

Comparing the Copperbelt: Political culture and knowledge production in Central Africa

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ABSTRACTS

Panel A: Environment and Workplace

Mining, waste and environmental thought on the Central African Copperbelt, 1950-2000

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University of Oxford

Since the beginning of the twentieth century the copper mining industry on the Zambian and Congolese Copperbelt has moved tonnes of earth and has drastically impacted on the landscape. Yet although mining is one of the dirtiest of all industries, its role in transforming environments remains underexposed. Notwithstanding profound changes to the air, water and soils of the Copperbelt, environmental aspects of copper mining have been largely overlooked until the early 1990s. This paper argues that inserting environmental considerations into the history of the Central African Copperbelt is important and provides insights into broader socio-economic and political processes. Moreover, by looking at Copperbelt environmental history from the 1950s onwards, the sudden 'discovery' of pollution in the 1990s can be contextualised as a local and (inter)national phenomenon. Based on archival research, this paper provides an overview of environmental consciousness as it was expressed on the Zambian and Congolese Copperbelt from the 1950s until the late 1990s. Looking at Zambia and Congo comparatively brings out interesting parallels and differences in terms of environmental policies and thought.

Because mining companies, governments and even residents rarely reflected upon the impact of copper mining on the environment, creative approaches have to be adopted to make the environmental history of the Copperbelt visible. Apart from reading archival sources closely, agriculture and forestry can provide ways to tackle environmental knowledge production on the Copperbelt. Why, for example, was charcoal burning denounced, whereas the large-scale felling of trees for the copper industry was considered unproblematic? Government officials complained about subsistence agriculture and its contribution to soil erosion, but they did not even mention the tailings which mines discharged into rivers. By looking at such issues it is revealed that mining companies, government officials and local residents were acutely aware of the adverse environmental impacts of copper mining. These negative impacts were, however, systematically downplayed. This paper, therefore, seeks to problematise the silencing of the environmental impacts of copper mining on the Central African Copperbelt.

Old Versus New: Comparing Environmental Practices in the “Old” and “New” Copperbelt Mining Regions of Zambia

Jennifer Chibamba Chansa

University of the Free State

The Zambian Copperbelt has historically referred to the mining region comprising several mining towns that include Ndola, Mufulira, Kitwe, Chililabombwe, Chingola, Kalulushi and Chambeshi. Quite recently, however, the term “Copperbelt” has also been used to describe the new and upcoming mining areas in the North-Western part of Zambia. The mining towns in this region include Solwezi, Lumwana and Kalumbila. Compared to commercial mining operations on the “old” Copperbelt that began as early as 1928, current mining activities in the “new” Copperbelt were commissioned as recently as 2004. Under the First Quantum Minerals regime, the Kansanshi and Kalumbila mines are amongst the few mines within the country that have adopted the greenfield approach to mining, employing newer mining technologies that enable the production of huge amounts of copper ores at lower costs than those incurred on the “old” Copperbelt mines.

Unlike the Kansanshi and Kalumbila mines that employ newer mining techniques, the Copperbelt mines apply relatively older mining technologies, and are further faced with mining liabilities of the mining operations conducted prior to the privatization of the industry. Amongst the techniques applied on the Copperbelt that have been directly linked to pollution is the acid leaching process which has been cited as a major means of water pollution within mining towns such as Mufulira where the technique is employed. That newer mining techniques are applied on the North-Western province mines does not, however, suggest the absence of pollution in this region.

The paper will analyse the national legislation and regulation pertaining to mining activities in Zambia. It will also examine the environmental practices of various “old” and “new” Copperbelt mines, as well as their adherence to stipulated environmental laws and regulations. The paper will further highlight the fact that despite the presence of “older” and “newer” mining activities, and the variations in mining technologies in the Zambian mining industry, national legislation and regulation remain lacking in addressing the question of environmental protection.

SAFEMINING in everyday life. A case of Mopani Copper Mines

James Musonda

University of Liège

The various paternalistic services provided to workers by mining companies in Zambia, between the mid 1940s and late 1990s created strong connections between mining companies and nearby communities. Post privatisation however, this connection was severed as social services were withdrawn. But the rise in safety campaigns in recent years by the new mining companies seem to be reviving and maintaining this connection albeit in different ways. As can be seen in Mufulira and Kitwe, safety messages are displayed across and within communities at hospitals, schools, football stadiums, bill boards, and at the plant (including the underground). Then we have songs, role plays repeatedly played on company television screens, safety magazines and road shows within communities. In addition are food vouchers and household goods given to miners for good safety performance. Moreover, the company runs family safety competitions involving miners’ children and wives to create safety awareness and entrench what it calls a “safety culture”.

Based upon long term fieldwork including six months as an underground miner at Mopani Copper mines and the communities of Wusakile and Kankoyo, this paper examines how safety is embedded in the everyday life of miners, and their families and how it impacts behaviours e.g. on alcohol consumption. Added to this, are the moral judgments attached to safety campaigns which keep the memories of the past paternalistic services alive yet denied. The paper concludes that safety has significant impact on miners' everyday life guiding what they do and how they behave, what they say and how they think on specific issues. Simultaneously, it helps to maintain connections between the company and community, awakening past memories, regrets of paternalistic withdrawal, and fuelling resource nationalistic sentiments.

Panel B: Culture

Football and urban culture on the postcolonial Zambian Copperbelt

Hikabwa D. Chipande

University of Zambia

The emergence of the Copperbelt in the 1920s as Zambia's mining and industrial centre created fertile grounds for the diffusion and popularisation of Western leisure and recreation activities. At the centre of such entertainment activities was football. Like elsewhere in Africa, African mineworkers on the Zambian Copperbelt appropriated football as part of the repertoire of urban culture, whose popularity surged in the years following the achievement of independence in 1964. Hordes of fans established supporters' associations across the mining towns that began to exert significant influence on the running of the popular sport, including challenging mine management in the administration of the game.

In contrast to existing academic accounts that emphasise the economic and political facets of life on the Copperbelt, this study focuses on social history and demonstrates how football constituted a core part of urban culture among African mineworkers, exemplified through the creation, appeal and influence of football fans' clubs. The study uses newspapers, oral and archival sources to explore how football captivated these urbanised African miners on the postcolonial Copperbelt and the role the sport played in their social lives leading to the emergence of influential football communities of fans.

Le Musée Leopold II and the momentum of 'rapprochement' (1946 – 1958): a 'contact zone' in the Belgian colonial period.

Sari Middernacht

Museologist and Exhibition Producer, Lubumbashi

This study is part of an ongoing body of research about the history of the Musée National de Lubumbashi (MNL), D.R. Congo. It unpacks a peculiar moment of extreme local popularity, between 1946 and 1958, of the museum then called Musée Leopold II in Elisabethville. The curators applied a decentralised policy for collecting and research, much against the will of the Musée du Congo Belge in Tervuren with its centralising mission. The statistics for the year 1949 are mind-blowing; almost 280 000 visitors, amongst them predominantly 'natives' (Couttenier 2014: 83) in a museum open to all public without racial distinction, a remarkable fact for the city typified by racial segregation (Bundjoko 2005: 306; Lagae 2005: 1). The statistics challenge the general consideration that the museum in Africa, imported during colonial time and based on western models, weren't established to serve the needs of the local people (Arinze 1998). The example of the Musée Léopold II is important because it exemplifies strategies of community engagement in museum

practice and its underlying politics during the colonial era. The study reflects on particular moments of knowledge production in the colonial museum, against a background of the socio-historical and cultural condition of the Congolese Copperbelt mining region and its history of migrations where populations are in search for a sense of place. Drawing on Marie-Louise Pratt's (1991) notion of the 'contact zone' as a 'negotiated place', I will argue however that the strategy to reach a local audience reveals the museum's complex place within the segregated city and functioned to capitalise cultural dominance and maintain the logics of imperialism.

"Kazi 2.0" by centre d'art Waza and Afro Luso by Modzi art : art education in independents art centre in Lubumbashi and Lusaka

Patrick Mudekereza,
Centre d'art Waza, Lubumbashi

Knowledge sharing and art education programs have become an important component of many art centres that aim to find local relevance of contemporary art practice and international exchanges of artists, curators and other professionals.

Waza art centre in Lubumbashi has developed since 2015 the project Kazi 2.0. The concept is built on the world kazi (Swahili word for labour) and the notion of interactivity of the web 2.0. As Donatien Dibwe describe it, the notion of kazi is deeply imbedded in the industrial culture of the region, and refers to much more than the only labour, but also to the notion of modernity and global citizenship. Waza uses kazi 2.0 to describe the potential of art to reconfigure the society by bringing meaning, and making visible alternative ways of being in the city and being in the world. The main axis of this work is through art education and knowledge sharing programs.

In Lusaka, Modzi art has developed the program Afro Luso aiming "to create alternative spaces for art education and transnational visions for growth."

Those two projects start to speak one to the other through the workshop held in November 2017 with representative of Waza and Modzi in Lusaka. During the *Afro Luso 4: Congo meets Zambia* project. For one week, art professionals met to exchange their experiences in both country.

This paper wants to report on this experience and the possibilities given by such an exchange between the two contexts.

Copperbelt Crossroads: The Expression of Historical Change in Cultural Production

Enid Guene
University of Oxford

The last decades of the twentieth century were a period of profound sociological, political and economic change for the population of the Copperbelt, both in Zambia and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The collapse of the copper industry and the decline of mining communities coincided with the growth of distinctive, and often politically engaged, artistic genres. A noteworthy example is the 'Katanga genre painting' (of which T.K. Matulu's paintings depicting key moments of Congolese history are the most famous example). The extent to which the Zambian and Katangese Copperbelts have developed in relation to each other in the colonial period, reflecting the flows of minerals, people, and knowledge that crossed their shared border, has become an increasing focus of academic inquiry. Data on cross-border movement and

exchange in the second half of the twentieth century, however, is scarce. In a context in which cross-border links became crucial for economic survival, everyday forms of cultural production offer the possibility to explore the ways in which the experience of change was shared across the border. This is an exploratory paper and comments, advice and suggestions from members of the audience will be gladly received.

Panel C: Keynote

Mobilités sociales verticales au sein de l'Union Minière du Haut-Katanga/Gécamines

Donatien Dibwe dia Mwembu
University of Lubumbashi

Social mobility includes various aspects. It can be inter-generational or intra-generational. This is the aspect of social mobility which concerns us in this paper: the passage of one individual from one social status to another. Such mobility can also be considered in a social sense within a community or be studied through the lens of migratory movements.

In this paper, we plan to speak of social mobility in the case of professional advancement within Union Minière du Haut-Katanga/Gécamines, a company of Congo Copperbelt. This professional mobility also brings with it social mobility and spatial mobility because the individual who receives a higher social position no longer lives in the same neighborhood as his/her former colleagues of the lower pay-grade. In addition, leisure and shopping areas also change. The social status of the worker pulls along that of other members of his immediate family, spouse and children. In the case at hand, the primary employee B and often the only one B was male, thus the use of male pronouns from here on.

Panel D: Keynote

Comparing the Copperbelt: Social History and Knowledge Production

Miles Larmer
University of Oxford

This paper will provide an overview of the 'Comparing the Copperbelt' project and explain its distinctive approach to the social history of the cross-border Central African Copperbelt. The presentation will briefly discuss the connected histories of the copperbelts of Zambia and the DR Congo from the 1950s to the 1990s. It will focus on the comparative and connected production of knowledge about these regions by social scientists and local actors, and provide initial insights from archival research and interviews conducted for the project.

Panel E: Historical and contemporary politics**Research Centres and Mining Companies' Perceptions and Involvement in the Industrialization in the Central African Copperbelt, 1940s-1960s**

Mostafa Abdelaal
University of Cambridge

Situated in the heart of the African continent, the Central African Copperbelt (CAC) is considered among the world's highest-endowed regions of nonferrous mineral resources, mainly copper. Due to its distinctiveness, the CAC's history so far has been discussed mostly in separate colonial and national contexts, rather than from a more global/overarching perspective. During the last two decades of Belgian and British colonial rule, this area witnessed a new pattern of colonial knowledge production., marking the shift of the metropolitan policies towards colonies after the Second World War. Lonsdale has defined this transformation of policies as 'the second colonial occupation.' Research centres, such as *Rhodes-Livingstone Institute* (RLI) and *Centre d'Etude des Problemes Sociaux Indigenes* (CEPSI) collaborated with the mining companies in CAC, to draw specific images on urbanization and industrialization. Though the question of urbanization has been profoundly studied, the industrial history of the CAC has not received the same weight of attention yet. Moreover, it rethinks the debates on the inseparable relation between the creation of colonial bodies knowledge and power.

This paper has three aims. First, to examine how RLI and CEPSI perceived the notions of industrialization, its conditions and challenges. Second, to investigate the reciprocal influences between the research centres and the mining companies in Élisabethville and Lusaka. Third, to re-evaluate how the research centres' paradigms shaped the colonial knowledge. The initial findings of the research argue that the interactions between research centres, mining companies and colonial administration in CAC contributed to a far extent in producing westernized industrial complexes rather than permanent urbanized societies. The paper will make use of the published works by RLI and CEPSI, and preliminary archival research that took place within the national archives of UK.

Corporate Structure and Profitability of Rhokana Corporation during the First Years of Independent Zambia, 1964 – 1969

Hyden Munene
University of the Free State

This paper is a historical survey of the corporate structure, labour relations and profitability of the Rhokana Corporation and its Nkana mine between 1964 and 1969. Rhokana was one of several companies owned by the Anglo American Corporation of South Africa (AAC) in the Zambian mining sector. Its Nkana mine is one of the oldest mines on the Copperbelt. In the Zambian copper industry, there were three major concerns in the first years of independence. The first controversy concerned mineral rights and taxation. The second problem had to do with labour relations in the industry. The third controversy was the extent to which the government would participate in the mining sector given that the industry was dominated by multinationals, the AAC and American Metal Climax, the later owned substantial shares in Roan Selection Trust. Kenneth Kaunda's Government started with liberal policies intended to mobilise foreign investment by assuring private investors that the new regime would not nationalise their assets. The Government bought off the mineral rights from the British South Africa Company in 1964, and in 1966 it introduced new tax regimes in the industry. Also, an effort was made towards indigenisation of labour and not mere Africanisation in order to promote a greater degree of local participation in the industry.

While Nkana and the other mines were implementing the above policies, the Copperbelt was severely hit by new trends in the regional and global political economy such as the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) in Southern Rhodesia, which raised operating costs. Even so, the economic performance of Rhokana and the other Copperbelt companies was boosted by the effects of the Vietnam War which increased the price of copper on the market. This study argues that Rhokana and the other Copperbelt companies cooperated in implementing new policies, at times under difficult political and economic conditions, in order to protect their investment on the Copperbelt. The case study of Rhoakana Corporation and its Nkana mine shows that the current socio-economic challenges experienced on the Copperbelt in particular and in the Zambian copper industry in general are not new but historical.

Zambia's ambitions in CIPEC

Ingeborg Guldal

Norwegian University of Science and Technology

Inspired by the success of OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries), founded seven years earlier, the first "Intergovernmental Conference of Copper Exporting Countries", was held in Lusaka in the summer of 1967. Representatives from Zambia, Chile, Peru and The Democratic Republic of the Congo attended. These four countries accounted for only forty per cent of world production of copper at the time, but as much as eighty per cent of world exports. They were all highly dependent on copper for their foreign exchange earnings, and wanted to take regulatory action in order to stabilize national revenue.

However, CIPEC failed to influence the international copper price through cuts in production. Member states struggled to act in a concerted way, because of different political and geological circumstances. It was unable to finance stockpiles. The substantial supply of copper producing countries outside the council, as well as the possible substitution for other materials, led economists to predict that the copper cartel would fail from the outset. Nevertheless, Zambia and Chile's mining policies did influence prices temporarily in 1969, during the uncertainty leading up to nationalization. Similarly, price spikes occurred due to the government's cancellations of contracts with mining companies in Zambia, and the military coup in Chile.

CIPEC has received relatively little scholarly attention since the 1970s. However, the organization can be seen as a significant attempt by natural resource dependent developing countries to change their own fortunes, leading up to the New International Economic Order proposals. Zambia was the first country to ratify the CIPEC agreement, and arguably the economy most dependent on copper exports. This paper will deal with the establishment of CIPEC, and the Zambian ambitions for the organization. How did it influence the country's degree of confrontation with copper companies and consumer nations?

CSO Engagement in Zambia's Post-Privatisation Mining Sector: Challenges and Possibilities

Manda Simon, *University of Leeds*; Mungu Mwape, *University of Zambia*; Aubrey Chiwati, *National Assembly of Zambia*

Privatisation of mining in Zambia in the mid-1990s brought forth prospective optimism of improved resource governance but further raised questions for the role of civil society organisations (CSOs). The centrality of the evolution of resource governance norms point to the need to counter negative potential socio-economic, and institutional impacts of extractive industries. A vast amount of research in the post-privatisation Zambia has focused on institutional frameworks, social and environmental dynamics in the context of mining expansion. CSOs analyses have emerged under wider processes and engagement in Extractive Industry

Transparency Initiatives (EITI) or discussed in relation to labour movements (Negi 2011; Aaronson 2011). Poorly understood is how resource governance dynamics have shaped CSO engagement in the extractives and implications for socio-economic, environmental and institutional transformation.

Deploying documentary evidence and qualitative interviews, this paper highlights how the role of CSOs evolved in the post-privatisation Zambia. The paper asks what sort of issues do CSOs focus on in Zambia and what strategies do they deploy in engaging the extractive industry. Preliminary evidence reveals massive policy fluctuations in the sector with significant implications on revenue collection. CSO engagement in the Zambia's large-scale mining is peripheral and characterised by unclear positions between support towards stronger sector regulation and otherwise. However, loose networks have begun to emerge and coalesce around small to medium scale mining operations. This focus by CSOs can be interpreted both as an effect and consequence of neoliberal expansion and tightened industry grip by dominant *state-donor-mining* relations. However, fragmented CSO and stakeholder networks in resource governance waste an opportunity for meaningful resource governance transformation. By identifying how CSOs engage and shape resource governance alongside new expansion frontiers in Zambia, we hope for more progressive, proactive and timely interventions by state and non-state actors in move to produce greater benefits across socio-economic and institutional platforms in Zambia.

Panel F: Research and knowledge production

Access denied? Research access and knowledge production on the Copperbelt

Christian Straube

Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Germany

Since the establishment of industrial copper mining on the Copperbelt, the material and social upheavals that it has caused have attracted a lot of scholarly attention. However, researchers have often encountered tremendous challenges on the ground, most prominently in gaining access to the mines. This applies especially to the concrete sites of mineral extraction, but, previously, also included the residential areas housing the labour force. Whether focussing on the labour regime of the former or the social life of the latter, research has required the permission of mine management. This fact has regained prominence after the reprivatisation of the copper sector particularly in Chinese-run mines.

This paper investigates the history of access to field sites and its significance for knowledge production on the Copperbelt. Neither mines nor mine townships have been entirely open to academic scrutiny. Although gaining access lies at the beginning of research on mining and related communities, this precondition of ethnographic fieldwork usually plays only a minor role in the prefaces of published ethnographies. In a few cases, researchers have looked back at how they obtained research permission and how this affected their methodology and research results. This paper moves access from the periphery to the centre of anthropological knowledge production.

The access challenge has required researchers to negotiate, to "play it safe", to explicate, to infiltrate and to capitulate. Research projects have been realigned and methodologies reassessed. Access marks not only the entry to the field but also the exit from it insofar as it shapes research results. It determines where and when social phenomena can be observed and who researchers may talk to about them. In this sense, access represents not a pre-fieldwork condition but rather a crucial in-field experience that entangles researchers in local power hierarchies and broader economic and political formations.

Knowledge, Violence and Nostalgia. Mobutuism and the University of Lubumbashi

Benoît Henriët

University of Oxford

Historical memories in the DR Congo often are coloured with a distinctive tint of nostalgia, covering both its colonial and postcolonial pasts. Interviews performed with elderly Congolese allude in many cases to previous eras as bygone times of order, prosperity and certainty, harshly held against the country's current multifaceted crisis.

Based on an ongoing research on knowledge production in Haut-Katanga, this paper aims at historicizing nostalgia for the single-party rule of President Mobutu (1965-1997) in Haut-Katanga. The complex history of the University of Lubumbashi, the region's most prominent academic institution, offers an interesting standpoint to investigate the crystallisation of regrets around specific aspects and moments of the Zairian experience.

Going back in time starting with the early 1990s until the end of the 1960s, this paper touches upon episodes of on campus violence, the production of cutting-edge research in human and social sciences on Katangese mining communities, and the delicate negotiation between academic freedom and allegiance to Zaire's authoritarian regime. By triangulating archival traces, interviews and intellectual production, it ambitions to shed light on how an academic community made sense of and engage with a shifting political landscape, and how such negotiations shaped today's recollections of the past.

The ZCCM archives

Dennis Kangwa

ZCCM Archives, Zambia

This presentation will provide an overview of the ZCCM-IH archives in Ndola and explain their value for historians and social science researchers.

Panel G: Community and belief**Collective Grievances and Violent Ethnic Mobilization: A Case of Zambian Emerging Mining Areas**

Robby Kapesa

Copperbelt University

What underlying factors are responsible for causing and shaping ethnic mobilisation in resource-rich multiethnic societies? The existing literature is divided into two contending models 'greed' (opportunity) and 'grievance' (motivation). Based on an exploratory case study, conducted at the summit of mining expansion in Solwezi in the northwest Zambia; a period roughly from 2015 to 2016, this paper examines whether mining boom provokes significant grievances among the local population, and whether these grievances increase the risk of violent ethnic mobilization in the mining areas. The paper argues that mining boom promotes the insatiability of both modern and traditional élites (i.e. chiefs and headmen) to capture the mining benefits at the expense of the local population. The disregard for local villagers' interests is made worse, by the blurred state presence in the countryside, and the weak and poorly implemented mining

policies at the national level. Further, the paper reveals that mining boom heightens ethnic competition for the limited mining-induced economic benefits and opportunities, which radically exacerbates perceptions of horizontal inequality among the local population. The paper concludes that mining boom transforms the economic and socio-political landscape of the country in general and the local communities in particular, which provoke significant grievances among the local population, and which in turn facilitate violent ethnic mobilization, especially in the emerging mining areas.

Planning and housing in mining townships of the Copperbelt

Robert Home, *Emeritus, Anglia Ruskin University*; Emmanuel Mutale, *Groundforce, Lusaka*

This paper examines political influences upon the development of Nkana-Kitwe since its foundation in the 1930s, from an increasingly politicized African work-force in the 1935 and 1940 disturbances, and from nationalist and post-independence political movements. Early negotiations over the twin township structure show the objectives and power relationships of the principal parties, particularly the mining interests and local colonial administration. The mining corporation sought a return on capital reflecting the level of risk, but could only exploit the rich copper deposits in a remote area by providing worker housing, recreation, medical care, and other services. The newly created protectorate administration had to balance the interests of the Africans against the demand for mineral exploitation, but was in a financially weak position to resist the mining companies' demands. The Colonial Office in London, influenced by Lugard's doctrine of Indirect Rule, pressed for the 'advancement' of the Africans, although with little attempt to consult with them directly. Following independence, the main agents in the development of Kitwe were the mining company, Kitwe City Council and the ruling United National Independence Party (UNIP), leading to institutional changes and financial constraints upon the city's governance.

Zambian Believers, Congolese Prophets! Migrants' Circulation and Religious Ways of doing things in the Copperbelt

Germain Ngoie Tshibambe
University of Lubumbashi

Copperbelt is worth being seen as a « migration territory » (Tarrus, 2001). This territory is structured by the rule allowing border people to cross frontiers without getting overcharged with migration papers through a special free movement regime. People are moving on daily and on their backs flow ideas and practises. Looking at practises of migrants on move, it is interesting to try to decipher the religious ways of doing things as we can grasp this aspect of life in comparing what Zambians are doing in the DRC and what Congolese are doing on Zambia. As Spinoza's saying goes on, « Everything, in so far as it is in itself, endeavours to persist in its being », there is a telling reproduction of religious behaviours differently assumed by Zambians and Congolese. The first are believers, be they at home or abroad. Congolese are more than believers : they become prophets and leaders steering believers ; therefore they have a specific agency of creating religious spaces for imposing their being, be they at home or abroad. This empirical observation will be tested and demonstrated through this paper in analysing for each category of migrants from both countries their agency at the religious level. To gather data for this paper, the field research is undertaken in using ethnographic observation and semi-structured interviews in Lubumbashi and in Ndola/Kitwe. Life stories will be conducted close to some professors at the Department of History in Lubumbashi in order to get perspective on the long run as it concerns this issue. Documentary research will be done at the library of CEPsi in Lubumbashi in order to read past publications on religious inventivity in the Copperbelt.