ambitious project could hardly be conceived by the state. Governments are too busy on too many fronts to spare the time and the resources for such far-reaching transformations.

The growing public role of innovators belies the excessive self-importance of politicians who for centuries have pretended to hold the key to society's progress, cohesion and security. The overestimation of the importance of the political class has in some cases resulted in arbitrary exercise of power, on the one hand, and, on the other, people's sense of total dependence on those in public office. Politicians are adulated, adored and idolised as if the world cannot do without them. But the truth is that the power of politicians depends on the power of another group of people: innovators. The latter create solutions to society's intractable problems, which solutions are then exploited by the political class to provide services to society at large. A government cannot provide security if nobody invents security applications. A government cannot improve agricultural production if nobody comes up with requisite technologies. A government cannot provide health services if nobody invents cures to various diseases.

Africa Needs its Own Innovators

In spite of the political migration to democracy, many African countries do not seem to be making much progress in terms of responding to the needs of their people. One of the reasons for this stagnation is lack of significant innovation. The tendency to look up to the government for almost everything nips the innovative genius in the bud. Ordinary people tend to think that all solutions to their problems have to come from the government. Since governments generally do not have the will to innovate, African governments simply import innovations from other countries, thereby putting in question the long-term sustainability of Africa's development. One of the principal challenges of Africa is to find ways of transforming locally available resources into world-class products and services. Africa needs men and women of vision and charisma to create solutions to Africa's intractable problems such as energy, food security and diseases. These innovations will empower people with solutions that do not always descend from the government, thereby curtailing the latter's hubris.

The 'medicine' Dambisa Moyo's *Dead Aid* prescribes for Africa's ailing economies, notwithstanding its pertinence, is inadequate in the sense that it focuses on foreign sources of capital for funding Africa's

development. She encourages African governments to capitalise on trade with China because Africa has got what China needs and vice versa. In addition, African governments, she argues, should improve the environment for doing business in order to attract more Foreign Direct Investment (FDI); the unbankable should be given access to cash through microfinance, borrowing a leaf from Bangladeshi Professor Muhammed Yunus' Grameen Bank, Bank of the Village; Africa should harness remittances to finance its development, just as people's savings can also turn African economies around.

All these suggestions are sound, except that the book misses out on an important element, an element that lies at the heart of China's rapid economic growth – innovation. Granted, Moyo mentions the word innovation several times; but she uses this word to refer to new ways for accessing cash from different sources. On one instance she writes,

What Africa desperately needs is more innovation in the financial sector. We can put a man on the moon, so we can most certainly crack Africa's financing puzzle, jump-start economic innovation. Innovation means breaking out of the mould, and finding more-applicable ways for Africa to finance its development. There is a history of financial innovation to draw from: the Soft Banks of America's Wild West and the Scottish Banks of the eighteenth century. Both catered to the unsecured and traditionally unbankable.

She is silent on the accession of innovation as the creation of new material goods and services in response to people's needs. While she rightly observes that "building, rather than rebuilding, political and social institutions requires much more than just cash," she puts emphasis on the right management of the cash rather than the industrial transformation of Africa's resources into exportable products.

The Missing Link to Development

Africa's economies will continue to stagger as long as she continues to export raw materials and rely on foreign countries, especially China, for finished products. According to the Ministry of Commerce of the People's Republic of China, in July 21, 2017, China's export amounted to US\$196.59 billion and the import value was US\$153.83 billion, translating into a trade surplus of US\$42.76 billion. In June, 2017, Zambia posted a trade deficit of 335.20 Million Kwacha (about US\$33.5 million). The Chinese products littered all over Zambia's streets may explain why the latter suffers trade deficit while China continues to register surplus.

The blame of Africa's cycle of poverty is often laid at the door of corruption. Good governance is thus

touted as the ultimate solution to Africa's socio-economic woes. Dambisa Moyo writes: "Good governance trumps all. In a world of bad governance the cost of doing business is much higher, on every level...As long as issues of bad governance linger overhead...the cost of investing in Africa will always be exorbitantly high even when the social benefits... are taken into account." The truth, however, is that corruption is not the be-all and end-all of Africa's stagnation; there is corruption, even of a grander scale, in some developed countries. South Africa is no less corrupt than Malawi. The removal from office of South Korea's President Park Geun-hye on account of allegations of corruption shows that developed countries are not immune from the virus of bad governance. Corruption is not unknown in Japan and other economically advanced countries either. Even if African governments were transparent in the management of donor funds, there would be little or no development if there were no innovative projects to absorb the funds.

Sometimes Africa's stagnation is blamed on lack of infrastructure. Erratic and inadequate power supply, for instance, is held to be one of the factors preventing external investors from pouring FDI into Africa. Lack of good roads, too, is cited as another factor retarding development on the continent. This is all true; however, infrastructure alone cannot bring about development. If, hypothetically, Malawi were able to triple her power supply and Malawians did not come up with ways to use the energy to develop the country, the power supply would be wasted and would eventually become a liability rather than an asset (due to maintenance costs). Watching TVs and lighting houses would not absorb the available energy. Similarly, good roads would be white elephants if there was nothing of value to be transported on them.

Investment in Research

According to the 2015 Global Innovation Index, the most innovative country in Africa was Mauritius, ranked 49th on the global index, followed by South Africa at position 60. Kenya came 92nd, followed by Rwanda at number 94th. Mozambique was ranked 95th, while Malawi came 98th and Zambia 124th. African countries do not rank too high on the Global Innovation Index probably because African economies do not invest enough resources in research and development, the vital drivers of innovation. Governments in developed economies support business innovation directly or indirectly by providing loans, grants and tax incentives.

Given that the future belongs to countries that support innovation, it is imperative for African countries to take concrete and measurable steps toward creating the spirit of innovation on the continent. This task

cannot be left to governments whose lack of urgency has led to the sluggish pace of Africa's development. Individuals and corporate entities need to take up the responsibility to create new and better goods and services.

One of the areas that need urgent attention in Africa is the invention of tools. History shows that the future belongs to those who make tools. Efficiency and quality of production can only be improved with the help of machines. Agricultural production in Africa's rural areas remains inefficient because small holder farmers use primitive tools, such as hand hoes, sickles and pangas. It is futile to expect governments to come up with new tools for the people. The most governments can do is to provide available machines, which, for the most part, means importing them from abroad. It behoves individual African innovators to design tools that will improve the quality and quantity of Africa's produce and products. One shining example comes from Tanzania: a rice farmer called Evodius from Mvomero District recently invented a rice-weeding tool to reduce the drudgery of rice weeding. Today, tens of thousands of Tanzania's small holder rice farmers have adopted Evodius' wooden invention.

Another inspiration is Kenya's agricultural economist Peter Mwathi who in 2017 invented a macadamia dehusking machine which reduces the workload by 60% as compared to the traditional way of dehusking involving placing the nuts in a sack and thumping them to remove the husks. While Mwathi's machine costs about US\$5, imported machines cost north of US\$600. These two examples also show that innovation is not a preserve of university graduates. Innovation is one of the most democratic activities in the world, not restricted by age, education or financial status. Evodius and Mwathi are leaders in their own right, for they have driven economic change. Hopefully, someone will soon create an affordable tool more efficient than the hand hoe.

Africa needs more of such machines in various sectors so as to bolster production efficiency and quality. It is not unlikely that the ever-increasing exodus from rural to urban areas is partly motivated by the desire to be freed from the drudgery of agricultural production. One of the ways to lure people back into rural areas is to create better farming tools capable of reducing the grind and slog of farming. Innovation should not be limited to the communications sector where almost every day a new phone application is created. This one-dimensional innovation will result in the production of more of the same, thereby creating product saturation and unnecessary competition on the market.

Innovation needs to touch all aspects of human life. One of the impressive aspects of Western economies is that there is innovation on all fronts: sports, food production, medicine, religion and entertainment, to name but a few. Africa is a virgin land for innovation. One cannot begin to imagine the vast innovation opportunities that lie untapped on the continent. Such innovations will gradually inform public policy. It is a truism that things have to be invented before they can be adopted. In this respect, innovators are leaders in a true sense of the word for they move history forward by creating new products and services.

Conclusion

A critical review of Africa's political and economic history would suggest that the continent's sluggishness in various sectors may be attributed to a one-sided understanding of leadership. For decades, the eyes of Africans have looked to political leaders to give the people food at the proper time (cf. Psalm 145:15). Riding on the crest of this popular expectation, political leaders have overestimated their role in the development of the continent. When they meet at international fora (COMESA, SADC, AU, ECOWAS, etc) they believe the fate of the continent lies squarely in their hands. They have continued to play fast and loose with promises made during campaigns, convinced that the electorate cannot do without them. The coming on stage of the innovator sounds a death knell to this wanton political hubris. It is time for the African innovator to stand up and be counted. It is time for the innovator to drive the continent forward by creating new tools and services. It is time for the innovator to do something new that will help Africa turn the development corner and enjoy the much desired prosperity, security and peace.

If liberal democracy is the ultimate stage of social consciousness, it is because this social configuration makes it possible for leadership to lurk from every corner, especially thanks to the diffuse thymotic energy (quest for recognition) driving individuals to accomplish great things for posterity. In a truly liberal democratic society, innovators can serve as charismatic leaders to counterpoise the often inefficient institutional leadership. The growing population in Africa means that there is a big market in Africa for local inventions, especially among low-income communities who cannot afford high-end products from abroad. In this time and age it is no longer excusable to sit on the fence and point an accusing finger at the government. Development in the First World is not a preserve of governments; innovators can play an equally important role as charismatic leaders. Let the African innovator stand and make a difference!

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Women in Leadership-Exploring the Dynamics of Power and Leadership

Introduction

In the olden days, the story goes, a famine once struck the land and the stores of food were fast diminishing. The women, who were the rightful owners of the village, fearing for the children, decided to chase the men away into the forests and keep what little was left for themselves and for the children. Languishing with hunger in the dry, wild forests, the men met to devise a plan of how they would seize a share of the food the women had kept – which after all, they had helped produce. The decision was made to go back into the village on some opportune evening, disguised as beasts so as to raid the women's land and expropriate some of the food. They relocated to a place the women feared most – the graveyard – and applied their hands and cunning to the making of the masks and the drums they were to use. The mission was successful. Inadvertently, this was the first Nyau (Gule wamkulu).

The point is: with power, they took away what the women had possessed. The women later interpreted this misfortune as punishment for their ill-treatment of the men and so a reconciliatory delegation was sent to the men. There the delegation surrendered the role of making decisions to the men. The Nyau dance was entertaining and was thus kept but also as a remembrance of this transfer of power and so till now we have Gule wamkulu re-enacting the manner of domination by men.

Gender and Power Dynamics Among the Chewa People

This Chewa myth is preserved in Mathew Schoffeleers and Adrian Roscoe's *Land of Fire: Oral Literature from Malawi*. And here I have just given it what

might fancily be called a modest feminist reading. There was a time when the women held the rights to rule in the village and held the power to decide. The men, having turned wild in the forests, came back as disguised beasts and seized that power to themselves. Although gule wamkulu is indeed a cultural heritage, it is no less an unconscious, painful memory on the part of women.

Some recent studies in the debates regarding the struggle for greater participation of women in positions of power (in politics, workplace, commerce, and in the home) have explored some such myths. Such studies tend to carry out careful readings of the stories told in the cultures and analyse how the stories have offered unconscious cultural supports to the exclusion of women in power. Often they explore the extents to which ancient forms of society were or could have been matriarchal, rather than patriarchal, and how societies made the shift into the patriarchal societies we have today.

Those ancient matriarchal societies are then viewed as emancipated and utopic. So within this perspective, the Chewa myth I began with can be a suitable locus. And the message is that modern day women – feminists and gender activists – in once Chewa territories or beyond, could find in this glorious past inspiration for working towards the dissolution of patriarchy, or even just inspiration for success in what men now think is and has always been men's preserve, such as in power.

Power Struggle and Gender Affirmative Action

The struggle for reasonable gender balance in what are perceived as positions of power (i.e. the

struggle to get more women to enter male-dominated domains) is well researched phenomenon now. One needs only look at the various efforts aimed at forcing the rearrangement of gender order in Zambia and Malawi: the number of non-governmental organisations dedicated to gender balance advocacy, legal amendments and action towards such goals as 50-50 representation in parliament, rise of female CEOs, women scientists, and etcetera.

This is also confirmed by the prestige associated with (and admittedly also the stigma experienced by) those women who have succeeded in male-dominated fields, those that have become CEOs, or first rate scientists. Mary Beard notes the metaphors we employ to heroize such women's valour: smashing the glass ceiling, storming the citadel, breaking the barriers, courageous women. What has not always been researched is the attitude underlying this manner of acting and of speaking. For instance, if anyone has to break a barrier, it is because there was a barrier in the first place, and that such a barrier was created (by some people) to exclude others. Power is just one such domain. The dominant view in most gender advocacy presumes that barriers to power are created by men to exclude women. Heroic women are able to see through this fact and they destroy that unnatural barrier.

Models of Women in Power

But another perspective has been appearing in the debate. In 2017, we are in a better position now, because we have witnessed a great many changes, successes and failures in the struggle to get women into power in the last fifty years, to be able to refine our questions. What, after all these years of championing for women in power, is the model of a woman in power? The locus for this perspective comes from Mary Beard's recent essay "Women in Power" in the March edition of the London Review of Books. There, Beard observes that we have in 2017 more women in what we would call powerful positions than in any recent history.

Globally, there are more women in positions such as presidents, prime ministers, ministers, members of parliament, CEOs, pastors etc. There are now 18.1% and 16.2% women parliamentarians in Zambia and Malawi respectively (Rwanda has attained 61.3%), But Beard thinks that the struggle has a significant flaw. Beard's interesting argument is that if we analyse the underlying attitude, the cultural template for a powerful person remains resolutely male. Therefore all talk about women in power has an odd ring to it in the sense that putting women in power works like turning the women into men or at least pushing the women to be and act like men. She notes that "...we have no template for what a powerful woman looks

like, except that she looks rather like a man."

She draws a number of examples from world politics and from academia, and from the language that is used for women who enter power (such as those I just alluded to above). Her examples are Margaret Thatcher, Angela Merkel, and Hilary Clinton. What, for example, is behind their constant use of the flat trouser suit? Or why isn't there a typical figure of a feminine professor? The common imagination for a professor is a carefree male in a dull jacket. Still, why do we use language such as "breaking the glass ceiling", "knocking on the door" when referring to women who succeed in becoming CEOs or other executives of corporations? Don't these very metaphors, as I indicated above, indicate female exteriority? These are the searching questions Mary Beard proposes.

Reorienting the Debate about the Concept of Power Of course she does the same kind of thing other researchers have been doing – looking through stories and other cultural elements that form the unconscious cultural support for the status quo. Writing from the contexts of Western civilisation, she explores the myths from ancient Greece and Rome. Even there in the classical world, she argues, there was a radical separation between women and power. Power is already understood in categories that are really only masculine. To be powerful at all, a woman acts, or has to act, like a man. From her title, "Women in Power", she notes that the locus of much debate has been reorienting our attitudes to the term "women". So the major arguments surround the view that women are essentially no different from men and concrete efforts have aimed at mobilising resources to raise the awareness of the women as to their equality with men. Rarely, at least in public discourse on this matter, have we questioned the other term, "power". In other words, if we grant that women aren't perceived to be fully within the structures of power, isn't it power rather than women that we need to redefine?

Two sets of general or fundamental questions ultimately come up. In what follows, I will explore the first set of questions in view of Beard's thesis that our cultural image of a powerful person is intricately bound up with the masculine figure. For in that case, we need to ask not just the question "what is power?", but also the questions: "how does power arise?" What sort of person assumes power? Despite commending us to be more reflective on what power is, Beard herself wavers on these questions.

Secondly, in seeking to redress this cultural hang-over, I will try to develop a suggestion that urges the dissociation of the notions of power and leadership.

Power, in its primordial base structure, is bound up with the physical and is consistent with the ability to physically dominate others – note the Nyau scare strategy. This is most clear in the case of politics since politics rests on a structure of domination on the one hand, and the dynamics of protection from external threats on the other. Leadership, however, operates on a different level and presupposes a different set of qualities. While the notion of power ineluctably advantages one gender's natural properties, leadership cannot be tied to any gender. So my second set of questions: how can we dissociate the notion of leadership from that of power? What do we learn from our stories about a leader, especially a female leader? How might that represent an advance over the status quo?

The Notion of Power Explored

Power is a variously contested concept in social-political theory. It is used in ordinary speech with various senses so that one ought to exercise caution in abstracting a general notion. But it is not a stretch to say that in the standard usage of the concept, power signifies the idea of the capacity to initiate or control certain desired outcomes by means that entail certain measures of force, or even violence, necessary to ward off forces that would oppose the realisation of those desired outcomes.

Max Weber viewed power as “the probability that an actor within a social relationship would be in a position to carry out his will despite resistance to it. The activation of power is dependent on a person's will, even in opposition to someone else's...” Whether it be in the home, in politics or in the bureaucracy of organisations, power is viewed as the capacity to make someone do something that they would otherwise not do – the capacity to obtain the submission of the other. Although there can be various means of obtaining acquiescence from someone, that is of exercising power over someone – such as through coercion, persuasion, love, simulated intimacy etc – only a few means are considered legitimate.

Of the four I just mentioned, for instance, coercion and simulated intimacy are considered illegitimate although they are widely employed (coercion is mostly identified with men, who use power deriving from physical strength and simulated intimacy is mostly associated with women – think of the so-called bottom power). However, it is naïve to think that certain individuals employ purely legitimate mechanisms of exercising power. Politics is replete with cases of violence, manipulation, and verbal conflict; upward mobility in the corporate world has not a few cases of extortion. Such that we are obliged to take a step back in our levels of analysis and ask what at all determines legitimate power. What

systematic factors make us consider one form of power as legitimate and the other illegitimate? Taking this step already makes us ask the question: “how does power arise and who rises to power?” and its cognate “how come those subject to power accept to submit?”

Factors or Interests that Mask our Views of Power

At this point it may be useful to tow the line Beard takes of exploring critically the unconscious roots of what we do, the individual and social factors, or interests that mask our view(s) of power. There is a relationship between the operations of power at the individual level and the formation of structures of power at the social level. If we want to understand the genesis of power at the social level, we need to investigate the nature of power in those individuals who initially wield it in society. And there is no thinker more provocative on the question of power to help with this than Friedrich Nietzsche.

Nietzsche saw power as the self-expression of certain kinds of people over nature and over others. Nietzsche's view of power is closely related to ideas about strength, health, and life. Our basic condition in life is that we constantly desire or strive after various things we think are good for us or that we think will enhance our experience of life (health). However, we are brought immediately to realise that the world resists the satisfaction of those desires. So an enviable life is associated with the endorsement and satisfaction of desires, rather than to their frustration. The individual who possesses the means to overcome the resistances of nature (such as the scientist who develops a drought resistant crop) and the resistance of other human beings is the powerful one. Such individuals are those resolute in asserting their will to power in the face of resistance – a certain toughness.

It is a convergence of nature and interpersonal interaction that physical strength is a key factor in an individual's development of such a will to power or toughness. The powerful are either those who possess physical strength or those who are able to manipulate those who possess physical strength. All other forms of power (even the power one has in virtue of an external weapon) are derived from and sophisticated from this base structure. To the extent that it is scientifically defensible that the human male has overall more physical-muscular physical strength than the human female, it is no wonder that men feature most in so derived circles of power.

Primordial Disposition to Power

Two examples. Take the Chewa Nyau myth we began with. The women are presented as having the “right” to the village and making reasonable judgement based on the situation at hand (there is famine). The men are shown using power and thunder to satisfy their desires and ultimately take over the roles of decision-making. This is power. Other stories of the need for men in primitive society are often linked to their (men’s) role in defending the realm from physical attacks. I will return to the disposition of women implied in this story.

My point here was to show that a look at our primordial disposition – one which is repressed by sophisticated social structures – and primordial society indicate that power is ultimately wielded in terms of the biologically male and access to power is determined by possession of masculine qualities. Take the second example, the language of sexuality. I once read an informally written paper in which the writer was advancing the argument that if one were to analyse the words used for heterosexual acts in the local languages, sex is rape. The writer investigated a number of words in a number of languages and found that they all conveyed a sense of victory, or conquest, or domination on the part of the man over the woman. In the scholarly literature this, coupled with a realisation of the way social structures regulate sexuality in favour of men, has come to be associated with a controversial concept so called love power.

Women empowerment, if that concept is not now shown to be internally contradictory, should be construed by a different standard. I indicated that such a standard can be obtained by dissociating the notions of power and leadership. Leadership is where women’s qualities can be brought to bear and impacted on society in a really formative way.

Notion of Power vis-à-vis that of Leadership

While leadership has become a popular ideal, there have been few explorations of the possibilities of leadership. On the one hand, one finds essays on power peppered with less critical use of the term leadership. On the other hand, essays on leadership easily presume that power, or some form of power, is a natural accompaniment of leadership. Thus, as the notions of power and leadership have not yet been sufficiently dissociated, much discussion on leadership involves strong elements of masculinity that act to strengthen male power identities and thereby reproduce imbalances in gender relations.

It has been argued that leadership should be construed more as a process rather than construed as a job

or an activity Leadership is a process of channelling influence, often aimed at mobilising people towards the realisation of certain values. There is always a set of values communally and humanly expected that act as inviting final causes for a leadership process. For example, it is to be a leader to help forge an agreement between two people both of whom seek to attain both the value of some material benefit and the value of peaceful co-existence. In the scholarly literature, there are various versions of understanding leadership some of which entail leader involvement, that is, the leader does not have to be at the front (as in popular imagination of lead-er), telling followers what to do. The leader may be situated in groups, working from within, between, sometimes on the edge or from below.

This approach to leadership, and case experiments that are being made in organisations, indicate promising results in the way the leader is viewed not so much as the proxy of individual agency, but as the one who influences individuals under him/her to be their best. Imagine a political leader who did not have to manipulate or dominate any section of his/her subjects but who had the quality of identifying the qualities of his/her subjects and influenced the self-betterment of the subjects. In other words, suppose we did not encourage presidential candidates who promised to have enough aggression to either ward off enemies or do things on our behalf, but encouraged those who, through their moderation, pledged to bring out the best in us so that we are able to achieve our sets of values. This, to me, sounds like invoking some of the motherly qualities familiar in the home to bear on the social structure. And this is what I think can be a way forward.

Models of Leadership

The concept has been termed variously as discursive leadership, post-heroic leadership or inclusive leadership. Both concepts of discursive leadership and post-heroic leadership emphasize a more distributed (if your will, feminine) style of leadership that assumes a more relational, local and shared understanding. Case studies indicate that when women leaders have freedom from standard male models, they consistently reject hierarchy. They put effort into building relationships within the team and empower others, and emphasise collective achievement and responsibility, rather than the charismatic leadership of individuals. This involves what Beard called the “decoupling of power from prestige” so that leadership is not associated with elitist individuals. To the extent that these leadership perspectives learn from qualities of women, they can introduce balances in the systems especially when deployed in what have been traditionally male domains.

This is a glimpse into ways in which we may reorient views of what living together in community or nation might be like in the near future. Perhaps one important way in which this is going to be achieved is by reinterpreting our traditional narratives – the very stories that offer cultural supports to male power. This is at best a gradual process which will realise its fruits by slowly affecting the attitudes of the young on these subjects. The Nyau myth does say something about the way the women conducted their right (authority) in the village. The beginning of the story presents us a discernment process carried out by the women. As men are deemed capable of surviving in the forest, the women decided to keep what little was left for the sake of maintaining the family line(s). It is for a value that transcends their individual interests – not even their interests as a class – that they ask the men to endure some hardship in the forests.

This story is considered a sequel to a myth that describes how men came to live in the women's village in the first place. According to that myth, the men had their village on the other side of the stream. There was no contact, and they produced food by hunting in different places. Trouble came when the men had no luck in their hunting expeditions, whereas the women's skills and successes kept changing from good to better. The men tried various strategies to no avail until they swallowed their pride and asked

the women what their secret was. The women went further to lend the men their hunting tools including the highly effective hunting dog of women's land. Out with the men's hunting expedition, the dog was misdirected to a leopard and was torn to pieces. The women were angry and held the men responsible for the demise of the dog. All the men were punished by being put to work in the fields where the women felt the men could most fruitfully apply their hands. Of course it did not take long to get children as each woman got one or more men – the beginning of matrilineal society and polygamy.

Conclusion

Reading this myth in light of what we have just been discussing is easy. A form of the leadership we have been urging is already manifest in the primordial base structure of women leadership which allowed for the triumph of their land, as well as allowed them to empathise with the men's plight. Even the men after the death of the dog are applied to a work location which is deemed best and most fruitful for them. This is what we can expect of a world or a political/organisational structure that decouples power as masculine from leadership in such a way that it allows women in leadership to be themselves: we can expect it to be different and better.

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The Role of Spirituality in Leadership Development

Models of Leadership Development

We need a kind of leadership development that is built on the strong belief that leadership can and should be developed and as Mintzberg (2006) suggests, that it can be developed in three ways. First in the belief that people can be developed into leaders not as leaders, but as human beings; second, that leadership can be fostered, just like we foster economic development and third, that we can develop managerial practice, in the development of leaders. In this regard, leadership development ought to seek to help participants realize that managerial practice is not separate from leadership but is intrinsic to it; that leadership is not separate from the daily functioning of society and organisations but is very much part of it calling the leader to creativity, to adapt and marshal the needed courage and wit to respond to new situations as they come.

In this regard, the college or the university forms a privileged place for such an approach to leadership development. Higher education plays a major role in shaping the quality of leadership in many a society

(Astin & Astin, 2000). A primary goal or mission of education is to develop leadership skills and abilities among the students who will become the future citizen leaders, better preparing them for professional and community responsibilities. Therefore, it is not surprising that many leaders in business, industry, and government have been student leaders while in college (Astin, 1977).

Given the fact that major public and private institutions appear increasingly incapable of dealing constructively with an ever-expanding list of social and economic problems and the overall crisis of leadership in Africa, Zimmerman-Oster and Burkhardt (1991) contend that we need a new type of leadership and a new generation of leaders who can bring positive changes to local, national, and international affairs. This new type of leadership should be a responsible and purpose-driven type of leadership that can bring positive changes not only through knowledge and technique, but also through the leaders' inner strength.

Research has shown that spirituality can help college student activists exercise leadership for social change, and that higher education can provide an environment that can assist students in the development of their spiritual leadership potential (Yasuno, 2004). In her study, Yasuno (2004) found that most participants in her research saw a strong connection between their spirituality and leadership. These participants have developed spiritual beliefs and values, such as interconnectedness and compassion, the capacity to feel another's pain and sorrow, and the ability to feel responsible toward others.

These student leaders could not accept the evils that cause pain and sorrow in our world, which became a source of energy that engaged them in the fight against injustice. Thus, based on this sense of responsibility, they made a commitment to activism. The inner awareness that led to the realization of the interconnectedness and responsibility to oneself and others also became the inspiration for activist behavior with its social consequences.

Based on such a perspective, it is critical that universities and other interested groups develop programmes that intentionally foster interconnectedness in students, faculty, and staff members in order to help them better appreciate the importance of harmonious coexistence, explore the meaning and purpose in life, and cultivate infinite potential in each person. Such approaches will nurture future leaders and citizens who embrace a spiritual existence and who believe that we can ultimately change the destiny of all humankind.

The basis of ethical and responsible leadership development Ethical and responsible leadership development rests on four premises:

- i. First, the long-term success of an organization, community or a country depends on good, responsible and ethical leadership, not just on technical proficiency and skillful management.
- ii. Second, good leadership must be grounded in ethical values.
- iii. Third, there are tensions between personal values and goals, on the one hand, and organizational, community or societal values and goals on the other. Responsible leadership involves recognizing and reconciling those tensions.
- iv. Fourth, although leadership is a complex form of human behavior, most of what we think of as leadership is learned and, therefore, can be taught.

Conclusion: A New Global Trend Toward Leadership Development

In the last 25 years or so, there has been an awakening world over in regard to the need to develop ethical and responsible leaders. Perhaps, in the wake of the financial crisis of the early 2000s and the most recent one in 2008/9 and perhaps in response to these critiques raised so far, in the developed North there has been recent growth in both the number and quality of leadership education programs, primarily at the undergraduate level. This is not the case in Africa and in the developing world at large. In the wake of serious leadership failures that have been experienced in Africa manifested in economic mismanagement, dictatorial leadership styles and the like, it makes sense to take the matter very seriously and work at leadership development among young people.

It has become crucial and critical that in Africa we empower young people with a type of leadership that will make them collaborate to change themselves and their world for the better. The kind of leaders that Africa needs and will need for the future will not only need to possess new knowledge and skill but will need to display a high level of emotional and spiritual maturity. In this light, the approach to take is to move away from merely focusing on the external world of leadership development to personal development and character formation. The goal of such an approach will take the following specific objectives:

- To enhance the young people's sense of call, purpose, values, ethics, responsibility and passion to lead
- To enhance young people's personal and professional development
- To broaden young people's understanding of the strategic social, economic and political issues facing Africa and their particular country and how each individual and his or her organization can respond to such challenges.
- To strengthen the relationships within and across the participating individuals and organizations in order to foster the collaboration needed to leverage resources when working on common interests.

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The Plight of Chavuma West – A case of Bad National Leadership?

Introduction

Chavuma is situated in North Western Province of Zambia about 1,200 kilometers from Lusaka and about 600 Kilometers from Solwezi, the Provincial capital. It is one of the furthestmost districts from Lusaka. Chavuma is divided into two parts by the Zambezi River with the biggest portion being on the western side, which is sparsely populated with undeveloped and hard-to-reach areas. Much of Chavuma West is flooded for almost half of the year, between January and May, while Chavuma East which is on the east bank of the Zambezi River is more developed and more populated as it hosts all the government departments.

Chavuma's population is estimated at 37,338 according to the 2010 census of population and housing. The economy of Chavuma is sustained by small-scale farming with maize, cassava and rice being some of the crops grown by farmers as well as cattle rearing. The District also has potential for mineral extraction and exploration has been done but mining operations are yet to commence. Chavuma also has a lot of water offering potential for irrigation, tourism and hydro electricity generation with Chavuma Falls, where the name of the District is derived, offering a very good location for a hydro plant.

The Glaring Development Deficit in Chavuma

While Chavuma has seen a number of social and economic projects in the recent past, particularly Chavuma East, JCTR's interaction with Chavuma community members reveal that the District is lagging behind its potential and behind many people's expectations. JCTR has been implementing a project since 2014 entitled Strengthened Accountability Project with financial support of Diakonia Zambia. The project is aimed at empowering community members with social accountability principles to enable them hold duty bearers as well as investors accountable.

Indeed Chavuma has witnessed construction of schools, district hospital, health centers, bore holes, as well as staff houses and market structures in the recent past. However, most people interviewed feel the development deficit is so huge that what has been done is a drop in an ocean. The people also bemoaned at the slow pace of development.

The hospital for example that was officially opened by the Vice President during the 2016 elections has not yet been completed even though it is operating. Even

with current level of social and economic development, the level of underdevelopment of Chavuma west compared to Chavuma East is striking. The people of Chavuma West feel as if they are not part of Zambia as they have been cut off from development going on in Chavuma East.

The lack of a bridge to connect Chavuma West and Chavuma East seems to be the greatest challenge at the moment for Chavuma West. Many social services offered on the East of Zambezi cannot easily be accessed by those on the Western side especially in the night as the pontoon that operates across the river does not operate in the night. Use of canoes becomes risky especially at night because of the huge presence of crocodiles in the Zambezi River. Community members reported that several patients have died in the night because of lack of transport to take them to the hospital situated on the East of Zambezi.

A big river such as the Zambezi River which is supposed to offer some social and economic advantages such as water transport, easy access to clean and other social amenities seems to be the biggest barrier to development. Cities such as London have greatly benefited from the Thames River which passes through the City through tourism, water transport etc. For the people of Chavuma however, especially those on the West, the mighty Zambezi River is more of a curse than a blessing because it hinders them from equally accessing social services that are mostly across the Zambezi River on the Eastern Cost. Chavuma West has also no single tarred road 52 years after independence and is impassable due to floods for almost half of the year. This makes people's movements within Chavuma west difficult and access to social services across the Zambezi River difficult.

A Deafening Litany of Lack of Social and Economic Amenities

Unemployment is also another challenge that Chavuma is grappling with. Beside Civil Servant jobs, there are no other jobs to talk about. Young school leavers interviewed at Sanjongo village complained that there were no job opportunities in the District and worse still there were no colleges for school leavers to go to. They bemoaned lack of companies operating in the area and also wondered when explorations in the mining and oil sector will be turned into real job creation opportunities. Other people interviewed also complained of the difficulties they were facing



in finding market for their crops such as rice. They complained that Food Reserve Agency had stopped buying rice and owing to the long distance of Chavuma from other towns, it was expensive to transport rice in search of market. They also regretted at the low price that FRA was offering for maize that it would make farmers poorer as it would not allow them to recover cost of maize production.

Most of the community members interviewed in Sanjongo, Chinwandumba and Kamisamba villages where JCTR works seems to blame the lack of development on the national political leadership. They feel Chavuma and North Western Province in general has not been prioritized for development since independence. Despite its potential for social and economic development the area has remained under developed. The bemoaned that Chavuma had a lot of water that could be used for agriculture and electricity production, beaches for tourism, good climatic condition for agriculture and a lot of mineral deposits. Successive governments however had failed to exploit this potential to reduce poverty and improve standard of living of the people of Chavuma and North Western province, they added.

The Back Stops at Lack of Transformative Leadership

When asked what needed to be done for Chavuma to reverse the under development trajectory, community members felt leaders needed to share national resources equitably as well as use public resources prudently. They felt that some provinces had been prioritized over others to an extent that some provinces had two universities being built when others had none. They also stated that the wastage of public resources was too rife for government spending to meaningfully bring about development. They cited building of a modern police post in Chavuma at an estimated cost of K1.3 million which had taken a long time that the structure had started collapsing before even construction was completed.

Community members therefore demanded that the country needed selfless leaders who put the interest of the entire country at heart.

They also cited ambulance boats that were lying by the banks of the river in ruin after spending huge sums of money on mobile hospitals as a waste of public resources. The MMD government under President Rupiah Banda bought mobile ambulances – vehicles and boats (a project that many Zambians



objected to) to serve community members who lived far away from hospitals and those along the banks of the Zambezi River but the speedy boats meant for Chavuma all lie in ruin on the banks of the Zambezi River. Otherwise we do not feel like we are part of Zambia and the one Zambia one nation motto had lost meaning, they added.

A Call for Active Citizenry

While JCTR agreed with the community on the need to have well-meaning leadership for sustainable development to occur, community members were reminded that an alert community that demanded for its rights and held leaders accountable to their promises was indispensable to sustainable social and economic development. Even good leaders sometimes fail to deliver but an alert active citizenry will ensure their leaders deliver on their promises. It is the desire of JCTR that Zambians will become active citizens beyond voting leaders into power to demanding explanations and justifications on key governance issues aimed at improving lives of the people. Therefore, as much as strong and well-meaning leadership is needed to spur development, an active citizenry might just be the missing link in our development jigsaw puzzle.

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An Informed Perspective on Emergency Powers and the Case of Zambia

Introduction

In July 2017, the Republican President, Mr. Edgar Chagwa Lungu made a declaration of the threatened state of emergency under Article 31 of the Constitution. Many Zambians expressed fear which was justified in that the country has enjoyed peace for over 50 years since its independence. Prior to the proclamation, the country had witnessed incidents of violence, arson that led to the loss of property and threatened loss of lives. This article attempts to describe the declaration of the threatened state of emergency.

Definition of State of Emergency

A state of emergency derives from a governmental declaration made in response to an extraordinary situation posing a fundamental threat to the country. The declaration may suspend certain normal functions of government, may alert citizens to alter their normal behaviour or may authorise government agencies to implement emergency preparedness plans as well as limit or suspend civil liberties and human rights. In some situations, martial law is also declared, allowing the military greater authority to

act. Other terms for referring to emergency situations are state of exception, state of alarm and state of siege. The need to declare a state of emergency may arise from situations as diverse as an armed action against the state by internal or external elements, a natural disaster, civil unrest, an epidemic, a financial or economic crisis or a general strike.

The Zambian Constitution under Article 30, gives power to the President in consultation with his cabinet to declare a state of emergency. Subject to the provisions of this clause, the provisions of the Emergency Powers Act, Chapter 108 of the Laws of Zambia are given life. This law allows the president to set out detailed conditions that will be implemented during the period within which the declaration is in force. The preamble of the act is couched in the following terms:

“An Act to empower the President to make emergency regulations whenever an emergency proclamation is in force; to specify the matters which may be provided for in emergency regulations; to provide for the duration of emergency regulations;

and to provide for matters incidental to or connected with the foregoing.”

Interestingly, the Constitution under Article 31 appears to envisage a situation under which a state of emergency may reasonably be anticipated and seems to provide for a framework under which the activities perceived to possibly lead to such state of emergency could be arrested before it necessitates the declaration of a state of emergency. This Article gives power to the President (without the requirement to consult with his cabinet) to declare that a situation exists in the country which if allowed to continue without any intervention, may lead to a state of public emergency. Article 31, sub Article 1 [Art. 31(1)] is phrased in the following terms:

“The President may at any time by the Proclamation published in the Gazette declare that a situation exists which, if it is allowed to continue may lead to a state of public emergency.”

Subject to the provisions of the entire article and once the proclamation has been made, the Preservation of Public security Act, Chapter 112 of the Laws of Zambia is given life. This Act allows for detailed regulation to be made for measures to be implemented during the period of the proclamation. In its preamble, the Act states as follows:

“An Act to make provision for the preservation of public security; and to provide for matters incidental thereto.”

The Act further defines public security under its Section 2 in the following terms:

“2. In this Act, the expression “public security” includes the securing of the safety of persons and property, the maintenance of supplies and services essential to the life of the community, the prevention and suppression of violence, intimidation, disorder and crime, the prevention and suppression of mutiny, rebellion and concerted defiance of, and disobedience to, the law and lawful authority, and the maintenance of the administration of justice.”

Having looked at the two instances, that is, the declaration of State of Emergency under Article 30 and the declaration that a situation exists which, if allowed to continue may lead to a state of public emergency under Article 31, the two appear different. Firstly in the conferment of the power to declare;

whereas under Article 30 there is a requirement for the President to consult with his cabinet before he can declare, there is no such requirement under Article 31. Secondly, the former seems to address an existing emergency while the latter seems to be a preventive measure to avoid a state of public emergency.

International Principles Governing a State of Emergency

A country’s constitution or legislation normally describes the circumstances that can give rise to a state of emergency, identifies the procedures to be followed and specifies limits on the emergency powers that may be invoked or the rights that can be suspended. While each country is at liberty to define its own practices, International norms have been developed that provide useful guidance. For example, important international treaties such as the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) to which Zambia is a party and European Convention of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (ECHR) stipulate some common norms that states are to observe in a state of emergency.

Due to the exceptional nature of the declaration of a state of emergency, it must not last too long as it is a temporary measure. It is declared in response to a crisis that must present a real, current or at least an imminent danger to the community. It must therefore be temporary. Further, the measures taken to counter the crisis must be proportional to the gravity of the emergency situation; this applies to the area of application, their material content and their duration. Proportionality is key in order to avoid excessive and unnecessary derogation by the state from its obligations to its people.

A state of emergency does not imply a temporary suspension of the rule of law, nor does it authorize those in power to act in disregard of the principle of legality, by which they are bound at all times. Therefore, at all times the enforcement officers must act within the scope and limit of the regulations put in place. They must not act in excess or abuse their authority.

State of Emergency vis-à-vis Human Rights

Certain human rights are non-derogable under any circumstances including in a state of Public emergency. The ECHR and the ICCPR identify some of these rights to be; the right to life, prohibition

of torture and freedom from slavery, the right to recognition before the law and the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion. The UN Human Rights Committee further recognised that, in addition to the non-derogable rights listed above, there are several other humanitarian provisions that must remain inviolable. These are as follows:

- Humane treatment of all persons deprived of their liberty
- Prohibitions against hostage-taking and unacknowledged incarceration
- Protection of the rights of persons belonging to minorities
- The prohibition of propaganda advocating war or national, racial, or religious hatred
- Procedural guarantees and safeguards designed to ensure the integrity of the judicial system.

Scrutiny of Emergency Law

The implementation of emergency law invariably leads to restrictions on normal economic, civil or political activity in order to address the extraordinary circumstances that have given rise to the emergency situation. Certain restrictions may be fully justified. At the same time, there is a danger that a government will take advantage of a state of emergency to introduce unwarranted restrictions on human rights and civil liberties, to neutralize political opponents, to postpone elections, or for other self-serving purposes that would be more difficult to pursue under normal circumstances. In some countries, there has been a tendency to maintain states of emergency for years or even decades, long after the original reason for its proclamation has disappeared. The danger that a “Constitutional dictatorship” can arise out of a state of emergency should not be understated.

Mechanisms to Guard Against the Abuse of Emergency Powers

The role of Parliament is to ensure that the Executive does not have sole authority to declare a state of emergency and provide for Parliamentary ratification of the decision of the Executive – with a qualified vote. As a general rule, the Executive must provide a well-considered justification for both their decision to declare a state of emergency and the specific measures to address the situation.

This Parliamentary role is especially important in long-lasting states of emergency, where the principle of civilian supremacy over the security sector may be at risk. Whatever the emergency situation, the right to conduct inquiries and investigations on the execution

of emergency powers ought to be guaranteed by law. This is important for both assessing government behaviour and identifying lessons learned with a view to future emergencies.

The judicial system must also continue to ensure the right to fair trial. It also must provide individuals with an effective means of recourse in the event that government officials violate their human rights. In order to guard against infringement of non-derogable rights, the right to take proceedings before a court on questions relating to the lawfulness of emergency measures must be safeguarded through independence of the judiciary. The courts can play a major role in decisions concerning the legality of a declaration of a state of emergency as well as in reviewing the legality of specific emergency measures.

The role of civil society like the Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection (JCTR) in such a situation cannot be over-emphasized if social justice is to be realised. Our role is therefore key in ensuring that the common person knows and understands the situation and knows and understands his or her rights in respect of the circumstances. We note that government needs the cooperation of the citizens during this period, but we must remind them that any abuse or unwarranted limitation of human rights in such a situation may undermine that cooperation and make it more difficult to overcome the emergency situation. We must therefore urge the state to protect the interests of the public in an accountable and responsible manner.

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Challenges of Modern Day Parenting

Introduction

Parenting is becoming a challenging task in the modern times because some parents especially in Zambia are faced with children that are hooked to internet facilities such as Facebook, Google, whatsapp and twitter. What is more challenging is that there is a struggle to monitor what children watch and read on the internet. Although the development of technologies makes life easier, the task of being parents is more complex. Growing technology comes with a growing number of online and offline threats not only on parents but children. However, parents can still keep an eye on their children if family values and morals have to be maintained. This article seeks to explain challenges parents are facing in this internet age and how these challenges distort family values. It later outlines how these challenges can be addressed for the development of the institution of the family.

Competing for Influence: Parents vs Internet

Parenting is an educational role which follows certain steps in ensuring that children learn values and morals. It is for this reason that parents have a duty to educate their children on moral issues and values necessary for survival in life. However, today's children are more influenced by their peers through the internet than their parents. They are learning more moral issues and values from the internet and less from their parents or family members. After all, the internet helps children create and maintain life-long connections with others and give them a sense of community. Denying them access to the internet is to deny them necessary tools for survival. The

internet, for instance, helps them stay connected to family members who may be scattered all over the world. Adolescents may also use the internet to obtain information about school places, available scholarships as well as complete their homework and school projects.

Nevertheless the internet has eroded the role of parents. For example, the role of a parent has become critical in that many parents are now facing a new parent which is the internet. This new parent is teaching children a 'new culture', 'values' and 'morals'. Parents especially in the urban areas are unable to monitor or even correct the negative education children are receiving via the internet 'the new parent'. Thus a child can obtain negative education for example pornography from various websites. This is because websites teach indiscriminately as they provide information that can be accessed by people of all age groups. In addition, since parents are fighting an invisible enemy that has programmes with no clear agenda, they are not able to warn children about bad morals because the internet is more accessible to a child than a parent.

Another challenge of parenting in an internet age is that the internet becomes an educator; therefore, children prefer to ask the internet questions on various issues through 'Google' than parents. Furthermore, modern day families are so small that children are usually left alone thereby making the internet their new friend to interact with.

Lurking Dangers of the Cyberspace

Although access to the internet can be beneficial,

there are many dangers if children go unmonitored in the use of computers. For instance, parents need to be aware of Cyber-Paedophiles; these are people who prey upon children online and gradually seduce them into sexual and indecent acts. The internet brings with it cyberbullying which may not cause physical harm but have psychological effects on the child. Parents, therefore, need to be attentive because this form of bullying is usually unnoticed. This, however, can easily be controlled through children's messages and social media monitoring.

Another danger is that a child may innocently be researching on a school project but accidentally comes across online pornography due to its sheer abundance. Violent games abound online and children who play them answer questions about the influence of media violence. Some children may get involved into unwanted activities and unaccepted behaviour patterns. They can imitate what they see on the internet. This shows that parents have a challenge in determining what children access online.

Internet has definitely made people's lives easier, but, like with everything in life, it also has its dark side. On the Internet, children could easily find the materials that they should not see such as pornography, bad language and other harmful contents. Social media, for example, might also be a platform that children use to access drugs. Thus having access to the child's messages might help parents define possible problems in advance and take preventive measures.

Crippling Anti-social Behaviour

The internet not only has negative consequences on children but also on the family because it may cause seclusion on the part of children. For instance, children begin to feel secure when they are alone with computers or phones as long as there is internet access. Children with internet addiction can stop consulting others on various issues like science, games, religion and politics. They may even begin to hide information from other members of the family as well as experience withdrawal from family, friends and activities.

The internet also has a way of distorting family roles, for example, children may avoid talking to their extended family members about issues that affect them thus cut off extended family ties. Furthermore, anxiety, depression, or irritability, restlessness and sleep disturbances may also increase which is likely to affect the child's academic performance. Through access to the internet, children get exposed to online predators as well as harassment, identity theft and cyber-stalking. It can also be seen that the internet

has its own way of putting power of control not in the hands of parents but in children. For instance, parents would be unable to exercise control over their children when they go wrong.

Parental Need to Rise up to the Challenge

To address the above challenges, parents must play a role in regulating who children share information with. They must become involved in the use of the internet by encouraging children to share the information obtained from the internet. This requires strengthening a child's understanding in the use of the internet. For example, let a child know that not all that is found on the internet is true, correct or good. This is because postings of information on websites can be done by anyone even children themselves. Thus, the beauty of the internet is that it is questionable, for it can make mistakes since it is made up of people's views which may not always be good or true.

It must also be known that the internet is not a custodian of family values such as respect, justice, generosity and cooperation. Hence, each family has a mandate to teach children morals, values and customs and not leave that role to the internet. Parents must continue to exercise parental control to their children. They should also continue teaching values through socialisation. For example, spend more time as family sharing meals and have picnics. Family members can also assess what children share with friends by befriending children on social networks like Whatsapp, Facebook and twitter. This may perhaps help them to know the type of friends their children have and what kind of information they share.

Parents must take responsibility and ensure that children do not access harmful ad pornographic contents. Sometimes, it might be helpful to block and restrict internet accessibility in order to keep children safe and healthy. In some cases, it might be helpful if parents chose to block, monitor and restrict internet activities and accessibility of their children in order to keep them psychologically and physically healthy.

Modernised Parental Responsibility

For a parent to be an effective, they need to know what is happening in their child's life. This is because ignoring the impact of internet on children is a recipe for disaster. They also need to be aware that the internet is part of the social landscape hence they must not cut children off but rather teach them how to use it responsibly and safely. For modern day children, the Internet is a place for community and so teaching internet safety and responsibility at home

must begin by removing the internet secrecy.

Thereafter, also establish new expectations and help children develop new habits. For instance, parents must be brave enough to talk about their child's low performance in school and social withdrawal. Families can also involve a child in assigning how much time can be spent on the internet and which activities they can engage in. If a parent is not well informed about internet, they can involve others in obtaining information about the dangers of the internet.

In addition, to address the above discussed dangers of internet access, parents must warn children about dangers of giving personal details such as phone numbers, residential addresses and parent's names to strangers on the internet via Facebook and twitter. It is also important for every parent to learn the terms (both technical and popular) and be comfortable with the computer and at least to know what the child is

doing online. This entails talking to a child about when and how to use the internet. In addition, move the child's personal computer out of his or her bedroom and into the more visible area like the living room and dining room.

Conclusion

Parenting in an internet age has become challenging in that parents are fighting an invisible enemy whose program has no clear agenda. This is because the internet has replaced the role of parents as educators of values and morals. However, parents can get involved in as far as using the internet is concerned so that they may ensure that children benefit from the valuable information the internet offers without being exposed to potential dangers.

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Religious Freedom and Belief in Zambia

Introduction

In an incongruous turn of events, one of Kitwe's pastors was recently reported to have turned into a snake, allegedly a python, in a miracle gone wrong provoking irate Buchi residents to run amok and setting the Church ablaze. Not long ago, a Mindolo man was severely beaten up by a mob for publicly claiming to be Jesus Christ. Incidences of impostor pastors, apostles, or prophets was also reported in Choma's Mapanza area, where fake prophets were swindling people of their money and cattle as form of payment after "healing prayers"; and in Lusaka's Matero township, where an occult church was deceiving people by performing fake miracles

including claims for healing diseases like HIV. In view of these incidences, this article provides a critical reflection on religious freedom and its emerging threats in Zambia.

Religious Freedom as a Basic Right

Religious freedom is a fundamental human right, which unfortunately due to its complexity and the political issues involved has not been properly elaborated and codified in the same way as prohibitions against torture, racial discrimination, and discrimination against women. Efforts to promote religious freedom in Zambia, as in many other countries, have regrettably been paltry thereby

exposing believers and non-believers to exploitation by religious impostors.

The word “religion,” meaning to bind fast, comes from the Latin word *religare*. It is commonly, but not always, associated with traditional majority, minority or new religious beliefs in a transcendent deity or deities. In human rights discourse, however, the use of the term usually also includes support for the right to non-religious beliefs. In 1993 the Human Rights Committee, described religion or belief as “theistic, non-theistic and atheistic beliefs, as well as the right not to profess any religion or belief”.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) states: “Everyone shall have the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion. This right shall include freedom to have a religion or whatever belief of his [her] choice” (Art. 18). And more elaborately, Article 18 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966) partly states that the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion “shall include ... freedom either individually or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his [her] religion or belief in worship, observance, practice and teaching; no one shall be subject to coercion which would impair his [her] freedom to have or to adopt a religion or belief of his [her] choice; and freedom to manifest one’s religion or belief may be subject only to such limitations as are prescribed by law and are necessary to protect public safety, order, health, morals or the fundamental rights and freedoms of others”. It further urges States Parties to the Covenant to respect “the liberty of parents and, when applicable, legal guardians, to ensure the religious and moral education of their children in conformity with their own convictions”.

In addition, the Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief (1981), despite its lack of enforcement procedures remains the most important contemporary paradigm advocating for tolerance and to prevent discrimination based on religion or belief. The Declaration prohibits discrimination by states, institutions, or groups of persons (Art. 2); declares such discrimination as constituting a violation, an affront to human dignity and a disavowal to basic human rights and freedoms (Art. 3); and urges that religion or belief must be manifested in places suitable for the purposes of worship (Art. 6) not injurious to other religion or belief.

A Wholistic View of Religious Freedom

Therefore, within the human rights discourse, freedom of religion or belief is not just for believers but also includes non-believers. Strictly speaking, it protects a person’s right to hold or not hold any

religion or belief. Religious freedom protects the atheist, religious minorities, and applies to those of the majority who might want to debate or dissent from views within the majority religion. It is thus a mistake to equate freedom of religion with freedom of worship. According to the United States of America Commission on International Religious Freedom (2014), the former includes “the rights of worship, observance, practice, expression, and teaching, broadly construed ... [including] wearing religious dress or symbols; observing dietary restrictions; participating in rituals associated with certain stages of life; possessing property rights regarding meeting places; and maintaining the freedom to manage religious institutions, possess, publish, and distribute liturgical and educational materials”.

Moreover, religious liberty includes the right to change one’s religion or beliefs without coercion such as conversion from one religion to another religion, a controversial act that certain religious faiths consider as apostasy, an illegal act highly punishable. It also includes expressions intended to persuade another individual to change his or her religious beliefs or affiliation voluntarily. Sadly, the struggle for religious liberty has led to innumerable tensions and tragic conflicts as several controversial issues remain including: religious or national law versus international law, proselytism, conscientious objection to military service, status of women in religion or belief, claims of superiority or inferiority of religions and beliefs, choosing and changing a religious commitment, religious registration and association laws, public media and religion or belief, and the relationship of religion or belief to the state.

Religious Freedom in Zambia

The 1991 Constitution declared Zambia as a “Christian Nation” amid public uproar even among the Christian fraternity who argued that it was discriminatory and violated the provisions of the Constitution relating to freedom of worship and conscience (Article 19). Subsequent Constitutional Amendments of 1996, and more recently, the 2016 reaffirm this declaration. Nevertheless, the current Constitution provides effective remedies for the violation of religious freedom by allowing a person whose rights are infringed upon to seek legal redress in the courts of law.

Registration of religious groups is approved by government. In order to be eligible for registration, groups must have a unique name, a constitution consistent with the country’s laws and display compatibility with peace, welfare and good order. Unregistered religious groups are not allowed to operate in the country under penalty of law. Government permits religious instruction in private

schools. Such instruction is most widely conducted in schools owned and controlled by the dominant religions like Christianity and Islam. However, pupils and students may be excused from religious education.

Threats to Religious Freedom in Zambia

In Zambia, threats to religious freedom are quite many. The desire by desperate believers constantly changing churches in pursuit of miracles and manipulated miracle crusades is largely driving the scourge of bogus miracles. Impostors are even claiming to heal terminal illnesses at a fee. This increase in demand for miracles has forced some fake pastors to seek idolatry powers to enable them perform miracles to the satisfaction of their congregations. Although these impostors look sanctimonious, they stage-manage miracles and swindle their congregants. In other unreasonable situations, believers have been persuaded to eat raw or live animals to experience God's ostensible favour. The proliferation of disorganised churches coupled with lack of proper regulatory systems to monitor churches in the country is not only endangering believers' exercise of religious freedom but is also worsening the situation.

It is increasingly becoming commonplace to sell God's word without shame in public. This has even made it difficult to distinguish true from fake pastors or bishops. These impostors have taken advantage to swindle innocent travelers in broad daylight due to lack of regulation of the so called "prophetic ministry" in long-distance travels. Stories are told, of questionable evangelisers who command helpless passengers to raise certain amounts of contributions to support their imagined or ghost widows and orphans. Other worst forms of exploitation involve preachers using hypnotising and memorised sermons to castigate passengers reading newspapers, novels or answering phone calls and accusing such passengers for being agents of the devil. The commercialisation of God's graces and word should be controlled if the fight against fake pastors is to be won. In fact, the lack of regulation of new prophetic ministries is likely to turn Zambia into a haven of impostors.

Worse still, reports of some pastors committing sexual offences are mind-boggling. It appears as though unscrupulous men and women have infiltrated the sacred calling for selfish motives among them, self-aggrandisement and mere clout. These charlatans, with insatiable appetites for misconduct and masquerading as clergy men and women have one objective, that is, to exploit people in the name of proclaiming the word of God. It is unacceptable

that they should shamelessly be asking for money or any reward for delivering God's word in public places like buses and markets. The Church should openly condemn such immoral vices as such acts are tarnishing the good image of established and organised Churches in Zambia.

Conclusion

Where freedom of religion or belief is not respected conflict often ensues. And conflicts over religion can destabilise a nation, cause economic uncertainty, and can provide a breeding ground for religious extremists. Evidence abounds demonstrating that an orgy of violence and brutality affects almost 75% of the world's population who live in countries with high levels of government restrictions on religious freedom as they face execution or genocide for apostasy, experience terrible persecution, imprisonment or torture. Arguably, then, societies which deny religious freedom are "invariably unhappy societies" and research shows "a direct link between economic prosperity and religious freedom". In fact, a society which promotes religious freedom will be enlivened and enriched and one that does not will decay (Second Vatican Council, On Religious Freedom, *Dignitatis Humanae*, 1965). In a world increasingly afraid of difference, there is need to promote religious coexistence, public discourse and dialogue, which are foundational to building peaceful societies. Religions and other beliefs certainly bring hope and consolation to billions of people, and hold great potential for peace and reconciliation.

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Celebrating the Life of Father Michael J. Schultheis, S.J.

My wife Lalitha and I have had a long association with Fr. Mike Schultheis spanning nearly four decades. Every individual meets up with scores of fellowmen in the course of his life. But there are a selected few with whom one develops a special bond and who influence one's life in a significant way. Mike was one such individual in our lives.

He was a person of great intellectual acumen, a subtle sense of humor, disarmingly amiable nature and of course moral uprightness that one would expect of someone of his vocation. To me and my wife, he was indeed a friend, philosopher, guide and mentor. And he was all that to several of our friends and colleagues as well. Getting to know him was one of the best things that happened in our lives.

Our Encounter with Mike

As I look back especially upon the years we spent in Dar-es-Salaam where we first met Mike, many pleasant episodes come crowding in my mind like the crowd of golden daffodils that flashed upon the poet Wordsworth's inward eye. Here, I will mention only a few instances that illustrate Mike's wonderful attributes. While I worked in the economics department of the University of Dar-es-Salaam, Mike was on the staff of the sister organization, the Economic Research Bureau.

Mike wangled a huge USAID project to conduct a nutritional survey in the Southern highlands of Tanzania. Lalitha was looking for a job and since she had a university background in nutrition and dietetics, Mike offered her a position as an assistant investigator. After some extensive field trips over a couple of years, she became pregnant. This is when

Mike's traits of empathy and compassion came to the fore. He was very solicitous of her welfare. When she became heavily pregnant, he brought a stool to her office so that she could rest her legs upon the stool. He personally drove and escorted her to her hospital visits. He told her that he envied her since he could never experience what it was to bear and bring forth a new life!

Friendship Based on Reciprocal Affection and Respect

Mike's hospitality was synonymous with his famous pancakes! He simply loved inviting his friends for a Sunday pancake brunch. And we all looked forward to it not just for the delicious pancakes but for Mike's company. We in turn would often treat him to an elaborate menu of Indian dishes at our place. It was not a quid pro quo but a spontaneous show of reciprocal affection and respect. Mike loved going to the movies, especially the Woody Allen flicks.

Once, we planned to go and see an Indian film with our friends when Mike gate-crashed at our place. We were about to leave and asked Mike if he would like to join us. We asked him out of courtesy but he agreed to go with us! It must have been an ordeal for him sitting through a three-hour movie in Hindi with no sub-titles in English. He would not have understood a thing; but he was sporting enough not to display it! He admitted he could not follow much; but referring to a romantic song between a boy and a girl, he said he could only understand that the girl sang "Johnny, Johnny" and asked if the boy's name was Johnny. We all howled in laughter since he had got even that wrong! The word was Jani in Hindi.

I could go on and on, but the instances that I have cited should be enough to bring out the unique inspirational personality known as Michael J. Schultheis. Even though several years passed since we last saw Mike, we knew all that he was doing since he unfailingly sent us a detailed note every Christmas describing how he had spent the year.

Friendship that Begets a Friend

One day, about thirty years ago, Mike came to our house in Lusaka unannounced and brought with him another person. He introduced us to Fr. Peter Henriot who had come to Zambia to direct a new organization that was named as the Jesuit Center for Theological Reflection (JCTR). Pete had been a friend and colleague of Mike and they had worked together for several years. This introduction was yet another of

the nicest things that happened in our lives (mine and Lalitha's). We are grateful to God for having used Mike as an instrument to introduce another person with whom we share a divine friendship.

It is my personal faith that we do not mourn the passing away of someone like Fr. Mike Schultheis. Instead, we celebrate his life and his era of dedicated service. And indeed we rejoice at the thought that he must be experiencing his well-earned bliss, relaxing in one of the many mansions of our Heavenly Father.

Venkatesh Seshamani
University of Zambia
Lusaka - Zambia

ARTICLES AND LETTERS

We encourage you our readers to contribute articles to the JCTR Bulletin. The articles should reflect any social, economic, political, educational, cultural, pastoral, theological and spiritual theme. All articles should be between 1, 000 and 1, 500 words.

You make the Bulletin to be what it is!

For contribution, comments or feedback, write to the editor;
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JCTR BASIC NEEDS BASKET

Lusaka September 2017

(A) COST OF BASIC FOOD ITEMS FOR A FAMILY OF FIVE

Commodity	Price (ZMW)	Quantity	Units	Total (ZMW)
Mealie Meal	59.85	2	x 25 Kg	119.71
Beans	30.57	3	Kg	91.70
Kapenta (Dry)	184.78	2	Kg	369.57
Fish (Bream, Dry)	132.56	1	Kg	132.56
Beef	37.60	4	Kg	150.38
Dark Green Vegetables	5.50	4	Kg	22.00
Tomatoes	9.00	4	Kg	35.99
Onion	6.57	2	Kg	13.14
Cooking oil (2.5L)	45.28	3	Litres	54.34
Bread	7.35	1	Loaf/day	220.63
Sugar	25.43	3	x 2 Kg	76.28
Milk	7.17	4	x 500ml	28.67
Tea	91.20	1	Kg	91.20
Eggs	10.29	2	Units	20.57
Salt	8.26	1	Kg	8.26

Subtotal **ZMW 1,434.99**

(B) COST OF ESSENTIAL NON-FOOD ITEMS

Commodity	Price (ZMW)	Quantity	Units	Total (ZMW)
Charcoal	158.33	2	x 90 Kg bag(s)	294.00
Soap (Lifebuoy/Champion)	5.94	10	Tablet(s)	48.00
Wash soap (BOOM)	9.83	4	x 400g	38.05
Jelly (e.g. Vaseline)	20.50	1	x 500ml	21.33
Electricity (medium density)	200.00	1	x 1month	200.00
Water & Sanitation (med - fixed)	197.21	1	x 1month	197.20
Housing (3 bedroom)	2,650.00	1	x 1month	2,650.00

Subtotal **ZMW 3,448.58**

Total for Basic Needs Basket **ZMW 4,883.57**

Totals from previous months	June 16	July 16	Aug 16	Sept 16	Oct 16	Nov 16	Dec 16	Jan 16	Feb 16	Mar 16	Apr 16	May 17	Jun 17	Jul 17	Aug 17
Amount (K)	4,810.52	4,820.70	4,870.89	4,934.09	5,036.28	5,005.14	4,976.67	4,935.46	4,918.76	5,017.09	4,973.03	4,952.69	4,952.69	4,859.35	4,928.37

(C) SOME OTHER ADDITIONAL COSTS

<i>Education</i>		<i>Transport (bus fare round trip)</i>	
Item	Amount (ZMW)	Item	Amount (ZMW)
Grades 1-7 (User + PTA/year)	145.00	Chilenje - Town	7.00
Grades 8-9 (User + PTA/year)	500.00	Chelston - town	7.00
Grades 10-12 (User + PTA/year)	975.00	Matero - Town	6.00
<i>Health</i>		<i>Fuel (cost at the pump)</i>	
Item	Amount (ZMW)	Item	Amount (ZMW)
Fast Track / High Cost fee	10.00	Petrol (per litre)	11.67
Self-referral (Emergency Fee)	5.50	Diesel (per litre)	9.87
Mosquito net (private)	75.00	Paraffin (per litre)	6.50
CD4 Count	20.00		

(D) A COMPARISON OF COSTS (IN KWACHA) OF BASIC NEEDS ACROSS ZAMBIA IN JUNE

Lusaka	Kasama	Mansa	Mongu	Ndola	Solwezi	Monze	Chipata	Mpika	Luanshya	Kitwe	Kabwe	Livingstone	Choma	Chinsali
4,883.57	2,951.92	2,673.79	2,947.62	4,891.91	4,003.20	3,652.55	2,463.78	2,564.88	3,585.88	4,102.79	3,480.00	3,736.99	3,751.21	-

This survey was conducted on **27th September 2017** by the Social & Economic Development Programme of the Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection. Average prices were calculated on the basis of prices gathered from retail outlets at Northmead, Shoprite (Cairo Road), City Market, Chawama, Chainda, Kabwata, Matero and schools, clinics/hospitals and filling stations around Lusaka. The July Basic Needs Basket is approximately **US\$509** based upon the exchange rate of K9.6 prevailing on the days of data collection. Please note that other monthly costs would include personal care, clothing, recreation, etc.

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THE JCTR UPDATE: PEOPLE AND ACTIVITIES

WHAT KEEPS US BUSY AT THE JCTR? HERE ARE SOME ITEMS OF INTEREST

THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPEMNT PROGRAMME (SED)

The SED Programme in the 3rd Quarter of 2017 continued to implement projects under Save the Children, GIZ, Joint Country Programme, CAFOD, International Budget Partnership and Diakonia. The programme embarked on facilitating communitybudgetsubmissionsinLivingstone, Mongu, Solwezi, Ndola and Monze. This saw community leaders and community based organisations making submissions to their various District Development Coordinating Committees. Further the submissions were submitted at national level to the Ministry of Finance and SED staff hosted a pre-press briefing to highlight the district submissions in Lusaka. This was hosted alongside the Zambia Tax Platform and the Child Budget Network that JCTR is a member of, who shared budget proposals on broadening the tax base and promotion of access to children's rights through budgetary allocations.

The programme also continued to promote community awareness on a number of issues such as the budget and agricultural laws and policies affecting them. On the budget, the programme produced simplified community brochures used at community sensitization meetings. A radio documentary also promoting citizen participation in the budget cycle was also developed during the period and translated into Tonga, Nyanja and Bemba too target communities in Southern, Lusaka and Copperbelt Provinces respectively. Farmer Community Sensitizations on laws and policies governing the agricultural sector such as the Second National Agricultural Policy, FRA Act, FISP E-Voucher were also held in Kazungula and Kaoma with a third sensitization to take place in the following quarter in Kasama. The programme worked closely with Caritas offices as well as Ministry of Agriculture and Ministry of Fisheries and Livestock in the specific communities.

Through the Strengthened Accountability Project in Solwezi, the programme was able to carry out a number of follow up activities to advocate for improved access to rights to health, education, water and sanitation for the mining communities of Manyama and Mazabula. JCTR met with mining firms (Kansanshi

and Lumwana), local authorities, and communities generally (and specifically women's groups and the youth). The programme worked with Caritas, Foundation for Democratic Process (FODEP), Youth Alliance for Development (YAD), Extractive Industry Transparency Alliance (EITA) and Diakonia to launch the Community-Company Government Assessment (CCMG) of Copper Mining in Solwezi, Zambia Report which highlighted key priority areas such as provision of clean and safe drinking water, upgrading schools and building teachers houses, improving youth and women's skills and the business environment for entrepreneurship.

FAITH AND JUSTICE PROGRAMME

During the 3rd quarter of 2017, the Faith and Justice Programme paid particular attention to a project on good governance that seeks to push for reforms in the administration of the Public Order Act (POA). In this regard, the Programme identified like-minded Organisations to work with in ensuring that the submissions made to Government on the Public Order Act are progressive and representative of the general civil society and Political Parties. In enhancing collaboration, the Programme established a Coalition on the POA comprising seven members including SACCORD, NGOCC, YALI, ZCID, PFC, and MISA-ZAMBIA.

As public sensitization is key to the reform of the POA, the Programme has been preparing Information, Education and Communication materials on the Public Order Act. The materials produced will be used during the awareness raising campaigns in Ndola, Livingstone and Lusaka during the 4th quarter of 2017.

Welcome!!!

The JCTR welcomes Fr. Emmanuel Mumba, S.J. as its Executive Director as the Centre bids farewell to Fr. Leonard Chiti, SJ who has provided sound leadership since 2009. The Centre also welcomes Lloyd Kapambwe Bwalya (LLB) to the Faith and Justice Programme.

Views expressed in the *JCTR Bulletin* do not necessarily reflect the views of the JCTR

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