Karin Moder, Heribert Zingel (Editors)

# YOUNG ZAMBIA

**Amidst Poverty and Abundant Resources** 

Africa Edition
BATCH Solutions

For everyone who feels that this world is one and that we can all learn from each other.

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# Young Zambia Amidst Poverty and Abundant Resources

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Africa Edition

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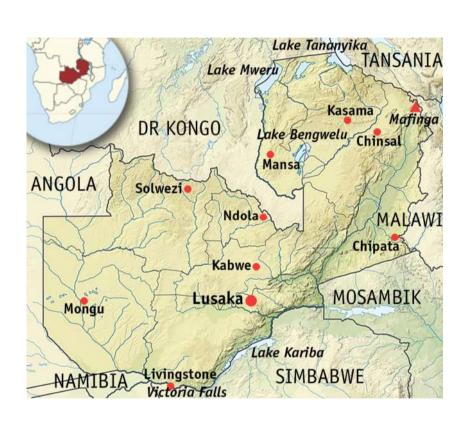
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### INTRODUCTION

by Karin Moder

### Dear Readers,

A warm welcome to the new Africa Edition of "Young Zambia" by our team of (Zambian) writers and the two German editors. The world has drastically changed since "Young Zambia" was first published in Germany in October 2019. At the time we were happy having completed our mission to deliver an English-speaking book about a fairly unknown tourist destination with especially hospitable citizens.

Just five months later Zambia was hit hard by the onset of the Covid-19 pandemic.

Whereas health effects remained surprisingly mild during the first two waves of Covid-19 in Africa, the economic consequences were rather severe. And in November 2020 Zambia even attained gloomy fame for being the first African country to default on sovereign debt.

Since August 2021, however, business leaders and several political leaders in the Global North have started following Zambia's fate with more attention and appraisal. What happened? Another peaceful transition in political leadership – something not yet to be taken for granted on the African continent – had taken place. A very successful business man and entrepreneur had attained a landslide victory over incumbent Edgar C. Lungu.

The YZ team saw this change in political leadership as a signal to embark on a journey to update "Young Zambia" and make additions as well, which we had already seen as options before.

So in the following chapters we will take you on a journey through different aspects of country and people in Zambia. We will start with a brief description of the Zambian history including some present-day aspects of politics and proceed with the topic of churches and religion which includes an analysis of the relationship between religion and politics.

In the next chapter readers find a geographical portrait of a country mostly located on high plateaus thus enjoying rather moderate climate. Then we will focus on the mining industry, which for many decades has been the major contributor to Zambia's export earnings and balance-of-payment as well as it has shaped urbanization trends and determined the respective state of social welfare. In this context there will also be talk about China, a major player in the Zambian economy – and on the African continent in general.

The chapter on the energy sector will illustrate the sharp contrast between the generally vast supply of renewable energy resources in the country, especially hydro power, and the chronically inadequate supply of electricity, which affects the mining industry, local business and the whole Zambian population. New projects developed to mitigate these challenges will also be highlighted.

As chapter 6 reveals, Zambians to a very large extent are engaged in farming, mostly subsistence farming. Since productivity is still fairly low, the contribution of the agriculture sector to GDP has long been lagging behind its potential, but is gradually picking up.

The section on farming is succeeded by an overview of environmental issues relevant in Zambia and a personal account of a photo journalist's encounters with environmental pollution in Zambia's central mining region. The chapter ends with a feature of a local environmental project in the Southern Province, powering new technologies to fight deforestation.

The chapter on health provides an interview with an internationally renowned epidemiologist and expert on HIV/Aids presenting his insights on central factors of life expectancy in Zambia and research results on the effects of Covid-19 on different groups of the Zambian population.

This is followed by an introduction into the poverty chapter, which discusses "dimensions" of poverty. The central analysis in chapter 9 focuses on poverty in Lusaka compounds. Economic and sociocultural determinants are examined affecting population growth and poverty in the urban setting as opposed to the situation in the rural areas. The latter is scrutinized in a second, but brief analysis.

Since education is generally seen as one of the most important strategies to overcome poverty and ill health in any society, special focus is given to educational issues in chapter 10. Here, besides an overall introduction to the Zambian school system topics such as school attendance rates, quality of education and ongoing gender bias are discussed. Insights into the specific challenges posed to the education sector by the pandemic are also given.

In as much the tourism sector has the potential to significantly contribute to economic and social development in Zambia is highlighted in the next step. The chapter contains relevant figures and information on both the major tourism attractions and recent developments in the sector. Last but not least, the tourism chapter presents a safari report by a nature lover.

Besides natural wonders and splendid landscapes, Zambia also provides cultural attractions to its visitors which will be focused on in the final two chapters. Complementing an overview of the most important traditional ceremonies in different parts of the country throughout the year, readers find information on the Zambian film industry which seeks to reach Bollywood's and Nollywood's success levels. So the schedule is clear now. Let's get ready for boarding.

### A BRIEF HISTORY OF ZAMBIA

by Dr. Dr. Heribert Zingel

Zambia, a land locked country in Central Africa, is a relatively young nation having gained its independence from British colonial rule in October, 1964. The name, Zambia, is derived from the country's biggest river, the Zambezi, which forms its southern border. The country sits on a high plateau and has a long history which can roughly be divided into three eras; the pre-colonial, the colonial, and the post-Independence eras.

### THE ANCIENT HISTORY

The first evidence of life in this area is the archaeological findings which date back to the early Stone Age (1750000 to 50000 BC). Nomads, who were primarily hunters and gatherers, lived in caves in family groups of 20 to 30 people to protect themselves from the changing weather and attacks from wild animals. The Middle Stone Age, which lasted from about 40,000 to 10,000 BC, is characterized by some technological discoveries and general improvements. The Broken Hill Man, a skull discovered by a Swiss national in Kabwe in 1921, dates back to that time.

The people of that time developed stone tools as well as wooden spears and knives with sharpened stone tips. A significant improvement of the late Stone Age, which lasted from 10,000 to 2,000 BC, was the development of the bow and arrow, which greatly improved hunting skills. From this period come petroglyphs, which were drawn by the San, the Khoikhoi and the Pygmies. These people already lived in sheltered settlements outside of caves. Testimonies of their lives can be found in Chilanga (near Lusaka), Serenje, Mpika and Monze.

The Stone Age was replaced by the Iron Age, which lasted in this region from the 2nd century BC to the 13th century AD. Compared to the Stone Age, great changes happened during this period. People lived in relatively stable communities, in contrast to their previous nomadic lives. They learned to melt iron ore and make tools and weapons, and engaged in farming, planting crops and raising animals. Consequently, populations grew due to improved nutrition.

In addition to tools and weapons, they also made some jewelry, and used the surplus initially for local trade which was later extended to more remote areas.

### **EARLY INTERNATIONAL TRADE**

This development also led to the creation of large market places, the most famous of which was located at a place called In'gombe Ilede near the confluence of the Zambezi and Kafue rivers, in the now Siavonga district of the Tonga speaking people.

Here, copper products were brought from the Congo. This place became so famous that it even attracted traders from the Arab and European countries and India trading in gold, ivory, cloth as well as crops, salt, meat and fish, rifles, black powder, and much more. The expansion of trade led to growing prosperity and a stratified society. There is sufficient evidence of this from the burial excavations at In'gombe Ilede, which is now an archaeological site. These burial excavations, done during 1960, were accompanied by quantities of gold, glass beads, bronze bangles, iron bells and copper ingots and many other such artefacts.

### **WAVES OF MIGRATION**

From the 6th century AD, there are several recorded waves of migration from Bantu-speaking peoples to Central Africa. During the second wave of migration, which lasted from 1500 to 1700, some of them migrated from the Luba-Lunda kingdoms in Congo to Zambia

and settled there. The likely reasons for this migration are the scarcity of agricultural land and increasing conflicts. These peoples brought with them some crops that were previously unknown in Zambia. At the same time, they established centralized systems of government, which later developed into great kingdoms. Also, they introduced tax systems that strengthened the loyalty of the king or queen to the subjects. The immigrant groups were characterized by diversity of cultures and traditions. They also increased trade with Arabs and Swahili-speaking people in Tanzania and Kenya.

These centralized kingdoms included the Bemba, who settled in the Northern and the Chewa, in the Eastern part of the country. The kingdom of the Luyi or Lozi settled in the Western part of Zambia along the Zambezi, hence the name "people of the river". Their King Mulambwa (1780 – 1830) among other things allowed the escaped slaves of the Mbunda (from Angola) to settle in his kingdom which at that time had its greatest extent and political power. The settlement of the Mbunda should build a defensive block against the Luvale who were settling in Northern Angola. However, Mulambwa's successors could not maintain the former strength of the Lozi Kingdom due to conflicts between various aristocratic groups.

Zambia was not only populated by the migration of Bantuspeaking tribes from the North, but also by others from the South. The background to this migration is the expansion of the Zulu kingdom and the attacks of Shaka and his followers on neighboring tribes (1820 – 1835). Those who were forced to flee include the Ndebele who settled in today's Zimbabwe and the Ngonis in Tanzania, Malawi and the Northern and Eastern parts of Zambia.

### THE BERLIN CONFERENCE AND THE SCRAMBLE FOR AFRICA

A major turning point in the history of Zambia and of the entire African continent is its colonization in the wake of European imperialism. While until then the African continent had mainly attracted traders, missionaries and explorers – though slave trade by the European and Arab powers cannot be denied – the industrialization of Europe opened a new era. It initiated the search for raw materials outside Europe as well as for markets for industrial products. Consequently, a search for new land emerged resulting in a race for the division of Africa (Scramble of Africa) which ended in the Berlin Conference of 1884/1885.

Here, without the participation of Africans, European leaders subdivided the African continent among themselves with boundaries drawn which until today are more or less valid.

Concerning Zambia, Britain, the industrial pioneer and the leading nation of this epoch, was concerned, above all, with suppressing its competitors in Southern and Eastern Africa and containing their expansion efforts. These were firstly the Boers, who had already built two states in South Africa – the Transvaal and Orange-Free State – the Portuguese, who had settled in what is now Mozambique and Angola, and the Germans in German-Southwest, today Namibia.

Britain's strategic interests met with the commercial ambitions of Cecil Rhodes and his British South African Company (BSA). In fact he became the namesake of Southern and Northern Rhodesia! Rhodes had previously convinced the London government to make sure to establish a crown colony in Southern Zimbabwe (Bechuanaland) and declare the territory of Northern Zimbabwe to be the protectorate of the Zambezi. This already shows that the colonial history of Zambia is closely linked to the colonization of Zimbabwe.

### PROTECTION IN EXCHANGE FOR CONCESSIONS

In the 1880s, Lewanika, ruler of the Lozi in Western Zambia, came under Portuguese pressure, which he tried to evade by a protection contract with Cecil Rhodes (1891). This protection agreement was soon followed by a concession award to the British South African Company. The company was granted permission to exploit the mineral

resources of the area. In return, the British South African Company committed to promoting the school system and trade. Lewanika also received an annual personal compensation. The British government was not displeased by this development, since it was freed from all the financial obligations that a colonial administration entailed. The area in question extends from the Zambezi in the South to the Congo in the North. It was bound on the West by the Portuguese Angola and on the East by a later railway line Ndola - Livingstone. At that time it was called Northwest Rhodesia.

Southern Rhodesia, as Zimbabwe was called at that time, was a magnet to many European settlers. As early as 1922, 34,000 white settlers lived here, representing a significant white population. These ensured their supremacy by a policy of land distribution, which to the whites did not only assign the largest but also the best parts of the country. Social services to the white population were also clearly superior.

### COLONISATION

The colonial history of Zambia differs from that of Southern Rhodesia by the much smaller proportion of white people. In 1911, in Northern Rhodesia, as Zambia was called after the merger of the two Northern Rhodesias, there were only 1,500 Europeans. The capital city of this area was first Kalomo then Livingstone. The main economic activity was copper mining in the Copperbelt, the copper region on the border with Congo, which was connected to Southern Rhodesia by a railway line

Political conditions changed very fast. London had become suspicious of the political claims of the British South African Company and established the colony Southern Rhodesia where the white settlers were independent to the greatest possible extent since 1923. One year later Britain took formal control of Northern Rhodesia. World War II increased the demand for copper with the Copperbelt

benefiting from this. It is plausible to assume that the economic development and expansion of Southern Rhodesia was financed to a considerable extent by surpluses from the Northern Rhodesia copper business.

The white settlers of Southern Rhodesia, whose foreign policy was determined by London after 1923, sought to expand and secure their domestic independence by expanding into Northern Rhodesia. The goal of their ambitions was the formation of a Central African Federation (ZFA), which also succeeded in 1953. Already before World War II there had been strikes in the mining industry aimed at improving working conditions. Later in the 1950s, the resistance received a political note and was directed against the colonial rule. In this respect, bearers of the resistance were not only the miners and their trade union movement, but also the entire black majority. In Northern Rhodesia, the leading organization was the African National Congress (ANC) which was founded in 1951. Its chairman, Harry Nkumbula, pursued policies, which were considered moderate by many, but made more radical forces around Kenneth Kaunda leave the party.

### KENNETH KAUNDA: FIRST ZAMBIAN PRESIDENT

Kenneth David Kaunda, a teacher by profession, founded the United National Independence Party (UNIP). In the 1962 elections, in which all races participated, UNIP achieved the majority of votes. One year later the Federation was dissolved and the path to independence of Northern Rhodesia was open. In the 1964 elections UNIP won the absolute majority of votes and Kenneth Kaunda became the first president of an independent Zambia.

The economic conditions of Zambia at that time can be described as good. In spite of the country being dependent on its copper exports, the development prospects looked positive, as the demand for this raw material was very high as a result of the post-war boom. Thus the further development of the country was meant to be financed by the proceeds from copper exports. However, the fact that the mines and other big companies were owned by foreign companies like the Anglo-American Corporation was perceived as a danger to its sovereignty by the Zambian government. Therefore, Kaunda tried to strengthen the Zambian influence and finally the Zambian government took over the mines bringing them all together in one corporation, the Zambian Consolidated Copper Mines (ZCCM). Politically, the new republic was a multi-party system in which UNIP was confronted with a comparatively weak ANC that had its electoral base among the Tonga-Ila population in Southern Zambia.

### ONE ZAMBIA – ONE NATION

As in many other African countries, Zambia at the time of its independence consisted of several ethnic groups with different languages and cultures. This entailed the danger of a split, or at least major conflicts. Even within UNIP, tensions between different ethnic groups increased. Lozi politicians left the party and founded their own party as well as did those with Bemba origin. To limit the danger of a tribalist fragmentation of the party system, some argued for the formation of a one-party system. Another reason was the country being surrounded by white colonial regimes.

Therefore, there was a common conviction that only a united Zambia could be strong enough to defend its territory and its independence. With the founding of the One Party State in 1972 the problem was not completely solved either. Rather, the conflict between the various ethnic groups was now carried into the one party. However, the distribution of functions kept the balance between the different ethnic groups. Since that time Zambia has had a national slogan: One Zambia – one Nation.

According to some Zambian observers these are the reasons why Kaunda's politics took on autocratic traits. For example, the problem of HIV / AIDS, which continues to affect Zambia to the present day, was not discussed publicly until, in the 1980s, a son of Kaunda became infected with the virus and died.

### STRUGGLES WITH SOUTH AFRICA

The foreign policy of Zambia during the era of Kaunda was mainly focused on the fight against the apartheid system in South Africa. As a member of the Frontline States, Zambia supported liberation movements in several countries which led to repeated attacks by the South African Air Force on the headquarters of the ANC in Lusaka. In addition, Zambia's economy was to be brought to its knees by destroying traffic routes to the ports of Mozambique. The same purpose was served by the temporary closure of the border between Rhodesia and Zambia. However, the regime in Pretoria failed to persuade the government in Zambia to abandon its support of the liberation movements in South Africa and Namibia.

Another key element of Zambian foreign policy was Kaunda's attempt to reduce the Frontline States' economic dependence on South Africa by forming an economic community, the Southern African Development Corporation Conference (SADCC), which had only limited success. Ultimately, South Africa's destabilization policy was only ended in 1994 when South Africa had its first democratic election.

### THE UPCOMING ECONOMIC CRISIS

As already mentioned, Zambia's comparatively favourable economic position at the time of independence was based on high copper prices. However, in the 1970s, due to the global recession, demand for copper fell, alongside prices for other commodities. At the same time, Zambia, as an oil-importing country, was hit hard by OPEC's oil price increases. Not only the oil price but also imports of industrial import goods increased in price, which had an overall negative effect on the terms of trade. This was not a problem as long as the high copper price

guaranteed high export revenues, which could be used to finance machinery and spare parts.

However the fall in prices of copper, combined with the increase of the oil prices, drove Zambia into a debt crisis, which it could not "lift" alone. The development path Zambia had successfully taken in the 1960s proved impracticable because of its individual integration into the world economy. In addition, the neglect of agriculture had made Zambia become a net importer of food.

### THE DEBT CRISIS AND STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT PROGRAMS

Increasing balance of payments problems forced the Zambian government to borrow from international organizations such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and the African Development Bank. This drove the country ever deeper into debt with a very weak economic base. The IMF, the World Bank and other foreign creditors increasingly demanded the introduction of structural adjustment programmes as a condition for further loan commitments. These programmes included price liberalization, liberalization of foreign trade, privatization of state-owned enterprises, devaluation of the currency, a reduction in the state budget, the introduction of public service fees and the abolition of subsidies.

This package of measures, inevitably, led to a decline in the quality of social service programmes, poor school attendance and service as parents were no longer able to pay school fees for their children, deterioration in health services and an increase in unemployment. Shortage of essential commodities, also, became the order of the day – adding to general public discontent.

Although Kaunda managed to distract the Zambian people several times from these failures by blaming foreign powers for the economic decline of Zambia. The writing was clearly on the wall that the general public was turning against him and his regime. Inevitably, the so-called food riots in the second half of the 1980s and at the beginning

of the 1990s signalled the end of the patience of the urban population. Politically, it was about much more than just changing one or the other measure. The whole Kaunda system was up for change.

### **REFORMS AND SCANDALS AFTER 1990**

In 1990, an opposition movement was formed, comprising largely of trade union elements and some disgruntled followers of Kaunda who broke away from UNIP. These galvanized a large part of the Zambian population. Hence the birth of the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD), a political party which picked Frederick Titus Chiluba (FTJ), a unionist, to be its President leading to a massive victory in the 1991 elections. He himself received over 70 percent of the votes and his MMD took 125 out of 150 parliamentary seats. His government policy was characterized by very close cooperation with the IMF and the implementation of structural adjustment programs.

However, the accord did not last long as stories of personal enrichment by FTJ and his political friends began to emerge. The climax came with an attempt by President Chiluba to impose a third term of office for himself in the constitution which brought civil society forces into play. Their protests prevented Chiluba's plan and he was forced to drop the third term attempt leading to his hasty picking on Levy Mwanawasa to succeed him. The latter however proved to be his own man and actually facilitated the removal of immunity of his predecessor paving way to a series of corruption and theft cases against him. But Mwanawasa passed on only after three years in office and before the conclusion of those cases paving way for Rupiah Banda to become President. Banda only served the remaining portion of Mwanawasa's term and was not re-elected due to serious allegations of corruption and mismanagement of national resources.

Then Michael Chilufya Sata was voted into office by a landslide victory in 2011 under his Patriotic Front (PF) Party. He chose his long standing friend in the formation of the PF, Guy Scott, as his Vice

President, who later became Interim President for three months, when Sata unfortunately died mid-way through his term of office. In the ensuing bye-elections in January 2015 Edgar Chagwa Lungu, former minister of justice and defence in Sata's cabinet, was elected the next Zambian President under PF and stayed in office for about 6 years.



### THE CURRENT PRESIDENCY

The last chapter in the political history of Zambia was opened on August 26, 2021. On that day, in his seventh attempt Hakainde Hichilema of the United Party for National Development (UPND) won the presidential election against incumbent President Edgar Lungu of Patriotic Front (PF). It was not a surprise, that the incumbent President has lost the election. What was surprising was the gap of votes between Hakainde Hichilema and Edgar Lungu. The UPND candidate won the presidential election by about 20 percent. Several factors contributed to this victory. On the one hand there was Lungu's autocratic leadership style, which culminated in the arbitrary arrest of

Hichilema in April 2017. The Catholic Bishops' Conference, which certainly is not suspected of taking part in party politics, spoke of the that Zambia becoming was police (www.rfi.en.africa/201/7016). Furthermore, the devastating economic situation in Zambia has undoubtedly influenced the elections. There was not only high inflation, but also high unemployment, especially among young people. Even those with good university degrees have trouble getting a job. Hichilema, who has the reputation of a successful entrepreneur, is trusted to steer the Zambian economy back on a successful course. Of course, the corruption still prevalent in the country also played a considerable role. Zambians wanted change and they succeeded.

Many at home and abroad have high hopes for the changes arising from this election. The expectations placed on the new president are very high. After all, the international financial markets reacted to the elections with a significant strengthening of the Zambian currency. The Kwacha was able to increase its external value by around 30% for a short time, which will reduce import prices. Whether this will be the case in the long term remains to be seen<sup>1</sup>.

It is also a fact, however, that the new government is faced with a mountain of problems that cannot be resolved in a short period of time. In addition to the economic and domestic political problems mentioned, the one-sided dependence on copper and the high level of foreign debt must be resolved. It would be fatal for the country on the Zambezi if it were subjected to another structural adjustment program. Zambia needs a successful strategy to reduce poverty, with improvements in the social and transport infrastructure in rural areas and the modernization of agriculture being central elements of it. These are all problems that will certainly take more than one legislative period to be resolved.

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 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm l}$  www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2021-08-19/zambia-election-euphoria-extends-currency-s-world-beating-streak

### **CHURCHES AND RELIGION**

by Austin Cheyeka

There is no vernacular equivalent of 'religion' among the different ethnic groups of Zambia. Before the arrival of Christianity, Islam and other religious traditions, the indigenous people practiced, as they still do, their own kinds of 'religion' expressed in their beliefs, rituals and myth. Each tribe or ethnic group had its own kind of religion, but there were fundamental similarities between them. Today, religious pluralism has been broadened by the presence of Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, Baha'i Faith, Sikhism, Judaism and others. Although most Zambians have converted to Christianity, they tend to mix Christianity with Zambian traditional religious practices which are invariably part of their cultures.

According to the Zambia 2020 International Religious Freedom Report produced by the US Embassy, the population of Zambia was estimated at 17.4 million people and the religious demography was presented as follows: Christian 95.5%, Muslim 2.7% and Other 1.8%.

### **CHRISTIANITY**

It is Sunday morning and in one Pentecostal church operating in a market in a compound in Lusaka, fifty (50) congregants stand and sing six different songs — one after another led by a 'Praise Team' and backed by a pianist, a guitarist and a drummer. The songs are in vernacular and three of them mention 'Yahweh'. The congregants in a small hall that was at one time a night club, then a grocery minimarket and now a church, are born-again Charismatics, who identify themselves as nifwe baPente (we are Pentecostals). The congregants are young people under a young pastor — all dancing away to rhumba gospel tunes as was done to secular rhumba tunes by the revellers who

once patronised the night club before it became a church. Apart from about five congregants appearing to be in their 40s, the rest are between 20 and 30. The service begins at 08:00 with a Bible study and goes on up to 13:00 hours. Song and dance punctuate sermons by a senior and junior pastor, and these are followed by testimonies and offerings.

What has been described above has led some writers and researchers within and outside Zambia to argue that Pentecostalism is slowly but surely becoming the ultimate expression of Zambia's Christianity because some of what was going on in the market church on that Sunday happens in many mainline churches. The term 'Pentecostalisation of mainline churches' is being used to underscore the influence of Pentecostalism. Protestants account for slightly over 75.3 percent of Zambia's Christianity and Catholics, 20.2 percent. Until 2000, Zambia's Christianity was spoken about in terms of three church mother bodies, namely, Zambia Conference of Catholic Bishops (ZCCB), Council of Churches in Zambia (CCZ), and the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia (EFZ). In 2001, Bishop David Masupa founded what he named Independent Churches Organisation of Zambia (ICOZ) to take care of the Charismatic type of churches like the one in the market.

Zambia is constitutionally enshrined as a Christian nation, but freedom of conscience, belief, and religion is guaranteed to all persons. The Constitution also upholds the country's multi-religious composition. The relationship of church and state is generally cordial. Churches relate reasonably well with one another and other religions. Some churches want pastors to stay away from active and partisan politics while others argue that pastors have the right to engage in politics. A multi-faith or interfaith religious education is taught in schools, colleges and universities. The syllabi mainly cover Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, and Zambian Traditional Religion.

### SOME POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS LEADERS

The first president of Zambia was a Christian. Son of a Presbyterian minister and missionary. He came up with a "Philosophy of Zambian Humanism" and a national motto of One Zambia, One Nation, and the song, *Tiyende pamodzi ndimutima umo* (Let us walk together with one heart) to unite the different ethnic groups in the country. Kenneth Kaunda was not a Christian leader but he projected the image of 'Christian gentleman'.

One particular Christian leader meriting space in the history of Christianity in Zambia is Pastor Nevers Mumba, the president of the New Hope Movement for Multiparty Democracy. He is a Pentecostal pastor who became a politician in 1997. Pastor Mumba's aim is to ensure that one day, Zambia is saved from poverty and debauchery. He believes that his *Kairos* will come one day when he will be the president of the Republic of Zambia.

Another Neo-Pentecostal pastor widely known in Zambia is Bishop Joe Imakando. He is the first Pentecostal preacher to have built a megachurch, the *Blessings Centre* with a sitting capacity of ten thousand (10,000) people. By 2016, Imakando's church had over 12 000 members at the Blessing Centre, and he had established 112 churches outside Zambia. Imakando is rumoured to be the richest among the well-known pastors

After 130 years, the Catholic Church in Zambia finally had an indigenous Zambian Cardinal. Merdado Joseph Mazombwe, born in 1931, was appointed bishop of Chipata in 1970 and later became archbishop of Lusaka in 1996. At the age of 79, Merdado was installed by the Roman Catholic Church as cardinal-priest of Santa Emerenziana a Tor Fiorenza, but died three years later in 2013.

### HOLIDAYS/FESTIVALS

There are 77 or slightly more traditional ceremonies in the ten provinces of Zambia. They are celebrated at different times of the year. All of them have religious undertones because they include thanking the ancestral spirits for good harvest and good life over the year or to ask for rain. A Zambian traditional ceremony could also be about remembering the spirits of the ancestors who brought a tribe to a particular area in what is modern Zambia today. This is the case with *Umutomboko* of the Lunda speaking people of Kawambwa in Luapula Province. In 2017, President Edgar Chagwa Lungu declared 18 October of each year as a holiday of prayer, reconciliation and fasting. Also observed as national holidays are Easter and Christmas.

### SOCIAL JUSTICE

On social justice, the Catholic Centre for Justice, Development, and Peace (CCJDP) and the Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection (JCTR) highlight the plight of the poor resulting from ineffective policies or poor governance. Backed by the bishops, the CCJPD and the JCTR demand distributive socioeconomic order and the common good. In short, Catholic bishops remind those who govern the country to create a good life for all citizens in towns, cities and villages. In doing so, the bishops are informed by the Social Teaching of the Catholic Church. To say that the rural areas in Zambia have been left behind is to state what Zambians familiar with the plight of the rural folks would describe as the truth. The need to invest in good, pro poor social and economic projects is greater than ever before as the country's population grows.

### POLITICAL AND CULTURAL IMPACT

Religion has always had a great impact on Zambian politics. During the time of the one-party autocratic rule (1972-1991), President Kenneth Kaunda used Christianity in politics because his political ideology of "Zambian Humanism" aimed at providing guidance to the citizens; including spiritual guidance. Kaunda's successor, Mr. Frederick Chiluba (1991-2001), declared Zambia as a Christian nation and argued that every government policy would be predicated by

Christian and biblical principles. The declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation became enshrined in the country's Constitution in1996. To date, Christians and non-Christians are divided on the declaration. Catholics are most critical of it. Generally, however, Pentecostals have been supportive of the proclamation. Those against what is now simply known as 'the Declaration' argue that mere pronouncement does not make Zambia Christian, but the good deeds of the Christians. After the rule of Chiluba (1991-2001), Presidents Patrick Mwanawasa (2001-2008), Rupiah Banda (2008-2011) and Michael Sata (2011-2014) did not employ the Declaration in their political discourses.

However, when Mr. Edgar Chagwa Lungu became president in 2015, he somewhat revitalised the Christian nation fervour to the extent that a 'House of Prayer for All Nations Tabernacle' was constructed in Lusaka. This was seen by some Zambians as an utterly unnecessary cost to the nation. Others welcomed the development. In 2016, as mentioned before, Lungu made 18 October of every year a day of prayer, fasting and reconciliation. In 2017, the National Assembly or Parliament ratified a new ministry called the Ministry of National Guidance and Religious Affairs (MNGRA)<sup>2</sup>. When Hakainde Hichilema became President in 2021, he abolished the MNGRA and relocated its departments to other ministries.

The Zambian culture, as expressed in sculpture, dance, and song etc. has remained largely unaffected by Christianity. What has been happening over the years is that Christianity has been inculturated. This is seen for example, in paintings of a black Jesus, Mary, or Joseph and liturgy. By and large, Pentecostal Christianity has been popular because it has tapped into Zambian traditional spirituality.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The Ministry drew its mandate from the preamble and Part II, Article 8 of the Constitution of Zambia Amendment Act No. 2 of 2016.

### TRADITIONAL RELIGION AND OTHER RELIGIONS

In Zambian traditional religion, beliefs focus on lineage spirits or ancestral spirits, a remote unique spirit known by different names as Leza, Mulungu and others. There are also spirits that can enter or take possession of human beings, known by different names such as ngulu in the Northern part of Zambia or masabe in the Southern and mashawe in Eastern parts of Zambia. Another belief pervasive in Zambian communities is witchcraft – human beings referred to as witches or baloi, ndoshi, are capable of manipulating powers in nature to harm others. The witch is the embodiment of evil in Zambian communities.

Zambian traditional religion is pragmatic as its functions and goals are very much down-to-earth. Occasions of drought, floods, pestilence, and pandemics require performance of ritual at designated spots in a land area, normally, at a shrine (man-made or natural) where ancestral or nature spirits reside. Thus, the kind of activities around the shrines are essentially animistic. The Bantu in Zambia also believe in a powerful but remote spiritual being who is thought to be the creator of all things. The Supreme Being (known as *Lesa* in several languages) is readily equated with the Judeo-Christian God. There are neither images nor temples for God in the Zambian traditional religions. The concept of a relationship with *Lesa* through the intercession of Jesus Christ is new – brought by Christian missionaries from the 1890s onwards.

Islam is a fast-growing religion in Zambia. The giving of alms to the poor has ensured the rapid expansion of this faith. Spearheading the Islamic revival is the Islamic Supreme Council of Zambia. The Muslim community is made up of indigenous Bantu-speaking people and Zambian citizens of Indian, Pakistan, Tanzanian, Malawian, Iranian, Lebanese, Senegalese, Congolese, Mozambican, and Somalian origins. According to Sheikh Shaban Phiri of the Islamic Supreme Council, there are around two million (2,000,000) Muslims

in Zambia (personal communication, November 11, 2021). The manifestation of Islamic activity is the building of mosques and madrasahs (schools). The Quran (the holy book of the Muslims) has not been translated into the local languages yet. Prayer at the mosques is in Arabic or Urdu.

Apart from Islam, the Baha'i faith has Zambian converts too. In 2003, I was told that there were 20,000 Baha'is in Zambia, while their local spiritual assemblies had risen from 19 in 1964 to 84 in 2003. In 2021, however, I was informed that there were 13,594 Baha'is in the country. The Baha'is run the prestigious Banani High School for girls, 80 Kilometres from Lusaka and are involved in community projects aimed at promoting the well-being of the people.

Hinduism is the religion of Zambians of Indian origins. There are more than 2,000 Hindus in Zambia. They have their own halls of worship and celebrate their festivals such as the Diwali in their communities. Hindus are also engaged in a lot of community work to help the underprivileged.

Buddhism is a sect of Hinduism. Popular in Zambia is Nichiren Buddhism in the lay organisation of Soka Gakkai International (SGI). The followers say that it is the highest and most refined Mahayana Buddhism in Zambia, with a membership of not more than 350 according to Hatsuko Kalabula, a patron of the community<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> At one time the number had reached 3,000, but since the death of the patron's husband the number has dropped. Lack of commitment, Christian nation discourse, and COVID-19 are said to have contributed to the slump in membership.

To summarize, the Zambian set-up as to religion and churches: Zambians adhere to different religions and belong to different Christian denominations or varieties of Islam. To their credit there is peaceful co-existence between religions, denominations and sects.



## GEOGRAPHY OF ZAMBIA: A COUNTRY TWICE THE SIZE OF GERMANY

by Annie Yiwombe

Sharing borders with seven other countries Zambia is located in Southern Africa, mostly on high plateaus and characterized by Savannah-type vegetation. Further geographic information on climate, resources and energy is provided in this chapter.

Zambia is a landlocked country located in Southern Africa between latitudes 8 degrees and 18 degrees South and longitudes 22 degrees and 34 degrees East with a total area of about 752,681 km², at an altitude of 2,300 m above sea level on the highest plateau. It shares borders with seven other countries, namely Angola, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Malawi, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Botswana and Namibia. It is further divided into ten provinces, namely Central, Copperbelt, Eastern, Luapula, Lusaka, Muchinga, Northern, and North Western, Southern and Western provinces (Central Statistical Office: 2012).

During the 2010 census count, the country had 74 districts, 150 constituents and 1,430 wards. Lusaka is the capital city of Zambia and seat of the government. The government is comprised of central and local governments. According to the 2010 housing and population census report, Zambia's population was reported to be 13, 046,508 with an average growth rate of 3.06% (Central Statistical Office: 2012). Currently, the population of Zambia is estimated to be 16-17 million.

### **CLIMATE**

The Koeppen climate classification model classifies the climate of Zambia as humid subtropical or tropical wet and dry, with the southwest part being classified as semi-arid steppe. According to UNEP (2013), Zambia has a subtropical climate characterized by a single rainy season (November to April), a cool dry winter (May to mid-August) and a hot, dry summer (mid-August to end of November) The country is dominated by the Savannah type of vegetation, covering the centre of the country, separating the rain forest in the north-west from the semi-desert region in the south-west. Rainfall is strongly influenced by the movement of the Inter-Tropical Convergence Zone (ITCZ) and the effects of the El Nino Southern Oscillation (ENSO) phenomenon. The mean annual temperatures of Zambia range from 19 degrees to 22 degrees with an exception of the major river valleys of Zambezi, Luangwa and Luapula. The amount of rainfall received in the country ranges from an average of 600mm in the lower southern part of the country to 1300mm in the upper north according to agro ecological zones which will be explained in the following paragraphs.

According to the Meteorological Department of Zambia (2018), Zambia is divided into 3 agro ecological zones or regions. These zones are categorized according to the amount of rainfall received, climatic factors and soil types.

### AGRO FCOLOGICAL ZONE 1

This covers the western and southern parts of Zambia and receives less than 800 mm of rain annually. This region was once considered the bread basket of the country, but in the past 20 years it has experienced low, unpredictable and poorly distributed rainfall. According to the Meteorological Department, this region is currently the driest region of the nation. Furthermore, the region is prone to drought episodes with limited potential for crop production. Additionally, the region has a growing season of between 80 and 120 days. The type of soils found here are highly erodible with Bulrush Millet and Sorghum being the crops that are produced there and Livestock partly feeding on them.



## AGRO ECOLOGICAL ZONE 2

This zone covers the central part of the country, extending from the east to the west. The region accounts for the majority of the nation's population with the greatest potential for agricultural production. About 800-1,000 mm of rainfall is received annually by this zone. This rain is evenly distributed throughout the growing season, which is between 100 and 140 days. The soil types found here are relatively fertile. The central plateau of this region has productive soil which enables the permanent cultivation of the following crops: Sorghum, groundnuts, cow peas and a range of cash crops which include, tobacco, sunflower, irrigated wheat, soybeans and horticultural crops. On the other hand, the western plateau of this zone has infertile and coarse sandy soil.

## AGRO ECOLOGICAL ZONE 3

This includes the Northern part of Zambia. This zone receives over 1,000 mm of rainfall annually. Attributing to the high levels of rainfall,

this region has highly leached and acid soils. Agro ecological zone 3 has a growing season of 160 days. Most crops found here are grown using traditional slash and burn farming systems and include Finger Millet, Beans and Cassava. Other crops include Maize, Sunflower, Coffee, Tea, Tobacco, irrigated Wheat and Soybeans.

In recent years there has been a notable change in temperatures leading to changes in rainfall patterns, prolonged droughts, and localised floods and shortened growing seasons for agriculture. Predicated impacts of climate change include a reduction in crop yield which subsequently can lead to food insecurity, people being displaced from their homes including other adverse effects.

#### **TYPES OF SOIL**

Soils in Zambia have been formed from a range of different parent material. The distribution of these soils across the country is dependent on climatic conditions and rainfall. (A table with detailed information on soil types in Zambia is found in the annex.)

#### WATER BODIES

Zambia is endowed with abundant natural resources. According to the Zambia Biodiversity report, about 20% of Zambia is covered with water bodies, lakes, swamps, small streams and rivers.

The Zambezi River is the fourth longest and east flowing river in Africa covering a total area of 1,390,000 km² in its basin. In Zambia, it runs from the North-Western Zambia through Western Zambia down to the southern part of the country. The source of this river is the Kalene Hills in Mwinilunga, in North-Western Zambia. The Victoria Falls and the Lake Kariba, which is the world's largest man-made lake, lie on this river.

In the Southern part of Zambia, there is the *Kafue River* which flows into the Zambezi River. It is the longest and largest river in the country. This river is estimated to be about 1,600 km long and is

primarily used for irrigation and hydro-power electricity. The source of the Kafue River is found at the border of the Democratic Republic of Congo and Zambia about 120 km north-west of Chingola. The Kafue river is one the most prominent rivers in the country passing through the Kafue National Park, where it supports life for a range of wild animals (ZTA, 2018).

While the *Luangwa River* is found in Eastern Zambia, it is one of the major tributaries of the Zambezi River and also one of the fourth biggest rivers in Zambia with a length of about 770 km. The source of this river is believed to be in the Mafinga mountains. During the rainy season, the Luangwa River is prone to flooding while it dries up in the dry season.

The Luapula River rises in the Bangweulu Swamps – one of the world's largest wetlands. The Luapula is found in Northern Zambia and originates from the south of Lake Tanganyika; it branches off several times into Lake Bangweulu and flows out as the Luapula. It is full of rapids and is therefore used to run a hydroelectric power plant.

The other river found in the northern part of Zambia is the *Chambeshi River*, which is the remotest head-stream of the Congo River. It rises as a stream in the North-East of Zambia in close proximity to Lake Tanganyika at an elevation of 1,760 m above sea level, flowing 480 km into the Bwagweulu Swamps.

Lake Tanganyika is the second oldest fresh water lake in the world. It is shared by 4 countries including Tanzania, DRC and Burundi. Tanzania and DRC account for the largest portion of the lake. The lake is 673 km long and 72km wide with a surface area of about 32,900 km<sup>2</sup>.

Lake Banweugulu ("where the water meets the sky") is also found in North-Eastern Zambia. It is one of the world's great wetland systems. The wetland system includes; Lake Bangweulu, the Bwagweulu Swamps and the Bwangweulu Flats or Floodplains. The lake covers a total surface area of 3,500 km<sup>2</sup> (Zambia Tourism Agency, 2018).

Another lake located in Northern Zambia is *Lake Meru*, which is located in the far North-West of Zambia and shared between Zambia and DRC. The lake is estimated to be 110 km long. The area where the lake is situated offers a rich cultural heritage and proximity to some national parks.

Lake Kariba is the largest man-made lake in the world. At a length of more than 220 km and a width of 40 km it covers a total area of 5,580 km². The lake was filled between 1958 and 1963 after the completion of the Kariba Dam at its north-east end. Before the filling the surrounding vegetation of the lake was burned, which created a layer of fertile soil on the land – the current seabed of the lake. This is the reason believed to be behind the vibrant ecology of the lake where a lot of fish thrives such as the Kariba bream, Tiger fish and Kapenta. Others species found in the Lake according to the Tourism Council of Zambia include Nile Crocodile and Hippopotamus.

The Zambia Biodiversity report further states that 6% of the water bodies are designated as commercial fishing area and have an abundance of fish species. As stated by the Ministry of Tourism, Environment and Natural Resources (2006) about 400 different species have been identified and belong to more than 20 taxonomic families.

Fish farming is practiced using the family of Cichilds. Under this family, there are the three spotted bream, the green headed bream and the Tilapia. These fish are raised in artificial ponds using the integrated system.

#### WILDLIFE

As to wildlife, Zambia has some of nature's best wildlife and game reserves a fact which gives it great potential for tourism development. It is reported to have around 8,000 plant and animal species, of which

more than 300 are endemic, about 170 are rare and almost 40 endangered or vulnerable. The most common woodlands are the Miombo woodlands. The following animals are found in these woodlands; elephants, Lichenstein's hartebeest, Lions and spotted Hyenas (The Ministry of Tourism, Environment and Natural Resources, 2006).

Wildlife in Zambia is threatened by illegal hunting and other forms of exploitation, land use change, dam development and other human pressures. The FAO (2006) reports that between 2000 and 2006, Zambia lost about 2.67 million hectares of forest cover. The major contributing fact to this is agriculture and the cutting down of wood for fuel.

#### MINERAL RESOURCES

The country has also got abundant mineral resources. These include Copper, Emeralds, Zinc, Lead and Cobalt. Zambia is recognised internationally as a major producer of copper and cobalt (Industrial Development Corporation: 2017).

# MINING AND URBANIZATION TRENDS

by Prof. John Lungu, Edna Kabala, Dr. Rosemary Mapoma

Zambia was colonized through a series of concessions obtained from chiefs by the British South African Company (BSA). From 1896, the company organized mineral prospecting rights and governed the territory until it was taken over by the British government in 1924. Mining developed as the main economic activity of the territory. Urbanization closely followed the developments in the mining industry. This chapter discusses the fortunes and misfortunes of mining in Zambia emphasizing that the mining industry has always provided impetus for the economy and the urbanization process. Recent developments including China's involvement in the Zambian economy are also highlighted.



#### THE EARLY DAYS OF MINING

Zambia was colonized through treaties and concessions obtained from the kings and chiefs by the British South Africa Company (BSAC) in the late 1800's. Before amalgamation in 1911, the country was ruled as two separate territories. North-Western Rhodesia was obtained by concessions from King Lewanika of the Lozi people with the treaty giving the company a monopoly of mining rights over the territory while the company undertook to defend Lewanika from all outside attacks (Gann, 1964). In North-Eastern Rhodesia Carl Weise, a German explorer, and the BSAC had negotiated concessions with paramount chief Mpezeni of the Ngoni. Negotiations between the two parties resulted in granting mineral and land rights in a block of 10,000 sq. miles (25,900 km²) to the North Charterland Company. Although the two territories were acquired for the British Crown, administration remained the responsibility of BSAC. In 1911 the two "Rhodesias" were amalgamated.

In the early years the country served more as a labour reserve to the mines in South Africa and also as a link to the mines in Katanga. The railway built between 1905 and 1911 from Livingstone to the Copperbelt, opened up new economic opportunities for the settler farmers in Northern Rhodesia involving the supply of food to the mines in Katanga. European farmer settlement intensified in Southern Province along the railway. Some farmers settled in the North at the Southern end of Lake Tanganyika, and also in Eastern Province around Fort Jameson (Chipata), from where tobacco for export was grown (Roberts, 1976). In 1916, the company set up its first mine at Bwana Mkubwa near Ndola and in 1917, production of lead started at Broken Hill (Kabwe).

In 1924 a centralized administration for the whole country was set up with Sir Herbert Stanley, who had previously served in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa, being appointed Governor of the colony. He believed that Northern Rhodesia should be developed as a "Whiteman's country" and under his guidance the government sought to encourage further European settlement. As a direct consequence of this policy, the government set aside blocks of land for exclusive European use. These lands were mostly situated along the line of rail between Livingstone and the Copperbelt.

During the 1930's the government also introduced the policy of indirect rule in rural administration (Roberts, 1976). This involved setting in indigenous administration under chiefs to control the activities of the indigenous people, while central control was exercised by the colonial administration. It was officially believed that the correct path for African social development was through tribal institutions developed in the African homelands (Roberts, 1976).

Sir Herbert's idea of developing a white man's country and the policy of indirect rule reinforced each other. They in effect meant separate development although, not to the same scale as in South Africa. During this period the economy was to be dominated by private enterprise. Government efforts were to be confined to providing infrastructure and creating an enabling environment in which the private enterprise could evolve.

In mining, the country's special geographic location dictated the size of the mining companies. In 1922, the post war dollar shortage emphasized that "if mining were to be made profitable being so far from the sea, only large scale, well-capitalized prospecting companies could be expected to overcome the difficulties" (McGlashan, 1971).

From 1926 to 1940 two major mining companies, the Anglo American Corporation (AAC) and the Roan Selection Trust (RST) emerged as the dominant companies prospecting through many other subsidiary companies. Before this, AAC had already started production of lead and zinc at Broken Hill, now known as Kabwe. Commercial copper mining however started at Roan Antelope (now Luanshya) in 1928. Since then copper mining has dominated Zambia's economy. Under British colonial rule Northern Rhodesia was

understood by the authorities principally as a source of mineral wealth to support much more significant industrial, social, educational and governmental infrastructure in Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe).

## URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN THE WAKE OF MINING

As early as 1929, the private mining companies became responsible for the provision of sanitary and orderly compounds to house employees. The mine managements also supplied food rations on a weekly basis. Hospitals with competent medical personnel were established in all mining settlements. The companies also provided recreation clubs for employees. In these early years the copper mines experienced shortages of labour. As a consequence the colonial government instituted a tax on every male adult. The tax was to be paid in money form. This forced many adults to leave their home villages to work in the mines. This policy led to rapid population increases in the mining areas and a depletion of labour to carry out the demanding tasks in agriculture in the rural areas.

Serious copper production on the Copperbelt started with the opening of Roan Antelope mine in Luanshya, followed by Rhokana in 1933, Nchanga in 1939, Chibuluma in 1956, Bancroft in 1957 and Chambishi in 1965. Town development closely followed the developments in the mining industry with accommodation for the workforce and later a civic administration being set up. Most towns on the Copperbelt are twin towns with one part originally administered by a mining company and another by civic authorities.

Mining also attracted inward migration to the Copperbelt. Other than the initial push factor of levying all adult men a levy to be paid in cash when towns became established, they in themselves became pull factors as miners also enjoyed a relatively higher standard of living than their counterparts in the rural areas.

Employment in the mining industry rose rapidly so that by 1969 the copper mines on the Copperbelt were employing 56,193 people.

The number rose to 62,222 in 1976, the peak year for employment in the mining industry. Zambia enjoyed a relatively prosperous period through the 1950's to the 1960's until the 1970's when the copper prices started falling accompanied by rises in the price of oil. However, in years when international copper prices were good, mining contributed over 50 per cent of the country's foreign exchange and two-thirds of government revenue (Central Statistical office, 2005). This also meant that the rest of the country, especially Lusaka, the capital city, and Ndola, the regional headquarters for the Copperbelt, benefited greatly from the development of mining on the Copperbelt. The issue in contest however was that the mining companies were not injecting new investment into the copper mines, so government saw it fit to nationalize them so as to give them a new lease of life

## NATIONALIZATION AND EXTENDED WELFARE POLICIES

The copper mines were nationalized in 1969 when the government took a 51 % interest in the major corporations. Later in 1982, the two companies were amalgamated to form the Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines Ltd. (ZCCM). As a successor to the two international mining companies ZCCM continued with a similar but enhanced welfare policy supplying amenities much wider in scope than those offered by its predecessors. The company provided free education for miners' children, alongside subsidized housing and food, electricity, water and transport. It operated "a cradle to the grave" welfare policy, providing nappies to the newly born and even subsidizing burial arrangements for the dead.

Although the system appeared 'paternalistic', the services provided were not all initiatives from the top-down. In many cases, the Mineworkers Union of Zambia (MUZ) and its predecessor, the African Mine Workers Union (AMU) demanded improvements in terms and conditions of service and in the condition of the living

quarters (Fraser & Lungu, 2007). The mines did not only provide for their workers, they also provided services to whole communities managing the environment in the mine townships, maintaining the roads and collecting refuse. They encouraged the growth of economic and social activities dependent on miners' incomes, such as shops, farms to supply food to the mine areas and other industrial activities. They also established youth development schemes and women's clubs (Lungu and Mulenga, 2005) and above all contributed to government revenues.

From the 1920's to the time of independence in 1964 and beyond, mining had transformed the Copperbelt from an area of bush to a dynamic urban and industrial region, providing the impetus for economic growth industrialization and an end to poverty. By 1969, Zambia was classified a middle-income country, with one of the highest GDPs in Africa, three times that of Kenya, twice that of Egypt, and higher than Brazil, Malaysia, Turkey and South Korea (Ferguson, 1999, p.6). The urban population had by 1973 increased to 1 million out of a total population of 4 million. 750,000 were in waged employment. Thus, copper mining was an active vehicle to the country's urbanization process.

#### THE ONSET OF THE ECONOMIC CRISIS

Although major progress was made in the first decade of independence, developments slowed when the price of copper collapsed following the first oil crisis in 1974, forcing Zambia to borrow in order to maintain social provision. After the second oil crisis in 1979, the country drifted into a severe debt crisis. For twenty years, the economy collapsed at an internationally unprecedented rate as copper prices continued to fall relative to the price of imports. Between 1974 and 1994, per capita income declined by 50%, leaving Zambia the 25<sup>th</sup> poorest country in the world (Ferguson, 1999, p.6).

Throughout the economic crisis, ZCCM was treated as a 'cash cow', milked without corresponding investment in machinery and prospecting ventures, and the mines suffered from little investment, as had been the case before 1969. With little investment in exploration and drilling, no new mines opened after 1979. In 1969, lack of investment had been the justification for nationalizing the private copper mines and now this very factor would play a critical role in the privatization of ZCCM.

To compound the problem of lack of investment, the ore bodies within the existing mines, could only be accessed at great depths raising the cost of production. Copper production also collapsed from a high of 750,000 tonnes in 1973 to 257,000 tonnes in 2000 (Chamber of Mines, 2005). The collapse of ZCCM had a telling effect on the Zambian economy. With little copper revenues, the state failed to support the social infrastructure it had created. The GDP per capita declined to less than \$300 and over 80 per cent of the country's population started experiencing extreme poverty.

This forced the Government to start borrowing heavily for both social and economic infrastructure maintenance and balance of payments support. Consequently, the World Bank and the IMF used the advantage that came with the Government's inability to fund expenditures with mining income, to push the country to adopt economic liberalization policies. Zambia entered its first World Bank structural adjustment programme in 1983. From that moment, the international finance institutions (IFIs) tightly marked Zambia's economic policies. Zambia tried to resist the conditions but learned the hard way.

In July 1987, facing protests against the austerity measures the Government rejected the conditions of the loan from the IMF and instituted a 'New Economic Recovery Programme' that limited debt-service payments to 10% of net export earnings. By September (1987) Zambia's refusal resulted in almost all of Zambia's donors deciding

collectively to freeze financial assistance (Saasa and Carlson, 2002, p 43). Within eighteen months, the donors had made their point: the price of future support would be compliance with donor priorities. The Government decided that it had little choice but to accept, re-engaging the World Bank and the IMF, devaluing the currency, decontrolling prices and cutting food subsidies (Young and Loxley, 1990; Callaghy and Ravenhill, 1993; Lungu, 1994).

By the time Zambia accepted a new adjustment programme in 1989, it was too late for the ruling party UNIP and President Kaunda. Repeated urban food riots, industrial unrest, and eventually the loss of support for the ruling party from the Zambian Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) saw the unions form an opposition Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD), headed by ZCTU leader Frederick Chiluba. They swept the board in elections in 1991 (Bratton and Van de Walle, 1997; Baylies and Szeftel, 1992; Lungu, 1997).

## PUSHING THROUGH A MASSIVE REFORM PROGRAMME

The MMD owed its original momentum to trade union led resistance to structural adjustment. However, by the time of the elections, the unions had made a wide range of alliances within the business community, human rights groups and in civil society. The MMD ran on a manifesto that promised to liberalize the economy and secure a new democratic political dispensation. The Mine Workers Union endorsed privatization partly because trade unionists had suffered as badly as anyone else had from the decline of nationalized companies, and saw the need for new investment. Finally, both unions and the MMD believed that the only way to get the country's shattered economy back on track was to win the trust of international banks and investors.

Donors hoped that an energetic reforming government could lead the first popular privatization process in Africa. They aimed to support Zambia to become a 'success story' by 'buying' the MMD an extended political honeymoon with aid as they pushed through a massive programme of economic shock therapy. Over the first few years, aid money poured in, and the budget became more than 40% donor dependent (Rakner, Van de Walle and Mulaisho, 2001). A huge range of economic conditions were attached to the loans contracted as part of Zambia's aid boom. Many of these related to the privatization programme starting in 1992 and designed to sell 280 state owned companies. By June 1996, 137 had been sold, in a process that the World Bank recommended as a model for other countries because of its speed and thoroughness (Campbell-White and Bhatia, 1998). Others would condemn it for the 'looting' (Craig, 2000), deindustrialization, deepening debt and the poverty that came with it.

The non-emergence of a vibrant private sector to step into the economic vacuum left by privatization saw employment and growth go into reverse, where they stayed throughout the 1990s. Foreign companies bought up the largest and most viable firms with very little profit staying in Zambia. In 2002, the World Bank also eventually accepted that despite massive lending and a massive adjustment programme "outcomes of many Bank operations, and of the overall Bank program, were unsatisfactory" (World Bank, 2002).

Right from the start, the crown jewels of the privatization process were understood to be the copper mines. Kienbaum Development Services GmbH was contracted to assess the options and recommended in 1994 that ZCCM be unbundled into 5 separate units. Throughout the process, the Government sought delays for technical and political reasons and the issue became a sticking point in relations with donors. The Mineworkers Union of Zambia expressed concerns that unbundling of ZCCM into a number of companies either would leave the least attractive assets with insecure futures, or would leave the Government with significant assets on its hands. The union was also concerned that introducing intra-company competition would drive down conditions of service for their members (Muchimba, 1998).

What broke the deadlock was Zambia's qualification in 1996 to the World Bank's Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) initiative. This process established frequent hurdles for the country to clear, each of which involved an assessment of performance before debt relief was delivered. As each hurdle approached, Zambia came under pressure to push through privatizations that were more controversial. In most cases, the state stalled, tried to appease domestic interests, and then eventually went ahead, choosing debt relief over domestic politics.

Throughout the privatization period, the Government was being encouraged by donors to establish an 'investor friendly' policy regime. The most significant policy changes were enshrined in the 1995 Investment Act and the Mines and Minerals Act of 1995. The Investment Act laid out the procedures and the process of buying into the Zambian economy. It provided the general incentives that would apply to all investors as well as assurances against forced acquisition of companies by the state, preventing a repeat of Kaunda's nationalizations. The Act also did away with foreign exchange controls, allowing companies to take out of Zambia, without interference, all funds in respect of dividends, principle and interest on foreign loans, management fees and other charges.

The Mines and Minerals Act of 1995 provides incentives for investors in mining. Under the Act, tax paid for copper removed from Zambia – called a 'mineral royalty' – is charged at the rate of 3% of the net back value of the minerals produced. It permits companies to minimize their income tax returns by allowing deductions for investment in mining. It also provides relief from paying customs duties on imported machinery and equipment.

## THE PROCESS OF PRIVATIZING ZCCM

Two international consulting companies advised on the practical modalities of privatizing ZCCM. In stage 1, substantial majority interests in all ZCCM assets were to be offered in a number of

separate packages that would leave the Zambian state as an owner of minority interests. In stage 2, the Government would then dispose of all or a substantial part of its shareholding. These shares were to be offered for sale to the Zambian public (GRZ/ZCCM Negotiating Privatization team, 2000).

The outcome of the tender process gave rise to the emergence of several companies. There have been further changes in terms of ownership. Anglo American Corporation along with other minority investors in KCM completely pulled out of Zambia in 2002 handing the mine back to state ownership and, in the process, threatening to bring to a halt production at the country's biggest asset. The situation created a major panic for the Government, which eventually received relief in selling 51% of interests in KCM, in 2004 to Vedanta, for a price of US\$25 million.

Chambishi Metals and RAMCOZ went through similar processes staying idle for three years before being acquired in 2004 by a little known Swiss investor. The assets have now been bought by a Chinese mining company Non-Ferrous Metals of China (NFCA). The Nkana assets have since remained with Mopani owned by Glencore and First quantum.

#### BUSINESS PROFITS FROM THE DEVELOPMENT AGREEMENTS

All the mines were privatized on the basis of the development agreements as permitted by the Mines and Minerals Act allowing the Government to extend more incentives than the Act grants. Despite the Act specifying that mineral royalties should be set at 3% for those holding large-scale mining licenses, the rate negotiated by most mining companies was 0.6% of the gross revenue of minerals produced in the mining areas. The agreements also allow companies to avoid paying a good deal of corporate tax by carrying forward losses for periods of between 15 and 20 years. The companies were also granted deductions of 100 % of capital expenditure in the year in

which the expenditure is incurred and were exempted from paying customs and excise duties or any other duty or import tax levied on machinery and equipment<sup>4</sup>.

Further, the Government undertook not to amend any of these tax regimes for as much as between 15 and 20 years. These 'stability periods' are a particularly important provision because until they expire the terms of the development agreements are legally binding and overrule any existing or future national legislation.

## MINING BENEFITS NOT TRICKLING DOWN TO COMMUNITIES

With the fall in the price of copper starting in 1974, employment also started to decline. It decreased to 51,000 in 1986 with a temporary rise in 1991 to 56,582. After 1991 employment fell to 31,033 in 1997 and by 2004, it was down to about 19,000. By 2005, the numbers of people employed in the mining industry was standing at 22,000, less than half of what it was in 1969 and less than one third of the 1976 position. With massive unemployment, unplanned settlements mushroomed. Whereas when miners retired during the colonial period they would return to their original villages, the situation had completely changed. Being used to urban life, the majority retreated to the unplanned settlement with the hope that should the economic situation improve, they would once again be employed. Thus the freedom of movement which came with independence and the loss of many jobs precipitated the growth of the unplanned settlements.

Despite the long-term economic decline, conditions for the mining companies suddenly changed in 2004. Copper prices started rising and the newly privatized mines started making profits. Paradoxically, the benefits coming to the mining companies did not translate into sudden rises in employment nor did the new boom translate in increased

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> This exemption was extended to other contracting firms importing machinery for mines development.

social provision by the government. As a consequence citizens started questioning why benefits from copper mining would simply pass them by. The answer lay in the development agreements the government had signed with the new private copper mining companies<sup>5</sup>.

As a result the Government was becoming increasingly unpopular especially in the urban areas. Thus in 2008, the Government took the first steps to change the development agreements so that it too could start benefiting from the fortunes of the copper mines by changing the tax regime affecting the mining industry enshrined in the development agreements. The first attempt in 2008 met considerable resistance from the copper mining companies who argued that any changes could only be negotiated after the expiry of the stabilization periods which were fixed at between 15 to 20 years depending on when the agreements were concluded. Since 2008, the tax regime has kept on changing.

What is clear however is that the benefits from mining are not trickling down to the communities. Despite the coming on board of Kansanshi, Lumwana and Kalumbila mines in North Western Province, unemployment has kept on increasing and the urban informal sector activities have kept on growing with many people now living in the informal and unplanned areas. The consequences of a rapid development of informal settlements has been repeated outbreaks of diseases such as typhoid, dysentery and cholera. In 2018 there was a cholera outbreak which affected seven provinces in Zambia, namely, Lusaka, Central, Eastern, Southern, Copperbelt, North-Western and Western Provinces. The outbreak involved 5,905 cases with a case fatality of 1.9% (Ministerial Statement 20th February, 2018).

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Fraser and Lungu (2008) have tabulated the benefits of privatization that accrued to the mining companies which were prioritized over ensuring that new investors accepted the responsibilities to share in the wealth that would flow from their operations.

## CHINESE INVOLVEMENT IN THE ZAMBIAN ECONOMY

During the last 25 years, China's economy has transitioned from being a centrally planned economy that largely closed to international trade to a more market-oriented economy. The rapid growth of the private sector has made China a major player in the world economy. The restructuring of the economy resulted in immeasurable efficiency gains whose contributions have been more than a tenfold increase in China's GDP since 1978 (Kamwanga and Koyi, 2009). Given the unprecedented economic growth, China's involvement in continents like Africa has become more and more pronounced. Zambia is one of the countries that have experienced a high degree of Chinese involvement especially through inward foreign direct investment.

Chinese investments in Zambia have primarily been resource seeking and have been concentrated in the mining sector focusing on copper, nickel and cobalt. During the International Financial melt-down between 2008 and 2010, some western mining companies reduced (or closed) production, resulting in substantial job losses. This era created an environment for Chinese firms to invest in the Zambian Copper mines (Sinkala and Zhou, 2014). The most notable are those made by China Non-Ferrous Metal Mining Company (CNMC) in Chambishi Copper Mine and Luanshya Copper Mine (LCM).

Chinese investments are also prominent in construction, trading and manufacturing sectors. The growth of these investments has been steady over the years and indications are that they are likely to remain that way. Most of the Chinese firms operating in Zambia are state owned and/or are strongly supported by the Chinese state, which advantages them over other competitors. In Zambia, this has been buttressed by the opening of a Chinese bank to serve their firms. As of 2022, the only Chinese bank in operation is the Bank of China. The Chinese businesses do not operate like conventional profit maximizing firms, often willing to provide concessions in order to gain access to markets. For some the practices include bidding at very low prices,

settling for low profit margins, sourcing cheap inputs from China, and using fairly skilled Chinese workers.<sup>6</sup>

Although Chinese firms are increasing in number and are nearly in all sectors of the Zambian economy, many people have lamented that their firms are usually champions of low wages and casualization of Zambian labour. Nonetheless, with the stability of Chinese investment and involvement in Zambia, there is need to maximize the linkages between the firms from the two countries for the purpose of mutual sustainable development, if this can be achieved.

## **ECONOMIC DIVERSIFICATION AND URBAN GROWTH**

The Zambian economy has for decades leaned on copper. The consequence of full dependence on copper mining is that economic growth is volatile along with international copper prices. As a result, Zambia has a long history of attempts to diversify her economy away from copper mining. The priority sector for diversification has always agriculture, however, the diversification efforts towards agriculture have not worked well for the country. Agricultural services support such as extension services, marketing services and even the farmer input support programme (FISP)( Ministerial Statement on the 2020/2021Farmer Input Support Programme) have not worked very well. Subsequently, the Government has included other sectors such as manufacturing, construction and tourism in the diversification experienced agenda. addition. Zambia has unintended diversification into the services sector despite it not being the initial intention for the Government.

To follow and execute a successful diversification policy, Zambia needed additional resources. Thus, foreign capital was required to fill this gap. For example, in the construction sector, there has been injection of both South African and Chinese capital. The services

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> https://www.africaportal.org/publications/impact-of-china-africa-investment-relations-the-case-of-zambia

sector has attracted different capital investments but largely of South African origin. This has been manifested in the growth and construction of shopping malls that are mostly owned by South African multinationals. In Kitwe and Lusaka, there is also a small presence of Zambian investment coming from the National Pension Scheme Authority (NAPSA). Despite this, the two malls in Lusaka (Levy Mwanawasa) and Kitwe (ECL) are largely populated by South African shops offering consumers option for both local and South African goods. Generally, the consumers that are served are the expatriates, high class and middle class professionals. Hence, despite shopping malls being constructed on the assumption that they serve the general populace, they entail indirect social segregation for low class citizens.

Chinese investment is seen in form of road construction and upgrades to existing infrastructure. For instance, the Chinese firms are also in charge of constructing the Kenneth Kaunda International Airport, the Simon Mwansa Kapwepwe Airport in Ndola and even hospitals. Both the construction and services sectors have presented employment generation potential for the Zambian people. As a consequence rural settlers move to urban areas giving rise to illegal settlements and mushrooming of shanty compounds. These developments in the urban areas come along with challenges for the government to provide social services in these areas. The government hospitals and education facilities can only cater to a sizeable population. Yet, the large numbers work against the capacity of government to manage diseases, crime and even education amenities for all.

#### CONCLUSIONS

Admittedly, mining has played a very significant role in economic growth and the development of Zambian towns. Processes of urbanization have followed closely the developments in the mining industry. The price of copper, "the red metal", has been behind the

fortunes and misfortunes of Zambia's development. Even attempts at diversifying the economy have achieved limited success because they too are dependent on the developments in the mining industry.

## THE NEW COPPERBELT

In the 1930's large-scale copper mining began on the Copperbelt Province in North-Central Zambia. Several years later, major mining operations were started in North-West Zambia. Some of the mines there include Kansanshi mine, which is the largest open pit copper mine in Africa. This mine is located approximately 10 km north of the town of Solwezi and 180 km to the North-West of the Copperbelt town of Chingola.

The other mine in the North-Western part of Zambia is called Lumwana Mine – another open-cut copper mine located 65 km west of the town of Solwezi. This mine is among the largest mines in Africa with two major copper deposits at Malundwe and Chimiwungo. Lumwana mine also has some uranium deposits.

The last mine in this part of Zambia is Kalumbila Mine which is the biggest mine in Zambia (Zambia Environmental Agency, 2012).

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