

Chapter 3

Of Miners and Teachers

‘Life was very good for the miners’, said Likando Muyunda.¹ ‘They lived a luxury life and were provided with everything’, he continued. We were sitting on a bench outside the Ndeke congregation of the United Church of Zambia (UCZ) in the eastern part of Luanshya. The Sunday service was still under way. Prayers and songs escaped through the open doors of the church into the freshness of a Copperbelt July. Likando Muyunda had been a teacher at Mpatamatu Secondary School for more than two decades. He had been posted to the school in 1983, where he rose to head of department and ultimately held the office of head teacher from 2006 until his retirement in 2010. When I visited the school, I found his name written on the wall in a list of head teachers going back to when Zambians had been excluded from holding that office. Mpatamatu Secondary School opened as the township’s first ‘senior school’ for Africans in 1966. Its first headmaster came from South Africa, recalled Likando Muyunda. He remembered the late 1980s as a time of great hardship in the educational sector. Salaries were low, the school was in constant need of qualified staff, and many teachers went to neighbouring countries in the south to work, some returning with a car after a term’s teaching. Likando Muyunda stayed to teach and protest. He remembered taking part in large-scale strikes against price rises and social security cuts in 1987 (LeBas 2007: 240–41). However, his greatest contribution to improving the situation of teachers at the time, he explained, was when he helped to open Mpatamatu’s first government clinic, initiated in the head teacher’s office in Mpatamatu Secondary School in 1988. Despite the fact that government schools were integrated into corporate mine townships, medical facilities for government

employees were initially absent. Teachers were referred to the shafts' first-aid stations, where, according to Likando Muyunda, they were treated as second-class patients. Access to mine facilities for teachers was revoked when Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines (ZCCM) had to cut its social spending. Eventually the makeshift clinic at Mpatamatu Secondary School was relocated to a mine house rented from ZCCM's Luanshya Division in 1989. It merged into the section 26 clinic when the mine clinic was taken over by the Ministry of Health in 2008.²

Likando Muyunda's memories of working in Mpatamatu offered me a different perspective on mine township life. The paternalistic practices of ZCCM did not extend to teachers. As education was important for the reproduction of the mine's labour force, schools were integrated into a corporate environment that had been developed and built for mineworkers and their dependants. However, the teachers working at the schools shared only selected aspects of the material living environment. They lived on a different socio-economic level than the parents of their pupils. Access to provisions such as health and sports facilities was not an inherent part of their employment contract. Rather, these amenities were conceded to them as outsiders who had come to live within a company town run by the mine.

How were schools and teachers integrated into the corporate mine township of Mpatamatu? What role did the township's social welfare buildings play in the changing relationship between mineworkers and teachers before and after ZCCM's privatization? This chapter follows up on my analysis of the relationship between men and women in Chapter 2. In it I revisit the pay line buildings and community centres. All these buildings had previously been material locations that set the scene for the reproduction of particular socio-economic positions among Mpatamatu's population. This corporate setting, which was based on the mine's involvement in people's lives, collapsed when ZCCM's successors in Luanshya retreated from the residential areas of their labour force.

Mpatamatu had been built as a mine township, a company town that served the mine's workforce. Mineworkers' relatively high wages, coupled with the infrastructures available to them, privileged them over other sectors of Zambia's employed population. I discuss these disparities by looking at the material living environment from the perspective of the teachers. Apart from an adult school previously run by the mine, schools in Mpatamatu have always been administered by the Ministry of Education. The selective access to the township's infrastructures, such as the social welfare buildings, shows that teachers were integrated into the mine township as second-class residents. In this sense, as a mine township Mpatamatu was not only an 'inherently exclusionary place' (Larmer and Laterza 2017: 702) when viewed from the outside, it was also exclusionary when seen from the inside, as it represented a different material environment for the teachers who lived and worked there. This arrangement changed with the breaking up of ZCCM, which marked a turning point in the relationship between

mineworkers and teachers, as mineworkers and their dependants lost access to a corporate living environment. Eventually the former social welfare buildings were taken over by the teachers, who became the driving force behind projects of renovation, which included former corporate as well as government buildings.

In this chapter, I investigate the changes in the relationship between mineworkers and teachers against the backdrop of Mpatamatu as a living environment for different socio-economic groups. I follow processes of material and social ruination, that is, the corporate abandonment of welfare buildings and the socio-economic decline of mineworkers and their families as privileged residents of the township. I juxtapose these processes with the rise of teachers as renovators of buildings left behind by the mine or neglected by the Ministry of Education. The reappropriation of the mine's social welfare buildings led to a reversal of living conditions for mineworkers and teachers. While the mineworkers and their families struggled with retrenchment and the collapse of the mine's non-monetary remunerative practices, the teachers improved their socio-economic position by using abandoned corporate spaces for private educational projects. What I draw attention to here is the way in which this transition happened, a reappropriation that I see rooted in the material characteristics of the buildings and the creative ways in which the teachers modified them. Their practices mark the conversion of processes of ruination into communal material and social renovation.

Privileging Miners

The privileging of mineworkers by providing them with a material living environment based on their employment goes back to the early days of the Copperbelt as a mining area. Both a large labour force and the infrastructures to accommodate it were needed. The scale of the industrial operations involved made it feasible for mining companies to develop entire townships with social provisions. In order to safeguard the reproduction of labour, the mine extended its paternalistic care from the mine shaft and health care to its workers' houses and the social welfare buildings provided for them. I have shown in the previous chapter how much these welfare measures were based on a male order that mostly rendered women the dependants of their mineworker husbands. However, I have also illustrated how women who were employed by the mine or were engaged in economic programmes sometimes managed to cut across the gendered division of labour that prevailed at the mine.

Housing and housing allowances have been part of all formal employment in Zambia. As such, teachers accommodated in school compounds lived in an employer-provided environment comparable to that enjoyed by the mineworkers. However, the level of mineworkers' wages set them apart from all the other segments of the labour force. Monetary grants and allocations in kind increased the differences in remuneration. In fact, the extensive infrastructures within the

mine townships provided the material basis for an urban life based on work, consumption and recreation. Mine employment resulted not only in a place to work and sleep, but also in new locations in which to live and socialize, from the roads leading to one's plot and the electricity and water lines connecting one's mine house via the number of rooms within it to the social welfare buildings available for after-work activities in one's township section.

When teachers were posted to Mpatamatu, they were allocated a house in the respective teachers' compound. Placed next to the schools, these compounds were separate from the mineworkers' houses. In this sense, teachers were integrated through spatial separation. Moreover, not all schools possessed such a residential quarter for their staff, usually being too small for the number of teachers they had. Many had to commute to Mpatamatu from outside. In either case, the exclusivity of the corporate mine township became an everyday experience for them. Looking at these past conditions in light of what the teachers shared with me, I feel compelled to re-engage with a Marxist marker of class that has been applied to privileged islets within a country's labour force, that is, minorities whose social reality diverged greatly from that of other workers.

Next Door to Zambia's 'Labour Aristocracy'

During his fieldwork on the Copperbelt in 1968–1972, Burawoy (1972a: 6; 2001: 533) came to see Zambia's mineworkers as a 'labour aristocracy'. He identified mineworkers as 'an elite stratum of the working class' based on their material remuneration and the corporate provisions from which they benefited (Burawoy 1972b: 277). His analysis was informed by Marxist theory in the historical context of worker unionization in England at the turn of the twentieth century.³ The concept helped Burawoy to recognize what seemed to be a global phenomenon.

In the present case, this means a relatively prosperous part of the labour force was concerned with its own economic interests, rather than the broader political goal of decolonization. Accordingly, Zambian mineworkers were politically conservative, out of fear of losing their economic position. According to Burawoy, this became evident in two developments on the eve of national independence in 1964. First, there were no African National Congress (ANC) branches in the Copperbelt's mine townships. Secondly, mineworkers resisted the local spread and organization of the United National Independence Party (UNIP). Marxist reasoning attributed to mineworkers a lack of revolutionary consciousness (Burawoy 1972b: 277–78).

However, this analytical perspective has come under scrutiny. In his work on Zambian mineworkers, Larmer (2007: 11–15) came to the conclusion that the 'Labour Aristocracy Debate' of the early 1970s involved a structural bias. As Parpart (1983: 4–6) had noted earlier, economic, political and ideological factors had to be considered at the same time. A fixation on the structural position of mineworkers among the wage-earning population left no room to grasp concep-

tually divergent practices, solidarity with non-mineworkers or wage redistributions from industrial to rural areas.

Nonetheless, 'labour aristocracy' continued to be used widely to classify the particular socio-economic and socio-political status of Zambia's mineworkers before ZCCM's privatization in 1997.⁴ In my view, these more recent uses of the term 'labour aristocracy' were less concerned with mineworkers' political positions than with describing a class that had access to corporate welfare measures and that passed its jobs on within the family like an inheritance. It is this understanding of 'labour aristocracy' that others, like Parry (1999: 112), have applied to similarly privileged parts of local workforces in other parts of the world.

I would like to tilt the concept of 'labour aristocracy' further away from suggestions concerning mineworkers' political leanings towards a relative assessment of their material living conditions vis-à-vis other members of the workforce. With regard to her own upbringing, Mususa (2014: 6) reported that families with access to the mines' welfare system 'were the most protected'. In light of my fieldwork, I suggest redeploying 'labour aristocracy' in order to carve out the material and economic differences in the life-worlds of Mpatamatu's residents, whether they were employed by the mine or by the Ministry of Education. I do so by juxtaposing mineworkers' and teachers' access to the township's social welfare buildings before and after ZCCM's privatization. Obviously, the concept is temporally limited to the time before 1997, a period when the mine maintained its presence in the township and provided economic subsidies and social amenities, a time when the lowest wage in the mining industry was above the highest wage in any other industrial sector (Burawoy 1972b: 278).⁵

Mpatamatu Secondary School's former head teacher, Likando Muyunda, pointed to several inequalities between mineworkers and teachers during his time of service. Mail was delivered to mine houses, whereas teachers had to collect their letters from the office of the District Education Board Secretary in Luanshya. In comparison to his salary in the 1980s, he referred to mineworkers' as enjoying 'double payment'. They were in a position to purchase commodities at the level of a teacher's monthly income. He remembered that they would occasionally leave their payslips in the teachers' compounds to emphasize their higher socio-economic status.

Mineworkers' wages were a reference point, but an unattainable one. When their wages were increased, it was a trigger for subsequent labour action across other sectors (Bates 1971: 68). The teachers' impression that they were being mistreated was exacerbated by the fact that the majority of mineworkers acquired only a low level of formal education. Moreover, they were entitled to live in company towns, something unimaginable for teachers, who had to go through postings to a rural area. Mine jobs often remained within a mineworker's family. Teachers had to face these contrasts, Likando Muyunda explained, when they were posted to a government school in a mine township.

Positioning Teachers

Mine townships like Mpatamatu were highly homogeneous residential areas. Based on the 1966 *Brown Report*, Bates (1971: 111–12) calculated that only 5 per cent of residents of the Nkana mine township in Kitwe were not employed by the mine. Similar conditions existed in Luanshya's mine townships of Roan and Mpatamatu. No residential houses, apart from the teachers' compounds, were constructed for those not employed by the mine. Collings and Schaerer originally planned to have at least one school for each of Mpatamatu's sections (RACM 1957: appendix, map NR.RA1). Teachers were nonetheless in an absolute minority.

Zambia's first Minister of Education, John Mwanakatwe (1968: 51), noted that the mining companies 'played the most important role in the building programme' for primary schools. Ultimately schools were only constructed in the sections of Mpatamatu developed before the nationalization of Zambia's copper industry in 1969/1970. As such, the distribution of schools in Mpatamatu followed the general pattern of the township's spatial organization and elaborateness, as well as its provision with social facilities noted earlier in Chapter 1.

Like mineworkers, teachers entered the township by virtue of their occupation. The teachers' compounds were located next to the schools, just as the township was placed next to the shafts. The structural situation was complex. Teachers lived in houses built by the mine, located in a company town and administered by the government. Mpatamatu's first school was constructed together with the mine houses in section 21 in 1957. Mpatamatu Primary School was opened as a 'government school for natives' in 1959.⁶ At the same time, Roan Antelope Copper Mines (RACM) provided adult education in its own mine school in section 23; see Figure 1.2, centre). Newly enrolled workers were taught to read and write before they entered the mine's services.⁷ In the first half of the 1960s, four schools followed in sections 22 and 24, Mwaiseni, Nkulumashiba, Kansumbi and Nkambo Primary Schools. In the late 1960s, before the Baluba extension of the township, Mpatamatu possessed five government primary schools, one for each of the existing sections 21 to 25 (see Map 0.1).

Collings and Schaerer included one 'senior school' in their plans for the township. Mpatamatu Secondary School was opened at the township's central roundabout in 1966, changing the educational prospects for Mpatamatu's population. Reforms in the 1970s introduced 'basic education' as the new minimum standard for government schools (Alexander 1983: 209, appendix 2, 21). It was not until decades later that schools with seven grades were expanded to include the eighth and ninth grades. In 1983 the Ministry of Education took over the mine school in section 23, converting it into Nkulumashiba Secondary School.⁸ In 2011 the Patriotic Front (PF) government under Michael Sata reversed the decision on basic education, going back to seven years of primary and five years

of secondary school education. As many pupils did not pass the examination after grade 7 to move on to secondary school, Mpatamatu's primary schools continued to run classes up to grade 9. In fact, they remained basic schools. In 2012, Nkulumashiba Primary School, which had previously also been upgraded to a basic school, started to phase out its lower grades and became Mpatamatu's third senior school, Nkulumashiba East Secondary School.⁹ What became evident from these developments in the educational sector was that the presence of the Ministry of Education in Mpatamatu increased. However, the working and living conditions of teachers did not improve as a result.

Township development and the construction of schools were interrelated processes. An initial number of schools had been intended in the spatial layout for Mpatamatu. They were not isolated or on the periphery of the township but were built in the middle of the sections in proximity to the mineworkers' houses. This resulted in the existence of two distinct socio-economic life-worlds side by side. In his article on the 1970 teachers' strike, Kanduza noted that living next door to the labour aristocracy was 'disturbing' for teachers. Their accommodation was inferior and turned into material markers magnified by the differences in wages and amenities tied to employment:

Even in the Copperbelt where the miners were the best-housed workers in the country, accommodation for teachers was of comparatively inferior quality. This was particularly disturbing since the teachers compared themselves to the miners who had electrified houses for very small monthly charges and a free water supply. (Kanduza 1981: 497–98)

I witnessed these differences in quality during my own fieldwork in Mpatamatu. When I visited research participants at home, I tried to discuss housing issues with them. In a conversation on the different types of mine houses with the miner-teacher couple introduced earlier in Chapter 2, the husband drew detailed plans of the houses he was allocated during his service for the mine. His drawings were so accurate that I would later match them with the original building plans for three different house types I found at the archives. We compared the mine houses to the teacher's compound house he lived in with his wife, who was a primary school teacher in Mpatamatu. The construction materials used for the houses were mainly the same: brick walls and asbestos roofing. However, there were spatial differences and one central function that set teachers' houses apart from most mineworker accommodation. Mine houses generally had an in-house toilet and shower. This was not the case for the houses in that particular teachers' compound: both were located in a shelter separate from the house.

Teachers explained to me that under ZCCM the differences in material living conditions were reduced by admitting teachers to the township's social welfare buildings. Clubs, taverns and sports facilities were now open to them,

though understandably full membership of a mine club was not available. Having a drink with colleagues or friends at a beer hall and playing volleyball at the sports complex was apparently quite common. The mine's social provisions in Mpatamatu were relatively open at that time. Initially, this included the mine's health facilities.

In light of Likando Muyunda's account of the establishment of Mpatamatu's first government clinic, I came to understand that this openness decreased towards the terminal years of Zambia's Second Republic (1972–1991) and ZCCM (1982–1997). The financial situation of the parastatal was now chained to the national budget, as the World Bank's structural adjustment programme required greater austerity on the part of the government. This influenced ZCCM's budget: social spending was cut, a development that intensified with the prospective reprivatization of the copper sector prepared in the first years of the Third Republic.¹⁰

Teachers' experiences in Mpatamatu showed me that their material living environment was changing in relation to their access to the mine's social welfare buildings. The integration of teachers into the township depended on the general economic outlook and corporate policy. It increased when copper mining became a national endeavour after the government took over the industry. Corporate paternalism was extended to residents of Mpatamatu who did not work for the mine. However, this inclusiveness was revoked when financial constraints made it hard to maintain even existing amenities for mineworkers and their dependants. The integration of teachers into Mpatamatu decreased. However, the exclusion of teachers and the renewed orientation towards the mine's labour force did not save the mine townships and their social provisions.

Replacing Miners

Mpatamatu gradually lost its corporate character after the privatization of ZCCM's Luanshya Division. The downscaling of mining operations and the retrenchment of mineworkers transformed Mpatamatu from a mine township that had followed developments underground to a satellite town distant from Luanshya town centre. The municipality took over the township's administration. Mine houses were sold to retrenched mineworkers as part of their terminal benefits. The township and its infrastructures ceased to be an extension of the mine from the site of extraction to the site of the workforce's social existence and living environment. Mpatamatu's social welfare buildings fell idle.

Buildings abandoned or deemed expendable by the mine attracted the attention of the teachers. In contrast to the majority of mineworkers, they remained in employment. Their salaries even improved under the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD) government of Frederick Chiluba (1943–2011) from 1991 to 2002. In comparison to those who continued to work in the mining sector

as contract labour, teachers could rely on relatively stable employment by the Ministry of Education. This made room for economic activities outside their immediate family household. Laid off and often left to wait for the disbursement of their terminal benefits, many mineworkers went into subsistence farming. Those who managed to remain in formal mine employment struggled to break even in the face of the privatization of former mine infrastructures such as water, electricity and sewerage. Mineworkers had to pay bills previously unknown to them. In contrast to teachers, moreover, they were not in any position to start a business.

Teachers were attracted by the social welfare buildings' spatial characteristics. In the years following ZCCM's privatization, these particular parts of the corporate welfare infrastructure were reappropriated by this particular group of government employees. The community centres possessed a classroom structure, while the pay line buildings had the potential to be split into separate rooms. Moreover, teachers were motivated by the need for additional educational facilities in Mpatamatu. Buildings that had marked the privileged status of the mine's labour force and that had complemented their financial remuneration materially were transformed into private educational projects driven by the teachers, a previously disadvantaged part of the township's population. In a process of resetting the socio-economic positions of different social groups in Mpatamatu, teachers replaced mineworkers in respect of their privileged relationship with the material environment of the township. Among the locations that had been symbols of the labour aristocracy were Mpatamatu's pay line buildings on the main road leading into the township, two identical, long flat halls that had been built in the early 1960s and 1970s.¹¹

Samuel Yumba, a former mineworker who received his monthly salary at the buildings between 1985 and the late 1990s, when RAMCOZ introduced bank transactions, provided me with a perspective on the buildings' past when we visited the former pay line together. On the first day of every month, mine and federal police secured the buildings and prepared them for the wage payments. Poles along the fence in front of the main gate forced the mineworkers into a queue. The gate formed a physical bottleneck allowing policemen to check the inflow and outflow of people one by one. Holding German shepherd dogs on leashes, the policemen were an intimidating presence. They requested mine ID cards and sent in mineworkers in groups of ten to twenty. The mineworkers walked along the buildings' outer walls, lining up on the western side of each pay line building. Mine ID numbers written above the doors indicated when it was their turn to proceed into the halls. Inside, they received their monthly payslip and a voucher, before finally being given their salaries in cash.¹²

At the time of my fieldwork, groups of pupils usually stood in the bright sunlight in front of the doors leading into the buildings. They peeked through the broken and bent wire netting of the fence surrounding the pay line buildings, a relic of the former high-security environment. On Sundays, prayers and songs

coming out of the buildings were audible from afar. The long halls had been divided into separate classrooms with plywood: nine rooms, one for each of Suzika Private School's grades 1 to 9 (see Figure 3.1). The school had been founded by Fackson Mugala, a former head teacher at Kansumbi Primary School, at Kabangeti Community Centre in 1997. It was extended and eventually relocated to the pay line buildings in 2001.¹³

The plywood walls were covered with pupils' graffiti. Holes had been drilled into them, allowing schoolmates on the other side to be seen. Simple steel and wooden benches filled the rooms, orientated towards blackboards screwed to the dry walls. After spending some time in the buildings, it became obvious to me that they had not been designed for students to sit and study for several hours a day. Little light entered through the gap between the outer walls and the roof truss, and the compartmentalized space quickly became sticky. The roof radiated considerable heat during the dry season, turning the inside into an oven.

The pay line buildings were really made for miners, entering when it was their turn, collecting what they had to collect, and going out again after a short period of time. After the corporate abandonment of Mpatamatu, the buildings' roofed spaces represented something valuable for the township's community, and the ability to divide these spaces into classrooms overruled any other material or spatial disadvantages for the new tenants. Likewise, the former community centres invited the teachers to reappropriate them, their spatial order and material durability promoting the foundation of new educational institutions. The centres



Figure 3.1. Classroom of Suzika Private School in section 21's former pay line buildings. Photo by the author.

offered separate rooms under one roof and spacious plots surrounding them. In the following paragraphs, I revisit Mpatamatu's three community centres and describe how they were reappropriated by teachers after ceasing to be the workplace for women like Fenia Muyutu (see Chapter 2).

Happyson Kaunda took over Kansengu Community Centre in 1997. At the time, he was a teacher at Mpatamatu Secondary School. He rented the main building and the adjacent library from RAMCOZ (see Figure 3.2). His plan was to found an integrated pre-, primary and secondary school recalling the main building's prior function as a pre-school.¹⁴ However, Happyson Kaunda's ideas for Kansengu Community Centre encountered resistance. The mine's first operator after ZCCM's privatization, RAMCOZ, had amassed huge debts. Its financial difficulties, eventual bankruptcy and liquidation resulted in the separation of the mine from its social assets.

The receiver of RAMCOZ's social assets planned to sell them off in order to cover the outstanding financial claims. The former social welfare buildings represented commercial assets, and solvent buyers were preferred over sitting tenants using and maintaining the buildings with whatever means at hand. The case of Kansengu Community Centre illustrates how the formerly corporate social welfare infrastructure was dismantled like the parastatal ZCCM. The library (see Figure 3.2, right building) was given to the Zambia Electricity Supply Corporation (ZESCO) to house its local branch office in the western half of the building, where residents could buy units for their electricity meters at home. The eastern part of the building was sublet to the Luanshya Municipal Council (LMC), to serve as an office for collecting land rates, a real-estate tax based on the value of the plot and the house on it, which had to be paid by all house-owners in Mpatamatu.¹⁵

Martin Kasonso and his father bought the main building of the Kansengu Community Centre from the receiver (see Figure 3.2, left building). Father and son both worked in education: the father had been a teacher at Mpatamatu Secondary School, while Martin Kasonso was the training manager and deputy director at the Northern Technical College (NORTEC) in Ndola. In conversation with me, they admitted that they had different ideas about how to use the for-



Figure 3.2. Former Kansengu Community Centre in section 21. Photo by the author.

mer centre's main building. Their plans ranged from using it in its past function as a community centre on a non-profit basis to founding a commercial private college. These ideas had been informed by the building's past position in the township. Martin Kasonso's desire to re-establish the centre as a welfare facility in the service of Mpatamatu's residents has to be seen in light of his biography and upbringing in the township.

Martin Kasonso was born in 1973. His mother was a nurse at Luanshya's mine clinics, and his father was a government teacher. His mother's job allowed the family to access the township's corporate infrastructures. With both his parents working, Martin Kasonso was sent to pre-school at Kabulangeti and Kansengu Community Centres from 1977 to 1978. In 1979 he entered Nkulumashiba Primary School. He conveyed a very positive image of those pre- and primary school years and the opportunities he had as a young child growing up in the mine township. He regularly went to the library, played table tennis, and became interested in boxing. These activities were no longer available to children growing up in Mpatamatu at the time of my fieldwork. Eventually, he passed his grade 7 exams and left the township for secondary education in 1986.¹⁶

Martin Kasonso re-engaged with his former community through the sale of Kansengu Community Centre. He invested considerably in renovating the centre's main building. At the time of my fieldwork, it mostly stood empty, though it was tended by a caretaker. From time to time, ward development council meetings, a local-level municipal organ, took place there. The building cast a positive projection into the future by reproducing ideas of its past use and defying the surrounding processes of material ruination.

In 1997 Fackson Mugala founded Suzika Private School in the Kabulangeti Community Centre in section 24. A primary school teacher from Northern Province, he was first posted to Luanshya in 1981. In 1984 he was transferred to Kansumbi Primary School in Mpatamatu for the first time. Over the years, he climbed the hierarchy and returned to Kansumbi Primary School as head teacher in 2007, an office he held until 2011.¹⁷

Fackson Mugala started his private school at a time when the former social welfare buildings had been abandoned by the mine and the government schools had a bad reputation. Underfunded and understaffed government schools could not prepare children sufficiently to pass exams on the way to secondary education. Fackson Mugala started tutoring pupils for grade 7 examinations. Eventually he founded a separate school in the rooms of the former community centre. The school's programme gradually expanded to include pre-, primary and secondary school classes.

Founding a school at a former social welfare building was not without its risks. Fackson Mugala was the sitting tenant of the Kabulangeti Community Centre, not its owner. In receivership, RAMCOZ constantly put all its social assets up for sale. In 2014 he received a letter of offer for the centre and invited

three friends to pool money in order to raise the capital. What started as a financial project resulted in the foundation of the Mpatamatu College of Education (MPACE) (see Figure 3.3). The four investors made the initial payment and were still paying monthly instalments at the time of my fieldwork. The centre was renovated and became the campus of their new college. This case illustrates the change in the financial position of teachers vis-à-vis miners in Mpatamatu.

According to Fackson Mugala, students were instructed in three classrooms, together with a science lab and a computer lab, rooms that had once been used to teach women how to become ‘modern’ housewives. The former pre-school shelters were turned into another classroom and library. A separate toilet annex was built to replace the broken sanitary block in the building. MPACE’s vegetable garden at the back of the main building was run by the students. The teaching of skills in subsistence farming was both a reference to the former women’s clubs and to the increasing dominance of agriculture in people’s lives in Mpatamatu. Apart from the numerous farming plots that spread over the township’s previously undeveloped or discarded land, this provided another example of ‘the bush’ coming to the town and of the continuity of agricultural subsistence in this ostensibly planned urban environment.

Happyson Kaunda started a second school project at former Muliashi Community Centre in section 26. Joyce Muleya, head teacher of Golden Eagle Private School since 2003, could still recall the building’s former uses, as she had participated in a tailoring class there in 1994.¹⁸ The school’s presence in the centre was related to its previous educational purpose and to the infrastructural differences between the west and east of Mpatamatu. While the mine had equipped sections 21 to 25 with five primary and one secondary school, there had been no government schools north of Nkulumashiba Stream in sections 26 and 27.

Collings and Schaerer’s original township plan had been based on the principle that facilities should be in close proximity to mine houses. Although Mpa-



Figure 3.3. Mpatamatu College of Education at former Kabulangeti Community Centre. Photo by the author.

matu was close to the shafts, the social welfare buildings were supposed to be constructed near their users' accommodation.¹⁹ Long before the Ministry of Education came in and built a school in section 27, Golden Eagle Private School was chosen by many of my research participants living in sections 26 and 27 for their children to start schooling. The absence of a government school marked a departure in the township development process from the original conception of each township section as a 'small socially self-contained residential unit' (RACM 1957: 6). Land had been reserved for a school in section 27. However, three decades passed before Kalulu Primary School was eventually opened in 2011.²⁰

Joyce Muleya managed pre-school and primary school classes from grades 1 to 7. Golden Eagle Private School was an examination centre for pupils wanting to move on to grade 8 at secondary level. Joyce Muleya explained that the school had around a hundred pupils in total, spread over one class in each of the seven grades. School fees were set at 180 Kwacha per three-month term, a sum fewer than a quarter of parents could come up with. A shortage of funds was therefore a problem here, as in the township's government schools. She made it clear that sometimes teachers went home with only a month's salary for a whole term.

One of the school's teachers explained to me how the school mapped current needs onto the past use of the building's rooms.²¹ We were sitting in the head teacher's office, the former workplace of the 'CD' (community development) officer. Where young people had played table tennis, pupils of grades 1, 3 and 7 were learning their lessons. The storeroom was still located in the middle section, right next to what had been the offices of the head teacher and the pre-school teachers. Grades 2, 4 and 6 and the pre-school were housed in the eastern wing. The separate classroom buildings that used to house the community centre's pre-school were being used as a grade 5 classroom and a storeroom. The teacher's account showed how the material world of corporate paternalism dissolved into a post-reprivatization world of private initiatives.

Muliashi Community Centre was occasionally used for vaccination campaigns by section 26 clinic staff and for meetings of the ward development council. In preparation for the 2016 presidential elections, the football pitch next to the centre served as a meeting place for local party groups.²² Present and past appropriations of township spaces interacted with each other again and again. Open fields in the mine townships had been used for political meetings since the 1935 Copperbelt strike (Russell 1935: 22–23, 25, 29).

On 11 August 2016, I witnessed township residents walking up to the former community centre and casting their votes in the presidential election. It was astonishing to observe this most fundamental practice of participatory democracy being made possible by the existence of corporate remains. Moreover, other former social welfare buildings, such as the sports complex and the section 25 mine clinic, were also being used as polling stations.²³ Spaces to meet and pursue collective action were in high demand in Mpatamatu.

In the case of the former pay line buildings and community centres, teachers succeeded the mining company as managers of the former social welfare buildings, replacing the mineworkers and their dependants as users of these facilities. The integration of work, accommodation and social welfare in Mpatamatu was atomized. Many mineworkers were left only with their privatized mine houses. Teachers' projects, by contrast, reintegrated isolated buildings into the township community, making them usable and accessible again for Mpatamatu's residents.

Mineworkers were replaced at the former social welfare buildings and turned into farmers, with some even becoming teachers themselves. I met one of these miners-turned-teachers at one of Mpatamatu's primary schools. He was born into a mineworker's family in 1969. His father had worked for the Roan Selection Trust (RST), Roan Consolidated Mines (RCM) and ZCCM for three decades. He received his primary education at the Luanshya Trust School from 1975 to 1981, a corporate school previously reserved for the children of expatriate mineworkers.²⁴ In 1990 he followed his father and joined ZCCM to work as a planning clerk. As the situation worsened under RAMCOZ, he realized that he needed to change his occupation. 'The mine did everything in the past, but at the time the mine was unable [to do so]', he recalled. A child evangelist at UCZ, he thought of becoming a teacher. After receiving his terminal benefits in 2002, he attended a teacher training college for two years. His first posting took him to Luapula Province. In 2011 he returned to Mpatamatu where he has been teaching ever since.²⁵ In the most literal sense, a teacher had replaced a mineworker on an individual level.

Renovating Teachers

Teachers revived Mpatamatu's former social welfare buildings by reappropriating, maintaining and renovating them. At the same time, they kept the township's government schools alive. They struggled to prevent the ransacking of the township's infrastructures, particularly government property. Mpatamatu's schools were old, most having been in continuous use without major maintenance work since being opened. The schools' brick walls had seen more than five decades of mineworkers' children going in and out.

In a rare case, Mpatamatu Secondary School received additional classroom blocks through a World Bank programme in the 1970s. At the time of my fieldwork, these buildings too needed renovation, as Chishimba Kambwili (2008), Member of Parliament for the Roan constituency, pointed out in the National Assembly. Other schools like Mwaiseni Primary School had been freshly painted, a superficial measure that was possible because the school building's material substance had generally withstood the elements. The real challenges were the small classrooms, the dysfunctional sanitary facilities and the intermittent water and electricity supply.

Traces of ransacking dated back to the early 2000s. Mineworker families struggled with the social ruination following the retrenchments. People started raiding mine and government property in search of building materials that they could use themselves or resell to traders. Shattered school windows often remained broken, because the glass had been stolen. Bricks, window frames, metal furniture and pipes were also purloined. When a teacher at Kansumbi Primary School took me on a school tour, I became aware of how far the ransacking had gone. People had cut down the school's flagpole and stolen it. This was dystopian: the flagpole was not just an iron rod with a piece of textile blowing at its top – it held the national flag of Zambia, the focus of every school assembly, centre of an institution that was supposed to educate future generations.²⁶

What international investors pursued on a corporate scale, people repeated more privately. It occurred to me that the asset-stripping of Luanshya's mine for scrap metal by Binani Industries' subsidiary RAMCOZ had spread to Mpatamatu. The mine township as a company town became a ruin of corporate paternalism, though still a ruin in which people tried to make a living. This echoed Dawdy's (2010: 777) conclusion that ruins do not represent a *terra nullius*. As in the case of Edensor's (2005b: 23–24) field sites, corporate material remains in Mpatamatu became 'resource areas that [provided] architectural plunder for scavengers and collectors'. People continued to live in the material environment that surrounded them. However, what had once been built and maintained for the labour force was taken apart in its abandonment and dysfunction. Mpatamatu's social welfare buildings marked the boundary between devouring the past in the face of economic hardship and preserving the past through alternative reappropriations for a better future.

The fact that people turned to schools to make a living shocked me, giving me a glimpse into the conditions of life in Mpatamatu in the early 2000s. The situation was grave, asserted the teacher who stared at the remnants of the flagpole with me. She remembered how her family had shared mealie meal with neighbouring mineworker families. Some of her students still missed classes because they had to contribute to their family's income. The exclusive space to which Likando Muyunda had introduced me at the beginning of this chapter had disappeared. Teachers had to protect their workplaces from those who had to resort to making a living as 'scavengers and collectors'.

At schools in Mpatamatu, the teachers used the meagre funds raised through parent-teacher associations to employ security guards. All schools were in the process of either erecting or refurbishing existing fences around their compounds. In the face of the socio-economic decline of mineworkers' families and the material ruination of Mpatamatu, the imaginary walls surrounding the former home of the labour aristocracy had closed in on those locations that still had a regular source of income amidst a discarded part of Zambia's industrial workforce.

Stoler's concept of 'ruination' directs attention to the aftermath and durabilities of imperial formations. From the perspective of Mpatamatu, the concept encompasses the material remnants of corporate paternalism, such as a former community centre; the 'act' of ruination, that is, the disintegration of the township as a company town; the 'condition' of being ruined, that is, the living conditions and the state of infrastructures; and the 'cause' of the decay of the material living environment in the township, that is, the reprivatization of the mine without continuing its social investment or handing it over properly to private service providers or the state (Stoler 2016: 350). In light of these multiple aspects of 'ruination', the concept reveals the different temporalities related to the former social welfare buildings and grasps the force of ruinous processes, from material decay to social decline.

However, the semantics of 'ruination' cannot account for the *creative* ways in which teachers reappropriated the former social welfare buildings. Founding private schools goes beyond the question of what the residents of Mpatamatu were left with. Teachers had not been left with abandoned social welfare buildings. At a time when farming activities increased, they reappropriated unused built spaces and removed buildings from their corporate integration. 'Ruination' as a process was the scene of their actions. Could the concept account for their creative actions countering the very same process? Teachers' newly founded private schools ignited an entirely different process of renovative community restructuring.

I was inspired by P. Gupta's investigation of the creative reappropriation of leisureed spaces in postcolonial Beira (Mozambique) in accounting conceptually for teachers' reappropriations of Mpatamatu's former social welfare buildings. I came to understand the teachers' projects in the former pay line buildings and the community centres as 'distinct forms of renovation amidst ruination' (Gupta 2019: 135). Towns, including their abandoned buildings, represented sites of resourcefulness.

P. Gupta rooted the concept of 'renovation' in two ways. First, building on Stoler's (2008b: 203) usage of Lévi-Strauss's (1966: 16–21) term *bricoleur*, she underlined the capacity of individuals to tinker with their material environment. Second, she distinguished two separate practices within processes of 'renovation': to *revive* a building through new ways of using it, and to *restore* previous usages in the present. In this sense, Gupta (2019: 129–30, 133–34) followed the multiple temporalities that were accessible through 'ruination' by looking at abandonment, decay, reappropriation and repair simultaneously.

I observed the revival and restorative aspect of 'renovation' in the reappropriation practices of the teachers. Abandoned buildings were revived, and teachers made them useful again. Spaces were divided and new rooms established. By founding private schools, teachers restored previous aspects of the former social welfare buildings. Education opened up a dialogue between the community

centres' past, present and future. Nostalgia for Mpatamatu's corporate past shimmered through the ways in which teachers reappropriated the centres.

Teachers re-established relationships between Mpatamatu's residents and the material remnants of their previous living environment. This is where I see a third aspect of 'renovation': to *renew*. The pay line buildings and community centres had been disconnected from the mine and its once privileged labour force. The teachers' projects of renovation brought together the materiality of the former social welfare buildings and the communal necessities of Mpatamatu's residents. This link *renewed* Mpatamatu as a municipal place in which to live by reintegrating the buildings into residents' lives.

In summary, I saw teachers in Mpatamatu involve themselves in four renovation projects. These endeavours ranged from the reappropriation of buildings to serving as a representative of their sitting tenants, and from the corporate past of Mpatamatu to the township's municipal present. Firstly, teachers supported the reappropriation of the social welfare buildings after they had been left behind by the mine. This activity involved their participation in club committees and the organization of the sitting tenants' association. They thus replaced mineworkers who had been affected by material and social ruination. Secondly, they stepped into an administrative vacuum that had been left by the mine and not closed by the municipality, reacting to township residents' needs by reusing existing buildings. Thirdly, the foundation of private schools revived the abandoned buildings and created new alternatives to the existing educational facilities in the township. This was despite the fact that these schools were just as limited by budgetary constraints as the underfunded government schools. Finally, and in my eyes most importantly, the teachers reintegrated the former social welfare buildings into the community around them. Materially they reappropriated, reopened and renovated the buildings. Temporally, they took up aspects of the buildings' prior corporate functions, interweaving past experiences, present nostalgia and future prospects. After the mine had discarded both the community and the infrastructures within it, the teachers renewed the relationship that Mpatamatu's residents once had with their material living environment.

Notes

1. Likando Muyunda, interview with the author, 31 July 2016, Luanshya.
2. Section 26 clinic staff member, interview with the author, 9 May 2016, Mpatamatu.
3. For a detailed treatise of the 'labour aristocracy theory' in the context of postcolonial Africa, see Mijere (1985: 13–32).
4. See Lee (2009: 657), Fraser (2010: 9), Macmillan (2012: 542).
5. See also Figure 4.1 'African average earnings by sector, 1954–66' in Knight (1971: 95).
6. Teacher at Mpatamatu Primary School, interview with the author, 9 August 2016, Mpatamatu.

7. Wisdom Zulu, interview with the author, 18 September 2016, Mpatamatu. On 'Adult Education in the Mining Industry', see Mwanakatwe (1968: 148–50).
8. Teacher at Nkulumashiba Secondary School, interview with the author, 13 July 2016, Mpatamatu. See also Mulenga (undated).
9. Teacher at Nkulumashiba East Secondary School, interview with the author, 12 July 2016, Mpatamatu.
10. See Simutanyi (1996), Larmer (2005: 30), Gewalt and Soeters (2010: 157–58).
11. See RACM (1962: 1), RST Roan Antelope Division (1962c: 2), RCM Luanshya Division (1971).
12. Samuel Yumba, site inspection with the author, 30 May 2016, Mpatamatu.
13. Fackson Mugala, first interview with the author, 28 April 2016, Mpatamatu.
14. Happyson Kaunda, second interview with the author, 29 August 2016, Luanshya.
15. ZESCO Human Resource Officer, interview with the author, 28 September 2016, Luanshya.
16. Martin Kasonso, interview with the author, 27 September 2016, Ndola.
17. Mugala (2016); field notes by author, 8 June 2016.
18. Joyce Muleya, interview with the author, 25 July 2016, Mpatamatu.
19. The fact that children from sections 26 and 27 had to cross Nkulumashiba Stream on their way to school led to a terrible accident during the rainy season of 1995/1996. Four children drowned while crossing the river. As I discovered in the files of the Roan Mpatamatu Mine Township Management Board (RMMTMB), bridges over the river downstream from Kalulu Street bridge had apparently been an issue in the township for some time. See RMMTMB (1977).
20. Teacher at Kalulu Primary School, interview with the author, 23 September 2016, Mpatamatu.
21. Teacher at Golden Eagle Private School, interview with the author, 23 September 2016, Mpatamatu. See RST Roan Antelope Division (1963c: drawing number 518-1581/3) for a 1961 plan for a 'Women's Welfare Centre' in Mpatamatu, attached to the 1963 appropriation request to build Kabangeti Community Centre in section 24. Muliashi and Makoma Community Centre (in Roan) were based on the same plan.
22. The ruling PF and the opposition parties, the UPND and the Rainbow Party, were active in Mpatamatu, holding rallies and running poster campaigns in the township.
23. Field notes by the author, 11 August 2016.
24. At the time of my fieldwork, Luanshya Trust School was still in corporate hands, being run by CLM. See Confucius Institute at the University of Zambia (2018).
25. Resident of Mpatamatu, interview with the author, 21 June 2016, Mpatamatu.
26. Teacher at Kansumbi Primary School, interview with the author, 8 June 2016, Mpatamatu.