The De-Africanization of African Development: International Development Programs and Political Economy of the Local in Zambia

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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT
This dissertation is a study of the De-Africanization of African Development using Zambia as a case study. The study explains lingering poverty despite the pursuit of development since independence in Zambia in 1964 and attempts to re-conceptualize development as poor Zambians perceive and understand it. In order for this study to contribute to a fuller understanding of the prevalence of material poverty in Africa, I utilize examples from many other African countries.

Using the Political Economy of the Local Approach, I investigated the links between local or village-level social relations and structural under-development in Zambia. Mainstream development has treated indigenous agriculture as backward and this has provided a pretext for the type of development and modernization that is destroying the environment and impoverishing more Zambians. I used village and household level information to describe how orthodox development is adversely affecting rural Zambians. The study also provides a history of the concept and practice of development, focusing on the historical continuums of the practice from colonial Zambia to the present.

A major observation is that poverty in Zambia and other African countries is persistent because independence did not change the mode and definition of development. Additionally, conventional discourse has shifted development in Zambia away from appropriate land reform to the private-sector development and export of non-traditional cash crops. Mainstream development in Zambia is based on the erroneous assumption that both growth and development can only be achieved through the privatization of indigenous land. My study shows that privatization is not resulting in development for poor Zambians and is inimical to their interests. Along with cash crop plantations,
privatization of land in Zambia happens through preservation of tourist game reserves and appropriation of land for mineral extraction.

One of my conclusions is that development in Zambia should not focus on privatization per se and on single cash crop plantations, mining and preservation of land for tourist game reserves. Rather development should be based on small, bio-diverse farms that will ensure access to land for the majority and environmental sustainability. Moreover, policy makers should recognize that the privatization of land may not be a sufficient and necessary condition for successful and sustainable development to avert food insecurity. Among poor Zambians, poverty is created and perpetuated by alienating the people from their source of livelihood through the neo-liberal privatization of their land.
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This work is dedicated to the farmers of Zambia and Africa and all the unsung heroes and heroines who have shown the strength to survive and who shall make Africa great for their children.
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<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ANC</td>
<td>African National Congress</td>
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<tr>
<td>BSAC</td>
<td>British South Africa Company</td>
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<td>BWIs</td>
<td>Bretton Woods Institutions</td>
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<td>CAADP</td>
<td>Comprehensive African Agricultural Development Program</td>
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<td>CIDA</td>
<td>Canadian International Development Agency</td>
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<td>DFID</td>
<td>Department for International Development</td>
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<td>ECA</td>
<td>Economic Commission for Africa</td>
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<td>FAO</td>
<td>Food and Agricultural Organization</td>
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<td>FNDP</td>
<td>First National Development Plan</td>
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<tr>
<td>GDP</td>
<td>Gross Domestic Product</td>
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<td>GNP</td>
<td>Gross National Product</td>
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<td>GR</td>
<td>Green Revolution</td>
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<td>GRZ</td>
<td>Government of the Republic of Zambia</td>
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<td>HA</td>
<td>Hectares</td>
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<td>IDPs</td>
<td>International Development Projects</td>
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<tr>
<td>ILO</td>
<td>International Labor Organization</td>
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<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
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<tr>
<td>JAICAF</td>
<td>Japan Association for International Cooperation in Agriculture and Forestry</td>
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<tr>
<td>KM</td>
<td>Kilometers</td>
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<td>NAMBOARD</td>
<td>National Agricultural Marketing Board</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organization</td>
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<td>Abbreviation</td>
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<tr>
<td>NLF</td>
<td>Neo-liberal Framework</td>
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<td>PRSP</td>
<td>Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper</td>
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<tr>
<td>SAPs</td>
<td>Structural Adjustment Programs</td>
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<tr>
<td>SNDP</td>
<td>Second National Development Plan</td>
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<tr>
<td>SSA</td>
<td>Sub-Saharan Africa</td>
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<tr>
<td>SEF</td>
<td>Socio-Economic Framework</td>
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<tr>
<td>TEF</td>
<td>Traditional Economic Framework</td>
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<tr>
<td>TCWP</td>
<td>Tanzania Canada Wheat Program</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Program</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNIP</td>
<td>United National Independence Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>WB</td>
<td>World Bank</td>
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<td>WHO</td>
<td>World Health Organization</td>
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<td>WTO</td>
<td>World Trade Organization</td>
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<td>ZPA</td>
<td>Zambia Privatization Agency</td>
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Chapter 1 Introduction

According to the United Nations Development Program (UNDP 2008) Africa is falling behind in human development and several countries in Southern Africa have been experiencing reversals since 1990. This in spite of global progress, due largely to China’s rapid economic growth and to a lesser extent India and Brazil. China, for instance, has lifted approximately six hundred million people out of poverty between 1981 and 2005. Unlike Asia, the number of extremely poor in Sub Saharan Africa (SSA) almost doubled from two hundred million to three hundred and eighty million between 1981 and 2005 (WB 2009). Globally, 28 of the 29 countries where life expectancy is less than 50 are in Africa, with Afghanistan being the exception. Even war-torn Iraq had a life expectancy of 55 years for babies born in 2004. China, on the other hand has a life expectancy of 72 (World Health Organization (WHO), 2006).

According to the Zambian Government’s Fifth National Development Plan (GRZ, 2006): 68 percent of Zambians live in poverty with 70 percent of the population facing food insecurity, 47 percent of Zambian children are stunted and chronic malnutrition increased from 39.6 percent to 49 percent between 1990 and 2002. In addition to this, 16 percent of the most productive age-group (15-49 years) is Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) positive. These figures depict the level of under-development and the failure of development in Zambia during and since colonial rule.

On recognizing the depth of poverty in SSA and other developing regions, world leaders resolved to devise strategies and deadlines for eradicating global poverty and hunger. These resolutions were adopted by all 189 member countries of the UN in September 2000 as the Millenium Development Goals whose primary goal is to halve
global poverty by 2015, especially in SSA. In light of this, the project website reads, “Sub Saharan Africa is the epicenter of the crisis with continuing food insecurity, a rise of extreme poverty, stunningly high infant and maternal mortality, and a large number of people living in slums, and a widespread shortfall for most of the MDGs.” (www.unmilleniumproject.org, MilleniumProject 2002-2006).

Since independence began in the late 1950s, most SSA countries have allegedly been assisted by donors who offer technical and financial aid to implement development projects. These projects, called International Development Projects (IDPs) are the dominant mode of modern development in SSA (Imboela 2004; Escobar 1995). By 2005, three-quarters of SSA countries had adopted Poverty Reduction Projects (PRPs) sponsored by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the WB (Ninsin, 2006, p.53). Mainstream development theory shapes the design and implementation of IDPs and although they differ slightly, all conventional frameworks assume African communities need development which is conceived as westernization in practice and mostly economic in essence (Esteva 1992; Imboela 2004).

That is, to develop is to acquire the characteristics of western industrialized nations. There is no consideration that Africans may define development differently, and since it is conceptualized in pure economic terms, the solution is also expected to be purely economic. As for the Western IDPs; they are thought to be seminal in African development, because development itself has been equated with westernizing Africans (Esteva 1992; Saasa and Carlsson 1996; Escobar 1995, Rist 2002; Imboela 2004).
1.1 Statement of the Problem

Despite increasing development projects, poverty and destitution continue to wreak havoc in Zambia and Africa. For example, in Zambia, 68 percent, of the population is living below the poverty line and 70 percent of the population faces food insecurity despite five national development plans and relatively high economic growth in the country since 1999 (GRZ, 2006, p. 28, 230). The current development plan of Zambia (GRZ, 2006) reads, “In spite of the PRSP and positive growth trends during the last few years, Zambia is yet to register significant declines in … poverty levels … as much as 68 percent fell below the national poverty line” (p. 28).

1.2 Objectives of the Study

This study has two objectives: to explain lingering poverty in Zambia despite the pursuit of development since independence and to re-conceptualize development as the majority of Zambians perceive and understand it to be in their interest. I therefore seek to provide a definition of development from the perspective of Zambians who have often been targeted by development projects. I attempt to place the actual voices of the poor living through development at the center of the discourse and policies related to development. I also analyze and compare their definition of development with the mainstream definition of the Zambian government and western donors’ definition of IDPs which is focused on economic growth (GRZ, 2006, p. 18).

In order to determine who defines development and who benefits, I examined the power relationships within under-developed communities in Zambia and the dynamics between these communities and the government of Zambia.
1.3 Location of the Field Study

My field study was undertaken in two rural districts in Zambia, Kafue (formerly Lusaka Rural) and Namwala. Kafue is 45 kilometers (km) south of Zambia’s capital, Lusaka while Namwala is approximately 300 kilometers south-west of the Zambian capital. Both Kafue and Namwala are sparsely populated rural areas. Kafue has a population of 150,217 while Namwala is populated by 82,161 Zambians (GRZ 2000). Today there are two major livelihoods in Namwala and Kafue (Konga-Makeni). Subsistence agriculture is the main activity, and cattle rearing. However, parts of Namwala and Kafue lie along the Kafue River where fishing is also an important livelihood.

These populations were selected because they are representative of Zambia’s poor in significant ways. In Zambia, population and poverty are both concentrated in rural areas. Sixty percent of Zambians live in rural areas, where the incidence of poverty is 78 percent compared to the smaller urban population that has an incidence of 53 percent. Extreme\(^1\) poverty is also high in rural areas where two-thirds of the population is classified as extremely poor compared to one-third in urban areas (GRZ 2006). The highest rate of poverty in Zambia is among rural small-scale farmers, at 79 percent, with 66 percent of those being extremely poor (GRZ, 2006, p. 29). The majority of people in Makeni and Namwala are small-scale farmers.

\(^1\) Extreme poverty is measured by taking a lower poverty line that reflects the minimum requirements spending on food and excludes some of the items on the national basic poverty line (GRZ 2006).
1.4 Theoretical Framework and Research Issues: Political Economy of the Local

In this study I am applying the theoretical framework of political economy of the local that was coined by Imboela (2004) when he concluded that a new theoretical and methodological approach is required to understand the problems of developing nations. In this study, therefore, I am applying Imboela’s framework by addressing the following issues in the specific Zambian context:

1. Why is Zambia under-developed and why is poverty persistent? This question allows me to place under-development in Zambia in a proper historical perspective. It is important to point out that African societies were not always under-developed or materially poor (Walter Rodney 1980; Mbikusita-Lewanika 1990; Imboela 2004).

Mbikusita-Lewanika (1990) for example, demonstrates that prior to colonial rule Zambians lived self-sustaining lifestyles that were not poor. They provided themselves with life’s necessities and were not deprived of basic needs. Mbikusita-Lewanika (1990, p. 47) illustrates that the diversified food economy in Bulozi (now the Western province of Zambia) was a surplus producing economy, when he shows that:

under normal circumstances, households and local communities were geared towards, and were expected to meet their own subsistence requirements, while at the same time providing some surplus to the state and its ranking persons as tribute…. This overall surplus was partly ploughed back into the country in the form of food for those who performed public works such as digging dikes.

2 For my detailed questionnaire, see Appendix 1.

3 For details and evidence that poverty is not natural to African societies at large, see: Karl Polyani (1957, p. 163), The Great Transformation (Beacon Press, Boston); L.P. Mair (1934), An African People in the Twentieth Century, or M.J. Herskovitz (1940), The Economic Life of Primitive Peoples.
Therefore in this dissertation, I attempt to ascertain the origins and the perpetuation of mass poverty in modern day Zambia. Related questions I pose include:

2. How do poor Zambians define the concept of development? This question is important because as the targets of modern-era development, their preferences should prevail in programs. As Imboela (2004) notes, answers to this question allow investigation of whether development advocated by IDPs conforms to Zambian aspirations and interests or not.

3. Another issue is what role do power relations play in causing and sustaining under-development? I analyzed power relations within the two under-developed societies and between these two poor communities and the Government of Zambia. Most development studies have focused narrowly on definitions of economic growth or output and have ignored the critical role of power imbalances in the practice and concept of development. Some mainstream critics have employed a political economy approach to examine power and class relations at the global, continental and national levels (Amin 1974, 1976; Rodney 1980; Ninsin 2006). In order to bring into sharper focus whose interests are actually served in development, I localized political economy and examined who exactly are the powerful and powerless in rural Zambia. I therefore ask how power relations within communities determine access to resources? How does the power relationship between the community and the government affect access to resources and development choices? I also investigated how political power can be decentralized to the advantage of vulnerable people in under-developed communities.
4. My final issue deals with how Zambians react to poverty. Do they resist or are they passive and why? This question is crucial if this study is to contribute to our understanding of poverty and re-conceptualize development in the interest of Zambians. Mainstream development portrays poor people as needing assistance because they are weak (Sachs 2005). On the other hand, critics of mainstream development tend to assume that the poor do resist (Scott 1985; Imboela 2004). Firstly I explored whether or not Zambians resist and under what circumstances and conditions. Additionally, documenting the struggles and resistance of poor people in Zambia broadens our understanding of development. The literature reveals that mainstream discourse does not consider that Africans may define development differently from the experts, nor does it include the struggles of the poor to resist poverty and achieve their alternative vision of progress. This study contributes to the new development discourse that includes not only resistance but also alternative conceptions of development (Shiva 1988 and 2007; Escobar 1995; Esteva 1992; Imboela 2004).

1.5 Methodology and Sources
The methodology employed in this dissertation is primarily qualitative relying on a variety of methods and sources. Techniques used include: semi-structured in-depth interviews, open-ended questionnaires and participant observation. Archival research was undertaken on Zambia’s five national development plans and colonial economic and agricultural data in the National Archives in Lusaka, Zambia. Additionally, library research involved the review of governmental, non-governmental and donor publications. A content analysis of these primary documents enabled me to establish the main concepts and assumptions of conventional and unconventional development theory and practice.
Data was collected using open-ended questions to allow for flexibility with respect to unanticipated issues and to tap into the experience and insights of respondents. Also, open-ended interviews enabled me to investigate more complex issues by making it feasible to clarify and elaborate on questions and responses. For instance, during preliminary research, closed questions such as whether IDPs conformed to Kafue people’s aspirations received an answer of yes or no. Whereas open ended questions on what community development should look like resulted in lengthy conversations which yielded evidence of whether IDPs were serving their needs and aspirations or not.

Additionally, as can be seen from my questionnaire in Appendix 1, open ended questions allowed me to avoid confirmation bias where participants tell the researcher what they want to hear. For example, the question, which asked participants to define their version of development, could not be answered with a yes or no. Due to its open nature, interviewees had to explain to me their vision of development or what they define as the good life.

1.6 Participants
The demographic make-up of Kafue and Namwala is mostly poor and extremely poor small-scale farmers who are the main targets of development (GRZ 2006). However, other socio-economic groups are represented and therefore, I used a purposive sampling\(^4\) method because I was interested in gathering data from the poor as key informants of their experiences and as key producers of knowledge.

\(^4\) For the legitimacy of purposive sampling in social science research, see: Royce A. Singleton, Bruce C. Straits, Ronald M. McAllister, and Margaret M. Straits (1988), *Approaches to Social Research* (New York: Oxford University Press,) and Earl R. Babbie (1992), *The Practice of Social Research* (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company.)
A total of 80 people were interviewed for this study. The breakdown of participants was as follows: 60 were small scale rural farmers, 10 were rural elites comprising one Senior Chief, four village headmen and five rich peasants. The other ten participants occupied important development policy positions in Zambia and the two districts. They included: The Minister and Permanent Secretary for Finance and National Planning, the Chairman of the National Economic Commission, the Director of the Central Statistical Office and the Director of an umbrella NGO called the Civil Society for Poverty Reduction. In addition, the Director and two staff members of the NGO Steadfast Action Committee which works in Makeni and Namwala were interviewed. I also interviewed the two district planning officers of Kafue and Namwala, key local government officials.

The small scale farmers were interviewed to elicit information on how they define development of their communities and what they identify as the causes of poverty. Interviews of Government and NGO personnel were done to obtain information and perspective on official and mainstream development as defined by the Zambian government in conjunction with its cooperating partners. I used two separate populations and coded common observations and themes to verify that the data collected was valid.

1.7 Conceptualization and Analysis
I determined the main concepts about life and development in Zambia after collecting and analyzing the data for content. This allowed what anthropologists call an Ernie Focus, i.e., describing a setting using the participant’s terms (Schutt 2004, p. 415). This means that the knowledge and experience of the target population i.e. Kafue and Namwala residents, was the basis of data for this study. As shown in chapter 5, the insights of the Zambian poor themselves shape the conclusions I draw in this dissertation.
Therefore, by re-conceptualizing development, as the Zambian poor perceive it, this study makes an epistemological break with mainstream discourse and that leads to a fuller and broader comprehension of the dynamics of development in Zambia.

1.8 The State of Development Studies

Although numerous approaches with many different names have been attempted, three main paradigms have shaped the practice and concept of development in SSA. Advocates of the earliest and dominant school contend that under-development is mainly an economic problem resolved by increasing output and modernizing or transforming indigenous societies into industrialized western countries (Lewis 1954, 1955; Rostow 1960). This mainstream school is referred to in this dissertation as the Traditional Economic Framework (TEF). The second paradigm, the Socio-Economic Framework (SEF) claims that development ought to be more than pure economic growth and should also include social concerns like poverty, unemployment and participation by the poor (Seers 1969; ILO 1976; Stewart 1987; Chambers 1994).

Finally, the dominant neo-liberal paradigm began to emerge in the 1980s when authors were positing that under-development in SSA and the rest of the developing world is caused by too much government intervention in the name of social development.

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5 In *Encountering Development* (1995, pp. 17-18), Escobar studies the ‘emergence and consolidation of the discourse and strategy of development in the early post-World War II period, as a result of the problematization of poverty that took place during those years’ and the associated ‘professionalization of development knowledge and institutionalization of development practices.’ He concludes that, ‘This system defines the hegemonic worldview of development, a worldview that increasingly permeates and transforms the economic, social and cultural fabric of Third World cities and villages, even if the languages of development are always adapted and reworked significantly at the local level.’ Therefore, to speak development discourse implies defining and institutionalizing poverty within the dominant framework of development studies. My study contributes to re-conceptualizing this discourse in Zambia.
They claim that extensive state regulations and bureaucracies crowd out the more efficient and dynamic private sector, which they hail as the panacea for all development problems (Krueger 1974; World Bank 1981; Lal 1985).

The main opposition to mainstream development has been classified as Dependency or the Development of Under-development School (Frank 1966; Amin 1974, 1976; Ake 1979; Rodney 1980; Mbikusita-Lewanika 1990). Dependency school authors take the position that integrating African economies into the global capitalist market, as sources of raw materials, cheap labor and markets for manufactured goods, creates poverty for the under-developed territories. Hence Kwame Nkrumah(1973) asserts that:

A strong factor favoring Western monopolies and acting against the developing world is international capital’s control of the world market, as well as of the prices of commodities bought and sold there. From 1951 to 1961, without taking oil into consideration, the general level of prices for primary products fell by 33.1 percent, while prices of manufactured goods rose 3.5 percent (within which, machinery and equipment prices rose 31.3 percent). In that same decade this caused a loss to the Asian, African and Latin American countries, using 1951 prices as a basis, of some $41,400 million. In the same period, while the volume of exports from these countries rose, their earnings in foreign exchange from such earnings dropped (pp. 325-326).

More recently Ninsin (2006, p. 51) showed that between 1999 and 2000, capital transfers from Africa increased from US $5.4 billion to US $8.3 billion - a massive increase of 53 percent. Not surprisingly, authors of this persuasion have concluded that genuine development for countries like Zambia requires fairer terms of trade or de-linking from the global political economy (Amin 1976, Mbikusita-Lewanika 1990).

Political economy has furnished a number of analytical tools relevant to the Dependency School. These include the inequitable impact of international capitalism and class and power struggles in the creation of poverty (Amin 1976; Rodney 1980;

1.9 Organization of the Study

This study has six chapters. Chapter one presents the nature, relevance and objectives of the study. The rationalization of this research is given against a backdrop of the failure of conventional development theory and practice in Zambia and SSA in the last half century. The methodology and sources used to accomplish the objectives of this study are also included in chapter one.

Chapter two reviews the literature that shapes the concept and practice of development in post-colonial SSA from 1957 to the present. I describe the main assumptions and concepts of development theory and practice by not only reviewing scholarly works but also incorporating findings from project-based illustrations. The review of the literature also involves a critique of the dominant development paradigm that includes the ahistorical and apolitical nature of conventional development and the lack of appreciation of the actual impact of international capitalism on developing countries. This chapter also questions the intentions of development and whether or not development as it is constructed is even desirable (Sachs 1992; Escobar 1995; Rist 2002; Imboela 2004).

\(^6\) On March 6, 1957, Ghana became the first country in SSA to become independent and was widely regarded as a vanguard of development and pan-Africanism under its first President, Kwame Nkrumah.
Chapter three discusses the social context and history of contemporary poverty and under-development in Zambia and SSA. The key issue is that European markets were saturating and colonialism was a necessity if profits were to continue being made by western capitalists. For this purpose colonial capitalism appended African countries onto the global political economy as suppliers of cheap labor and raw materials and as new markets for mass produced goods. It is argued that this dependent and disarticulated structure ensures under-development in Zambia and other African countries (Seidman 1979; Chipungu 1988; Mbikusita-Lewanika 1990; Imboela 2004). To illustrate this point, chapter three shows how the colonial mode of production and development in Zambia engendered conditions for contemporary under-development and poverty.

Chapter four discusses the main paradigms of post-colonial development in Zambia and their historical continuum from colonialism (Kothari 2005). I demonstrate that postcolonial rural development programs served to entrench the marginalization and exploitation of rural communities started under colonial rule. The under-development of countries like Zambia continues because independence did not change the mode of development and integration and the role of Zambians in the global political economy (Muntemba 1978; Seidman 1979 Mbikusita-Lewanika 1990; Imboela 2004; Lines 2008).

In the current postcolonial era, global capital’s interests are represented by the neo-liberal development policies imposed upon countries by the Bretton Woods Institutions (BWIs). Neo-liberal policies ensure the transfer of resources from developing countries to developed countries through different mechanisms such as debt servicing, repatriation of profit or unfair trade. At the local level, the transfer of resources has crippled the capacity
of the state to provide support to communities, thereby perpetuating their poverty and vulnerability (Panford 2001; Imboela 2004; Ninsin 2006).

Specifically chapter 4 examines the consequences of neo-liberal policies in Zambia, under the tutelage of the BWIs’ structural adjustment and poverty reduction programs from 1973 to the present. In closing, I assert that the development promise of neo-liberalism has not been achieved.\(^7\) In fact, neo-liberalism has worsened poverty and made people more vulnerable to local and international forces of under-development by insisting that the so-called bloated state should withdraw from the provision of essential public services like healthcare, education and agriculture. The removal of the state from social functions has eroded the very pillars of decent standards of living including health, education and food self-sufficiency (Mbikusita-Lewanika 1990; Imboela 2004; Galabuzi 2006; Lines 2008).

Chapter five discusses and analyzes my data and describes the Zambian people’s definition of development. The role of social relations of power and resistance to plunder and commodification are also examined in this chapter while chapter six concludes this dissertation by summarizing my major findings with regards to the origins and persistence of poverty and re-conceptualizing development as the majority of Zambians perceive it. I contrast and compare my findings with both mainstream and critical development literature.

\(^7\) Contemporary neo-liberalism is not treated as the historical cause of poverty but evidence points to it accentuating poverty. This will be discussed in detail in chapters four and five.
Chapter 2 Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

Economic development today is based on economics but should be a multi-disciplinary amalgam of history, politics, sociology, anthropology and psychology.\(^8\) Modern development began in the late 1930s and 1940s, and especially after World War II, when the United States of America (USA) began its competition with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) for world hegemony and the resources, hearts and minds of the de-colonizing Asia, Latin America and Africa\(^9\) (Corbridge 1995). Against this foreign policy and international relations backdrop, President Truman declared in Point Four of his inaugural speech, on January 20, 1949 that:

We must embark on a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of under-developed areas. More than half the people of the world are living in conditions approaching misery. Their food is inadequate, they are victims of disease. Their economic life is primitive and stagnant.… What we envisage is a program of development based on the concepts democratic fair dealing.… Greater production is the key to peace and prosperity. And the key to greater production is

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\(^8\) Kothari, 2005, p. 5

\(^9\) In 1940, the British Parliament passed the Colonial Development and Welfare Act and the French followed in 1946 with the French Investment and Social Fund. The timing of these ‘development’ and welfare acts reveals them as a response to the anti-colonial or nationalist action in Africa. Northern Rhodesia (Zambia’s colonial name) was the largest supplier of copper in the British empire and when the mine workers struck in 1935, British industry incurred heavy losses. In 1937-38, Gold Coast (Ghana’s British colonial name) farmers who were the world’s largest suppliers of cocoa also halted production. To this effect Moore and Vaughan (1994, p. 135) illustrate the context of development in Northern Rhodesia by quoting the Provincial Commissioner of the largest province, who wrote in 1950 that: “development is the probable solution to any subversive political action.” Moore and Vaughan (1994, p. 135) added: “By 1961, the word “development” had, in fact, become a euphemism for the exercise of control over people’s movements and residence…” Previous research has demonstrated the historical continuum between the decline of classic colonialism and the rise of the ‘development’ era. See for example, Arturo Escobar (1995, p. 27), Encountering Development, Uma Kothari (2005, p. 48), A Radical History of Development Studies, Gilbert Rist (2002), The History of Development or Kwamina Panford’s (1989, p. 123) PhD Dissertation, The Influence of the International Labor Organization (ILO) on African workers’ union and collective bargaining rights: A case study of Ghana.
a wider and more vigorous application of modern scientific and technical knowledge.\textsuperscript{10}

Truman gave the idea of under-development global currency, or as Esteva (1992) eloquently stated, “Never before had a word been universally accepted on the day of its political coinage … Under-development began then, on 20 January, 1949. On that day two billion people became under-developed” (p. 7).\textsuperscript{11} The new United Nations (UN) and its specialized agencies\textsuperscript{12} also reflected the new economic and cultural hegemony of the United States\textsuperscript{13} and were chiefly financed by American capital (Nkrumah 1973).

As the field of development studies grew and was applied to Africa, three schools of thought were used to study under-development in SSA. These are:

1. Traditional Economic Framework (TEF)
2. Socio-Economic Framework (SEF); and

These three paradigms constitute mainstream development while critics draw mainly from the Dependency School. Each framework is critiqued on empirical, project-based evidence and theoretical flaws.

\textsuperscript{10} For Truman’s complete Point Four message, see Gilbert Rist (2002, p. 259) \textit{A History of Development}

\textsuperscript{11} See also Rist (2002, p. 72) who shows that a “new world view of under-development” began on 20 January 1949. Imboela (2004, p. 34) also illustrates that President Truman began the modern era of international development by giving the term “under-development” international acceptability.

\textsuperscript{12} In particular, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank (WB) and the International Labor Organization (ILO) which all commissioned numerous studies and held conferences that all contributed immensely to the emergence of the new field of development.

\textsuperscript{13} For instance, the headquarters of the new international organization, the UN, was in New York as opposed to Geneva and as Lines (2008, p. 35) reminds us, the World Bank President has always been a US citizen nominated by none other than the US President. Lines further notes that the headquarters of both the IMF and WB are in Washington DC, very close to the White House.
2.2 Traditional Economic Framework (TEF): Development as Modernization and Output Growth

The initial ideas of development grew out of economic and sociological theory that equated development with modernization and economic growth via capital formation and industrialization. Bert Hoselitz (1952 and 1960) was one of the earliest writers to examine modern under-development as a distinct subject. According to Hoselitz, developed countries were comprised of modern economic, political, social and cultural institutions and values, while under-developed countries had traditional values and institutions that differed sharply with the modern ones. Hoselitz claimed that developed countries were characterized by universalism, functional specificity and achievement orientation while traditional societies were defined by their opposites, particularism, functional diffuseness and ascription. Therefore, development requires programs that will modernize economic, political and cultural institutions and values.

By defining development as output growth, development theorists, spurred by Ragnar Nurkse (1953) made capital formation indispensible to development. Arthur Lewis’ 1954 paper, *Economic Development with Unlimited Supplies of Labor*\(^\text{14}\) confirmed the central role of capital formation and established his dual economy analysis that became a blueprint for economic development among mainstream theorists and practitioners. According to Lewis, many under-developed societies are dual economies. They are comprised largely of a subsistence traditional sector which has an unlimited

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\(^{14}\)Tignor’s (2006) work *W. Arthur Lewis and the Birth of Development Economics* illustrates the significance of Lewis’ work by noting that he was employed by the Nkrumah government of Ghana as the Chief Economic Advisor. Ghana was the first independent SSA country and widely regarded as a vanguard in socioeconomic reconstruction.
supply of labor, and a small, modern capitalist enclave that is assumed to be highly productive.

Lewis contends that economic development requires capital formation by increased productivity in the modern capitalist sector that accumulates enough capital, i.e., profits, for savings and investments. Lewis further contends that if profits accumulated from the modern capitalist sector are reinvested, the sector will expand and continue to absorb unlimited labor from the subsistence sector and that will lead to more capital accumulation and economic growth. The unlimited supply of labor sustains capital accumulation because it keeps wages down in the capitalist sector and ensures that surplus capital can be accumulated. Marginal productivity in the subsistence sector also increases because rural to urban migration reduces the unlimited supply of labor and thus the labor is no longer unproductive due to disguised unemployment or under-employment. Eventually, the unlimited supply of labor in the subsistence sector is exhausted and wages begin to rise in both sectors, supposedly based on marginal productivity of labor in an integrated economy.

In another famous work, The Theory of Economic Growth, Lewis (1955) clearly shows that his conception of development narrowly focuses on economic growth, measured by output:

First, it should be noted that our subject matter is growth, and not distribution. It is possible that output may be growing, and yet that the masses of the people may be becoming poorer … Secondly, our concern is not primarily with consumption but with output … our concern is not with the measure of output, but with its growth (p. 9).  

15 Quoted in Berberoglu (1992, p.9).
Rostow’s (1960) *Stages of Economic Growth: A non-Communist Manifesto* was extremely influential in the new field of development. Rostow claimed that all countries passed through the same historical stages to development: the traditional society, the preconditions for take off, the take off, the drive to maturity and finally the age of mass consumption. He thus portrayed development in industrialized countries as the path that all societies will follow. According to Rostow (1960) traditional societies that need development are those:

Whose structure is developed within limited production functions, based on pre-Newtonian science and technology, and on pre-Newtonian attitudes towards the physical world. The central fact about traditional society was that a ceiling existed on the level of attainable output per head. This ceiling resulted from the fact that the potentialities that flow from modern science and technology were either not available or not regularly and systematically applied (p. 4).

Development then becomes the modernization of traditional societies through modern capitalist sectors which are supposed to increase output by using modern technology. In the early days of development, this dual economy and stages theory was applied to Zambia by the Bledisloe and Pim-Milligan Colonial Commissions of the 1930s, E.A.G. Robinson (1963) and Gerald Clapman (1970). These authors share the assumption that widespread development in Zambia would be possible by relying on the modern colonial mining economy established after the ‘discovery’ of copper in 1925 (Mbikusita-Lewanika, 1990, p. 21). To this effect, Robinson noted that mines in Zambia:

required transport facilities and their traffic have justified the creation of railways … (which in turn) have made possible the expansion of agricultural production and exports and a greater degree of exchange and specialization throughout the region. Secondly, the mining communities helped to build an infrastructure of other public utility services…. All of these have served to create an enclave of
modern technology … and have given Africans an opportunity to acquire skills…. Fourthly, the export of minerals have provided a relatively easy solution for … the balance of payments and have permitted the inflow of capital goods which have raised … standards of living (Robinson, 1963 culled from Mbikusita-Lewanika, 1990, p. 20)

Modernization of indigenous societies tends to focus on agriculture because that is how most Zambians and Africans earn their living. Therefore, within the TEF, indigenous agricultural societies are supposed to adopt efficient agricultural technology that aims at increasing output and income in impoverished communities. A few examples illustrate the TEF conception in practice in SSA. Following the prescription of TEF advocates, the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) financed a wheat growing scheme in Zambia in 1975. This scheme was supposed to help the nation achieve food self-sufficiency by modernized large-scale\(^\text{16}\) wheat farming.

CIDA’s development project failed to take into account local agronomic conditions in Zambia that are not suitable for wheat cultivation. The acidic soils of the northern plateau of Zambia required twice as much lime as the Canadian prairies and still gave low yields. Consequently, the project employed the industrial high-input model of agriculture that was unsustainable due to the high cost of fertilizers that were estimated at US $60 an acre for fertilizer alone in the late 1970s.\(^\text{17}\)

\(^{16}\) The project also attempted to introduce wheat among a few small farmers with the same unsuccessful results.

\(^{17}\) Freeman, 1984, p. 107
Food aid was also directly tied to Canadian economic interests as machinery companies needed new markets since North American ones were saturated. Freeman\textsuperscript{18} notes that, “John Deere the supplier for the Zambian project, increased its sales overseas in the period from sixteen percent to twenty-three percent.” Furthermore the project may have undermined food self-reliance order to make way in the market for wheat. The Zambian government had to agree to unpopular demands by CIDA to remove agricultural subsidies on the staple crop of maize (Freeman 1984; Klatt 1988, p.42).

In Tanzania, Barabaig pastoralists lost much of their fertile land to a misconceived modernization and development project from 1970 onwards (Hughes 2003). The Tanzania-Canada Wheat program (TCWP) financed by the CIDA acquired 100,000 acres of Barabaig land to be put to “a more productive purpose” (Lane 1992, p. 92; Hughes 2003; Imboela 2004). The Tanzanian government and CIDA believed the practices of the Barabaig were backward and for development and food self-reliance to occur there was a need for mechanized agriculture and large scale plantations of hybrid wheat.

This type of development is premised on the notion that African people’s own culture and fabric of society are obstacles to their development. Hence the project advocates modernizing Barabaig agriculture and land tenure into a market system to enhance development. This meant the Barabaig being made to acquire the techniques of commercially mechanized Canadian wheat farming. The project was designed on prairie wheat farming in Canada, neglecting cultural and geographical differences between

\textsuperscript{18} Ibid, p. 111. Freeman also shows that Canadian firm, Massey-Ferguson, which supplied the Sudanese mechanized wheat scheme was making seventy percent of its sales outside of North America and in Tanzania the CIDA wheat project also depended entirely on foreign technology.
Barabaig land and the Canadian prairies (Lane 1992; Imboela 2004). Also, within the TEF, economic growth or development is based on a so-called vibrant free market economy which is said to be essential because it is assumed to be the most efficient and productive system for allocating resources (Berberoglu 1992; Corbridge 1995; Imboela 2004). However, Lane (1992) writes:

The way the Barabaig manage natural rangeland resources is a rational and sustainable form of land use. However, an inappropriate and costly development project has undermined this system, causing the Barabaig to suffer and destroying rangeland. By failing to accommodate Barabaig land use arrangements and support Barabig pastoral production, this project is ignoring the means by which natural rangeland resources could have otherwise been conserved (p. 82).

The Tanzania-Canada wheat project was deemed a success because land productivity increased 40 percent according to CIDA and the Tanzanian government. This nonetheless does not help Tanzania become food self-sufficient because wheat only makes up two to three percent of food crop consumption (Charles, 1992, p. 97).

The negative consequences of the project include the Barabaig being dispossessed of their prime muhajega pasture, disruption of their socio-economic system and land degradation due to intensive single crop cultivation and overgrazing on small and infertile pastures. The narrow economic rationale of the TEF leads to IDPs being evaluated on an economic basis. The fundamental question posed by TEF advocates is whether the project will raise output. If economic analysis indicates that productivity will increase, the project is deemed justifiable irrespective of other adverse impacts on people and the environment (Imboela 2004; Lotte 2003; Lane 1992).
In the relatively well-known case of the Barabaig, there has been some resistance to this misguided development. The Barabaig launched a legal challenge to their loss of land and rights. According to Hughes (2003):

A High Court Judge ruled that they did have communal rights to the land and that the wheat growers had trespassed, but no land was actually returned to them. In 1994, the Tanzanian government appointed a Commission on Violations of Human Rights in the wheat farming areas. Its report was not made public but apparently it confirms the truth of Barabaig claims (p. 64).

Elsewhere in East and Central Africa, the Batwa forest nomads of Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), have all suffered similar dispossession and degradation of their land in the name of development and modernization. In Uganda for example, numerous Batwa were forcibly removed from their land for the creation of the Bwindi and Mgahinga national parks in 1990.\textsuperscript{19} The Ugandan government and international conservationists claim that reserving these tracts of land for tourism will inject foreign exchange for employment and development in the region.

Lewis however, shows that alienating the Batwa from their land has resulted in malnutrition and sickness as people have lost access to their primary source of food and medicinal roots and herbs. Additionally, the income and employment of tourism have not reached the Batwa and Lewis (2000) comments that the Batwa have become, “badly-paid low-status casual laborers or porters”\textsuperscript{20} (p. 20). The Batwa have also lost access to their

\textsuperscript{19} It should be noted that these areas were first earmarked for game reserves by the British colonial administration in Uganda in the 1930s. See Lewis (2000)

\textsuperscript{20} Infact Lewis (2000, p.20) claims that in 2000, no Batwa were employed in Mgahinga national park and only two were employed in Bwindi game reserve.
ancestral grave sites and indeed their entire way of life is threatened because TEF development experts claim that forest nomadism and shifting agriculture are backward and wasteful uses of land. However, as Lewis (2000) writes, “these assumptions are not supported by studies of hunter-gatherers that show they have better nutrition than most other people in SSA” (p. 16). Conventional discourse claims that indigenous agriculture and livelihoods need to be developed despite the fact that in this case, the hunter and gatherer societies seem to provide good nutrition to the Batwa and other societies.

Among the Baka of Cameroon, another long-standing TEF development project is not having the desired results. In 1975, the Government of Cameroon, established the Baka Social-Economic Integration Program (formerly known as Baka Sedentarization) in conjunction with Catholic missionaries and later Dutch and French volunteers. Hewlett writes (2000), “The government wanted Baka foragers as well as farmers in the forested area to move onto permanent settlements …. and increase the population’s potential as a workforce for cash crops” (p. 383). Hewlett (2000) adds, “it is worth noting that neither the government nor the NGOs or missionaries feel that hunting and gathering and nomadism [shifting cultivation] are viable options” (p.387). According to TEF experts, these traditional livelihoods need to be modernized in order for development to occur. In particular, the Government and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) advocate supposedly modern agricultural practices as opposed to shifting cultivation as the key to development.

21 For further details on the negative impact of conventional TEF development projects and models on the Batwa of Central Africa, see Lewis (2000).

22 See Hewlett (2000)
Locally adapted or traditional African economies, such as the Barabaig’s, Batwa’s and Baka are labeled backward and blamed for disguised unemployment and low productivity (Imboela 2004; Lewis 2000; Hewlett 2000). This explains why the IMF and WB indiscriminately push free market ideology and neo-liberal development in Africa today. Actually, thirty-two of the forty-eight SSA countries are currently on IMF/WB sponsored development plans (Ninsin 2006). These Bretton Woods Institutions (BWIs) demand that African states privatize, liberalize and de-regulate their economies and strategic social services, even though it is not in the interest of their citizens or their long term development. As mentioned earlier, the supposed efficiency of the free market is the official reason for rolling back the state as the primary agent of national development and welfare (Panford 2001; Ninsin 2006).

In addition, the TEF concept stresses the necessity of expert technical knowledge and policy implementers. Since under-developed societies are perceived to lack modern technology it is assumed that they are deficient in technical knowledge. Due to the perceived lack of technical knowledge in under-developed communities, outside experts are assumed to possess the knowledge necessary for development (Rostow 1960; Kankwenda 2004; Imboela 2004).

Saasa and Carlsson (1996, p. 115) observe that “18 days in March/April 1985” was all that was required by Japanese experts to create the Southern Province Ground Water Development Project in Zambia. In examining the project design and implementation, the authors assert that:
The identification of the target population’s felt needs was done at a very high level in a process that almost exclusively depended on technical experts to determine what was required and feasible. Hence, project viability and feasibility were perceived as being determined chiefly by the technical and economic soundness of the proposal and little effort was made to understand and appreciate the socioeconomic preferences of the target population. In this respect, community participation was evidently alien to the project design, implementation and monitoring, let alone evaluation (p. 119).

According to Imboela (2004) and Chambers (1995) such emphasis on expert knowledge devalues local knowledge leading to local concerns not being adequately represented in development activities. Additionally, IDPs formed on the basis of expert knowledge are also inherently bureaucratic. Since the poor are assumed to lack technical knowledge, their involvement is kept to a minimum on mundane tasks (Imboela, 2004). Mbikusita-Lewanika, chairperson of the Zambian National Economic Advisory Committee, observes that he never found anyone who thought Zambia could develop without foreign technical and financial assistance.²³

2.3 Critique of the TEF

The TEF has been criticized on two main grounds. It has been opposed for attempting to impose a universal and linear model of western economic development on the non-Western societies of Africa, Latin America and Asia. Critiques by Schumacher (1973), Esteva (1992), Escobar (1992 and 1995), Berberoglu (1992), Rist (2002), Imboela (2004) and Onimode (2004) explore different conceptions of development that challenge western conceptions of technological progress and development. Secondly,

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²³ Interview I conducted with Chairman of the Zambia National Economic Advisory Committee, Mr Akashambatwa Mbikusita-Lewanika during fieldwork in Lusaka, Zambia (October 2, 2007).
critics of the TEF raise issues of dependency, appropriateness and effectiveness in technology and aid (Schumacher 1973; Lane 1992; Imboela 2004; Moyo 2009).

2.4 Deconstructing the Universal, Stages Model of Development

Development conceived within the TEF perspective assumes that developing countries are at the early stages of the path traveled by western industrial countries. This implies that current levels of under-development in poor countries are natural and original starting points that all countries must pass through and also that all countries will follow the same path or stages to development. Nowhere is there a detailed historical explanation of how under-developed societies became poor and under-developed (Mbikusita-Lewanika 1990; Berberoglu 1992; Esteva 1992; Rist 2002; Imboela 2004).

Power relations are still not considered part of mainstream discourse on development though they are beginning to be recognized (Chambers, 2005, p. 84). Consequently, TEF experts fail to see under-development as a manifestation of power and hegemony in which the industrialized western nations define development and then impose this universal model on the world by labeling and classifying countries as under-developed (Corbridge 1995; Escobar 1995; Peet and Watts 1996; Rist 2002; Imboela 2004). For people in developing countries, in the post colonial era, this imposed meaning of development is increasingly seen as a uniquely efficient instrument of domination by developed countries (Peet and Watts, 1996, pp. 16-17).

Imboela (2004, pp. 55-56) notes that the concept and practice of development as a system of external domination is more efficient than colonial occupation because it does not depend on military conquest. Rist (2002) explains that the power of the development
discourse is to seduce and charm the mind. He writes “How could one possibly resist the idea that there is a way to eliminate the poverty by which one is so troubled? How dare one think, at the same time that the cure might worsen the ill” (p. 1). The apparent ability of development to make things better is the main means for dominating developing countries (Peets and Watts, 1996, p. 17). Kankwenda (2004) describes foreign technical experts as “… marabouts or prophets of development. They come as do-gooders and humanists preaching the way of salvation, the way out of crisis” (p. 3). These experts supposedly possess the panacea for under-development.

Development and its dominant neo-liberal paradigm are seen as the latest version of subjecting resources and people of developing countries to industrialized western countries. Therefore, critics of mainstream development assert that hegemony and power should be at the core of development discourse (Amin 1990; Escobar 1995; Rist 2002; Imboela 2004; Ninsin 2006). Escobar (1995, pp. 46-47) finds that the application of the TEF’s version of development has not “solved the basic problems of under-development” but has been successful at integrating, managing and controlling peoples of the developing world in varied and detailed ways. Controlling developing countries is feasible because development itself creates a type of underdevelopment that is politically and technically managed to benefit the west. The fundamental character of this control is the normalization and moralization of development. TEF authors portray development as the normal course of action for under-developed societies (Peet and Watts, 1996, p. 17).

With development constructed as an international partnership to end poverty, hunger and disease, it does not need repressive measures to constantly attract a steady flow of
philanthropists, scholars and practitioners. All that is needed is a promise of making things better and freeing the under-developed world from squalor and poverty (Escobar 1995; Peet and Watts 1996; Rist 2002; Imboela 2004). The modern technology transfer of IDPs has also been a source of criticism.

2.5 IDP Technology and Development: Dependency and Inappropriateness

Tanzania’s first President, Julius Nyerere, was among the earliest African theorists to advocate for a self-reliant development that did not depend on foreign technology, expertise and finances. On February 5, 1967, the Tanzanian government adopted the Arusha Declaration, which spelt out the self-reliant or autonomous path of development (Rist, 2002, p. 127). An excerpt of one of the key passages of the Arusha Declaration states:

In order to maintain our freedom and our people’s freedom, we ought to be self-reliant in every possible way and avoid depending on other countries for assistance. If every country is self-reliant the ten house cell will be self-reliant; if all the cells are self-reliant the whole ward will be self-reliant; and if the wards are self-reliant then the District will be self-reliant. If the Districts are self-reliant, then the Region is self-reliant, and if the Regions are self-reliant, then the whole nation is self-reliant and this is our aim.24

Authors such as Freeman (1984), Lane (1992), Imboela (2004) and Shiva (2007) have shown that technological assistance like expensive tractors and chemical fertilizers build dependency and debt among small producers. More recently, the African Green Revolution financed by the Gates foundation and corporations like Cargill and Monsanto are offering genetically modified hybrid seeds and varieties as the solution to hunger in Africa (Dixon 2007; Sharife 2009). As Dixon (2007) has noted this could create the

24 Quoted in Rist, 2002, p. 129
ultimate state of dependency in Africa because biotechnology firms like Cargill own the patents to these so-called wonder seeds. This could place the entire food supply of Africa at the mercy of biotechnology firms as these terminator seeds have to be re-planted every year and thus purchased from the firms who own the proprietary rights. However, dependency does not only arise among poor Africans.

Moyo (2009) estimates that 500,000 people’s lives depend on disbursing aid for multi-laterals and this aid has been an unmitigated disaster for Africa and other developing regions. In addition to fuelling civil wars, Moyo highlights the ineffectiveness of development aid by showing that between 1970 and 1998 when aid in Africa was at its highest, poverty rose from 11 to 66 percent. Furthermore, authors like Moyo (2009) and Esteva (1992) explore the psychological dimensions of being labeled as under-developed and dependent on aid. This kind of classification and labeling not only obscures the agency of Africans not relying on aid to fight poverty, but causes African people to lose confidence in themselves to end hunger and poverty.

The notion of intermediate or appropriate technology stems from Schumachers (1973) book, *Small is Beautiful: Economics as if People Mattered*. Schumacher postulated that the large-scale capital-intensive technology of industrialized countries was inappropriate for developing nations and indeed the whole world. Inappropriate technology was unsustainable and did not conform to local conditions such as: raw materials, geography, climate, culture, indigenous skills, type of product, market structures and maintenance requirements. Therefore appropriate or localized science and technology was required
that was neither modern nor traditional (Schumacher 1973; Koloko 1979; Lane 1992; Imboela 2004).

2.6 The Socio-Economic Framework (SEF): Social Aspects of Economic Development

Dudley Seers (1969) was one of the first theorists to add social aspects to the definition of development when it was becoming clear that IDPs were not reducing poverty. Development became about eradicating poverty, unemployment and inequality and not just increasing output per head or sheer economic growth. Former World Bank President, Robert McNamara, is often credited with formulating the concept of basic needs at his famous 1972 speech in Washington. McNamara ended this annual speech by urging developing nations to “give greater priority to establishing growth targets in terms of essential human needs: in terms of nutrition, housing, health, literacy, and employment.”

Then in 1976, The International Labor Organization’s (ILO) Tripartite World Conference on Employment, Income Distribution and Social Progress and the International Division of Labor drew further attention to the failure of development’s social dimensions. This conference firmly thrust basic human needs onto the world development agenda when it stated:

Today, in spite of the immense efforts that have been made, both at the national and at the international levels, a significant proportion of mankind continues to eke out an existence in the most abject conditions of material deprivation. More than 700 million people live in acute poverty and are destitute. At least 460 million persons were estimated to suffer from a severe degree of protein-energy

25 Quoted in Rist, 2002, p. 163
malnutrition even before the recent food crisis. Scores of millions live constantly under a threat of starvation. Countless millions suffer from debilitating diseases of various sorts and lack access to the most basic medical services. The tragic waste of human resources in the Third World is symbolized by nearly 300 million persons unemployed or underemployed in the mid-1970s (ILO, 1976, p. 3).

Empirical evidence clearly suggested that the condition of the people was not improving. The ILO (1976) noted further that, “Contrary to earlier expectations, the experience of the past two decades has shown that rapid growth of aggregate `output does not by itself reduce poverty and inequality” (p. 4). SEF principal theorists include Seers (1969), ILO (1976), Stewart (1987) and Chambers (1994, 1995, 1997) who all challenged the assumptions and methodology of TEF-inspired IDPs.

Even though SEF proponents claim to emphasize the role of social issues, they do not abandon the centrality of output growth in development. They, however, contend that economic growth should be deliberately pro poor to benefit the marginalized and most vulnerable populations (Rist 2002; Imboela 2004). Zambia’s current and fifth national development plan (GRZ 2006) concurs with the SEF experts when it states that, “Firstly, the Government recognizes that wealth creation through sustained economic growth constitutes the most important element in poverty reduction” (p. 18).

SEF advocates believe development should be widened to include the social concerns of people and should be more than achieving economic growth (Seers 1969; ILO 1976; Stewart 1987). In order to accurately capture the concerns and reality of the poor and not the imposed conceptions of TEF experts, SEF adherents propose that the poor themselves must actively participate in their own development and development experts must become facilitators for the incorporation of local or people’s knowledge into
IDPs (Chambers 1997; Mosse 2001; Imboela 2004). The SEF therefore adds social and basic needs to the orthodox economic approaches used by TEF advocates.

2.7 The SEF and Participatory Development

In reaction to the criticism that TEF experts derided and excluded local/ rural knowledge, Chambers (1994) defined participation as, “A family of approaches and methods to enable rural people to share, enhance and analyze their knowledge of life and conditions, to plan and to act” (p. 953). The WB (1996), has also furnished its definition of participation as, “the process through which stakeholders influence and share control over priority setting, policy-making, resource allocations and access to public goods and services.” In current development literature, participation implies either the Chambers definition the World Bank definition or a combination of both.

The combined version of participation is now a central feature of IDPs in under-developed communities. Many donor countries and institutions demand local participation as a requirement for funding. Imboela (2004) cites Baker (2000) noting that involvement of local people in all planning and implementation stages has become a good practice norm in IDPs. In fact, the IMF and World Bank, the leading donor institutions, now require all countries receiving assistance to generate a Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) that is prepared in a participatory manner and in consultation with all stakeholders. In terms of mainstreaming participation, Hickey and Mohan (2004), observe that, “The World Bank’s Participatory Poverty Assessments (PPAs) have come to illustrate the most ‘scaling up’ of the participatory methods advocated by Robert Chambers.” (p. 159).
So called participation by local people is almost universally rubber stamped by development organizations and is seen to be imperative to IDPs for several reasons, including cultivating a sense of ownership among community members, to ensure the success and sustainability of projects. Moreover, since local communities are expected to own projects, they will not see them as outside impositions. Instead, the community collectively feels responsible for the project. Furthermore, SEF experts also claim that participation of local people in IDPs will ensure that technologies and solutions meet the needs of the poor (Chambers 1997; Imboela, 2004, pp. 70-71).

2.8 Critique of the SEF

Two main criticisms have been leveled against SEF inspired IDPs. Firstly, the SEF is not seen as an alternative conception of development. The SEF is premised on the idea of western-style development. That is, as moving from deprivation to mass consumption as it happened in western industrialized countries. The SEF only seeks to make the TEF version of development participatory and effective (Rist 2002; Imboela 2004).

Secondly, SEF conceptions of participation have been criticized heavily for depoliticizing participation and development as apolitical processes that can be achieved without altering social determinants of power and the global political-economic status quo. Moreover, the non-governmental organizations (NGOs) spearheading participatory development are thought to be complicit in the neo-liberal agenda that is perpetuating poverty by undermining African states in favor of the private sector and civil society.26

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26 The majority of NGOs operating in Zambia and SSA have risen in tandem with the current neo-liberal agenda and and draw their norms and standards from their western sponsors and not from the ‘participation’ of local people.
Other key arguments against the de-politicized notions of participation include glossing over the issues of structure and agency and a tendency towards methodological individualism (Hickey and Mohan 2004; Imboela 2004; Cleaver 2001; Cooke 2001).

In fact, Zambia’s PRSP (GRZ 2002) states that, “There is little disagreement within Zambia presently that the policy of liberalization is correct for revitalizing agriculture” (p. 55). However, in the participatory section the same document cites the Zambian people as saying liberalized agricultural policy is the number one cause of their poverty (GRZ, PRSP, 2002, pp. 31 and 145). According to Hickey and Mohan (2004), Uganda’s PRSP participatory process was flawed:

The 2002 round of the Ugandan PPA process had no feedback mechanism and no support for communities to work towards resolving problems that were raised. Towards the end of the 1990s, this in-country scaling up of participatory approaches was further formalized through the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) initiative. Theoretically, the PRSP is the output from a participatory strategy designed to include civil society in a process of analyzing poverty, poverty reduction outcomes and key public actions towards these outcomes (p. 159).

In these two cases, the participation of local people does not ensure that their interests and needs are served although there has been wide-scale consultation with all stakeholders on paper. The examples of Zambia and Uganda’s participatory processes show that understanding the dynamics of participation, requires a deeper knowledge of structural relations and societal norms within impoverished communities themselves.

2.9 Neo-liberalism: Free Market or Private Sector-led Development

Adding social and distributional concerns to the strictly economic definition of development, led to newly-independent states in Africa to intervene in the so-called
unrestrained free market established during colonialism. As I will show in the next chapter, the Zambian state in the 1960s and 1970s zealously tried to spread access to social services without de-linking from the international capitalist economy (Chipungu 1988; Mbikusita-Lewanika 1990; Imboela 2004).

The currently dominant neo-liberal paradigm began as a counter movement to this state-led development. Authors like Harry Johnson (1971), Anne Krueger (1974) and Deepak Lal (1985) argued that state involvement impeded economic development by distorting the free market and crowding out or stifling the private sector. Expensive state regulations and bureaucracies were said to make economic development extremely inefficient in poor countries (Corbridge 1995). Much like the traditional economic approaches, the neo-liberal paradigm lauds the private sector and free market as the dynamic engine of growth and development.

The contemporary neo-liberal agenda really began to come into its own in September 1981, when the World Bank published, Accelerated Development in Sub-Saharan Africa, popularly known as the Berg Report, after author and US economist, Elliot Berg. The report concluded that the development crisis in SSA was due to policies by states that stifled growth. Over extended African governments were said to be distorting the free market by protecting inefficient enterprises like state-run government boards and for gross mismanagement and corruption (WB 1981; Imboela 2004; Lines 2008).

The World Bank’s diagnosis laid the foundation for a set of free market and export-oriented policies called Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) that recipient countries
including Zambia, have to undertake as a pre-condition for financial assistance from the BWIs and other donors (Mkandawire and Soludo 1999; Imboela 2004; Ninsin 2006; Lines 2008). SAPs policy recommendations are based on free market, export-led policies as the route to development and therefore a major tenet of SAPs is to remove what the BWIs deem impediments to the free market (Panford 2001; Imboela 2004; Lines 2008).

The alleged main obstacle to the free market, and the cause of financial problems, is the state (Panford, 2001, p. 53). Therefore, SAPs seek to roll-back the over-extended state and reduce the size of the public sector. The state is urged to adopt a *laissez faire* or hands-off approach. It is encouraged to set a legal and regulatory framework that is conducive to private capital but not to intervene because it is claimed that the state hampers economic growth and development.

State withdrawal from the economy supposedly allows the private sector to flourish and reduces government deficits arising from inefficient state enterprises. On the basis of neo-classical economic theory, it is claimed that the private sector and free market are more efficient than the public sector. Consequently, BWIs strongly encourage countries to sell-off national enterprises to private businesses.

As a result, Zambia privatized at least 257 national companies from 1995 to 2004 (Kapende 2004). A major impact of these sweeping privatization measures in Zambia is massive unemployment and suffering. According to the Jesuit Center for Theological Reflection (JCTR), “formal employment has fallen from about 490, 000 to about 350, 000…. In addition, Andrew Chipwenda, the Chief Executive of the Zambia Privatization
Agency (ZPA), contends that, “jobs are far from sustainable since privatized firms operate at 30 percent capacity utilization” (Kapende, 2004, p. 2).

To further reduce the size of the state, SAPs stress the need for governments to deregulate investments and liberalize all domestic and international markets. This allows export of capital through profits, royalties, consultancy fees and other monies earned by foreigners and African elites. African governments are reminded of the virtues of expanding free market global trade, as Ouattara, (2000) seeks to demonstrate:

Protection from global competition is a dangerous non-remedy, whether it involves import barriers, high import tariffs, or currency controls. Developing countries that have been most open to trade have had the fastest growth, reducing global inequality; those least integrated into global markets, such as many African economies have remained among the world’s poorest (p. 22 culled from Panford 2001).

It is assumed that Africa could be competitive in the global market by liberalizing trade and that free trade would lead to economic growth and development for all countries (Panford, 2001, p. 54).

The BWIs also advocate a number of monetary and fiscal policies to rectify the alleged adverse impact of the state on the African economies. Typical monetary measures include currency devaluation and interest rate deregulation to allow the purportedly free market to determine the cost of borrowing money and influence the use of credit. As Panford (2001) writes, “It is assumed that the state’s regulation of interest rates merely aids profit seeking by individuals and enterprises that seek what they describe as excessive rent” (p. 54). With devaluation, the assumption is that the over-valued Kwacha in Zambia or Cedi in Ghana does not encourage economic growth because it discourages trade by making local goods more expensive relative to other currencies. When the
Zambian Kwacha was first devalued in 1983 as part of the IMF condition, one Kwacha was worth about 79 US cents, having fallen from a record high of 155.40 cents in 1975. On August 20, 2008, one Kwacha was worth 3, 400 US dollars. With respect to the cost of labor, the state is thought to hinder efficient operation of the market, by setting wages. Therefore, the cost of labor or wages should be determined by invisible free market forces.

A major concern of the BWIs is fiscal stability which is achieved by urging the state to increase its revenues by broadening the tax base. To complement fiscal stability, the state is encouraged to prune national expenditures, especially on social services and subsidies which are not regarded as productive sectors (Lines 2008).

In the 1990s, the BWIs shifted attention to poverty reduction as the main goal of financial assistance to countries of SSA (Imboela 2004; Galabuzi 2006). However, the principal tenets of IMF/WB policy remain unchanged. These include: facilitating private sector growth, trade and financial liberalization, macro-economic and fiscal stability and stimulating export-led free market trade. Currently, the neo-liberal paradigm is dominant in Africa and globally (Ninsin 2006). Thirty-two of the fifty-four African countries have IMF/WB PRSPs as their development plans.

27 Chipungu, 1988, p. 201
29 I will cover the experience of Zambians with such measures in chapters four and five of this work.
30 For a critique on how development professionals are constantly coining new themes and paradigms like the Millenium Development Goals or Sustainable Livelihoods to justify their relevance and dominance in SSA, see Escobar (1995), Encountering Development.
Much like the TEF-inspired IDPs, neo-liberalism has been critiqued for imposing a one-size-fits-all free market model of development. As I will use Zambia’s case to show in chapter four, curtailing the state is drastically raising the cost of living and destroying pillars of decent living in the form of state-sponsored health, housing and education.

In the late 1990s because of persistent and growing concerns over rising poverty in developing countries, a new concept centered on livelihoods is emerging in the development field sponsored largely by the United Kingdom’s Department for International Development (Carney 2003; Imboela 2004; Kaag 2004). The livelihoods approach is more of a framework of understanding than a school of thought with specific explanations and policy recommendations. Kaag (2004) demonstrates this by saying that:

> Recently the concept of ‘livelihood’ has gained popularity among both policy makers and scholars of poverty and development. It is used mostly as a sensitizing concept, indicating an approach to poverty that aims to be people-centered, non-sectoral and grounded in the multi-dimensional reality of daily life (p. 49).

However, the neo-liberal paradigm is overwhelmingly dominant in SSA and the livelihoods approach does not seek to challenge the central tenets of neo-liberal development.\(^\text{31}\) The leading critics of conventional development discourse come from the Dependency or Development of Under-development school.

### 2.10 The Dependency School

The Dependency school is the most well developed critique of conventional economic development theory. Heavily influenced by Paul Baran’s (1957) *Political Economy of Growth*, Raul Prebisch and Andre Gunder Frank are two pioneers often

\(^{31}\) For a critique on how development experts are always coining new terms and paradigms to try and ensure their relevance and dominance see: Escobar (1995) *Encountering Development*
credited with formulating this school of thought. Prebisch hypothesized that the world had been divided into a capitalist center-periphery and a Third World firmly attached to a global market as suppliers of cheap raw materials and importers of expensive manufactured goods and services. Andre Gunder Frank (1966) argued that capitalist accumulation in the metropoles depended on the continuing exploitation of the periphery which is the developing world. Walter Rodney (1980), Kwame Nkrumah (1966, 1970, 1973), Samir Amin (1974, 1976, 1990, 1997), Mbikusita-Lewanika (1990), Imboela (2004) and Ninsin (2006) have all advanced the dependency school. These writers conclude that colonial capitalism has given way to neo-colonialism or free market development managed and implemented globally by the IMF, WB and World Trade Organization (WTO) using mainly: privatization, debt rescheduling, financial and trade liberalization, commercialization, transfer pricing and so-called development aid. Critics of BWI-types of development contend that genuine and self-reliant development is only possible if African and other developing nations de-link from the exploitative global economy or radically re-negotiate the terms of trade.

2.11 Concluding Remarks

The literature review demonstrates fundamental similarities in the main frameworks of development that have constantly been opposed by critics. Firstly, the idea that western economic development and modernization is necessary and desirable is accepted without question by conventional theorists and practitioners. Development is essentially misconceived as a process of westernization in which IDPs are expected to deliver development similar to what occurred in industrialized western countries. In fact, the idea that African people may aspire to a different kind of development and also have a
different political economy are excluded from the discourse (Escobar 1995; Rist 2002; Imboela 2004).

In addition orthodox frameworks fail to systematically link the global system to local under-development (Imboela 2004; Shiva 2005). Development experts portray the poor as those left behind by growth and development and as victims who merely adjust to the international vulnerability context. The poor are not treated as being capable of challenging their vulnerability and under-development in the right circumstances (Shiva 2005; Imboela 2004). In failing to link international capitalism to under-development of the Third World, conventional discourse is criticized for not taking a historical and structural approach to explaining poverty and under-development.

Dependency critics of development have examined the unequal structural relations and impact of capitalism. However, Imboela (2004) notes that their analysis remains mostly at the macro levels of global, continental and national. Accordingly, the process through which international capitalism engenders local class contradictions and impoverishment within under-developed communities and between under-developed communities and governments has not been explained well. As an inter-disciplinary contribution to development studies, I apply the tools of political economy at the local level to explain the lasting poverty in Zambia and to re-conceptualize development as the majority of poor Zambians conceive it.
Chapter 3 The Historical Roots of Contemporary Poverty in Zambia

3.1 Introduction

Poverty in Zambia and SSA is better understood when placed in its proper historical and social contexts. Mainstream discourse frames under-development mainly in the language and logic of economics and neglects historical causes and explanations. Thus, the dominant paradigm does not explain how societies that have existed for centuries are now poor. The fact is that, people in Zambia or any African country do not just happen to be impoverished because their governments are corrupt or their traditions backward (Mbikusita-Lewanika 1990; Imboela 2004; Shiva 2005).

This chapter explains the historical evolution of under-development in Zambia in particular and Africa in general. I focus on the consequences of colonial capitalism, which literally exploited and subjected Africans to an adverse international division of labor. For Africa this led to an unequal role in the global economy as suppliers of cheap labor, inexpensive natural resources and new markets for manufactured goods first from Europe and later North America, Japan and most recently China. These dependent and disarticulated colonial economic structures perpetuate under-development (Kay 1975; Rodney 1980; Mbikusita-Lewanika 1990).

Equally important, colonialism took place within a broader political and economic system, western capitalism. The western European plunder and misappropriation of

\[32\] Mainstream development discourse comprises the Traditional Economic Framework (TEF), Socio-Economic Framework (SEF) and Neo-liberal Framework (NLF).
African land and other natural resources were consequences of the expansion of western capitalism into Africa. Consequently, an understanding of the real nature of western capitalism will yield a better appreciation of its main products, colonialism and under-development in Africa.

I will first explain the socioeconomic context of colonial capitalism and then give illustrations of the historical development of under-development from Zambia and other African countries. All colonial regimes sought to maximize the extraction of wealth from Africa and this led to the regions past and current poverty. Vandana Shiva (2005) shows that poverty was created by the violent take over of Third World resources and markets by European imperialists:

Without the destruction of India’s rich textile industry, without the take over of the spice trade, without the genocide of the native American tribes, without the African’s slavery [colonialism], the industrial revolution would not have led to new riches for Europe or the U.S. It was the violent take over of Third World resources and Third World markets that created wealth in the North, but it simultaneously created poverty in the South (p.2).

Understanding the history of western capitalism in Africa is crucial to comprehending the dynamics of contemporary poverty and under-development in Zambia and Africa (Vickery 1978; Mbikusita-Lewanika 1990; Imboela 2004).

In its constant search for more profits, colonial capitalism relied on under-developed regions for two main reasons. First, due to exploited labor and raw materials, the cost of production in Zambia and all other colonized countries was very low and hence extreme profits could be realized. For instance, in 1924 in Northern-Western and North-Eastern Rhodesia (Zambia’s colonial name) the British Colonial Office assumed direct control of
the territory from Cecil Rhodes’ British South Africa Company (BSAC). The latter colonized the territory between 1900 and 1911 after receiving a British Royal Charter on October 28, 1889. Mbikusita-Lewanika (1990) aptly illustrates, that wealth extraction from Zambia by the BSAC did not stop and may have increased:

When the company withdrew from the administration of Rhodesia, it received 3,750,000 pounds from the Imperial Government … retained ownership of lands amounting to 10,195,000 acres and mining rights yielding an annual income of over 100,000 pounds. The assets of the company were 7,065,000 pounds at the time. The company own(ed) 1,732,055 pounds (of) shares in Rhodesia Railways, 700,000 acres of land in Bechuanaland, and was to receive half of the revenue derived from the sale of lands in North-Western Rhodesia … in 1933 the company sold mining rights to the Southern Rhodesia government for 2,000,000 pounds … its total profits were as follows: 1932-172,000 pounds; 1933- 308,927 pounds and in 1934- 328,797 pounds (p. 72).

As Mbikusita-Lewanika notes, these profits were acquired during a world depression (1929-1933), and ten years after the company surrendered political authority to the British Colonial Office. He also noted that on the eve of Zambia’s independence on October 24, 1964, the BSA owned mineral royalties in Zambia, and demanded fifty million pounds sterling for them. They got four million pounds of which Britain paid two million pounds (Mbikusita-Lewanika, 1990, p. 73).

Secondly, underdeveloped regions provided markets for mass produced goods from industrializing countries. This was vital in relieving the systemic problem of over production and under consumption. By forcing overproduced commodities on peoples of underdeveloped regions, capital circumvented the realization problem in western Europe that caused the European market to be saturated and less profitable (Imboela 2004).

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When capital went global, socio-economic and environmental destruction in underdeveloped regions started and was accelerated. Kay (1975) points out the twin process of wealth accumulation and impoverishment by international capital:

The vast commercial empires set up first by the Spanish and the Portuguese and later by the British, French and the Dutch, established the basis of the modern economy. They concentrated vast accumulation of wealth in the form of capital, while overthrowing and pillaging whole civilizations. The creation of the world market, ‘the starting point of the modern history of capital’ was also a process of destruction. On the one hand it drew the world together into a new global division of labor that opened the possibility of previously undreamt-of increases in men’s productive power; on the other it split apart, turning this division of labor into a grotesque structure of exploitation and oppression. The foundations of modern development and underdevelopment were laid at the same time by the same process (p. 96).

From the perspective of finance capital’s worldwide search for profits, colonialism was logical and almost inevitable. In fact, capitalism depended on colonialism for the reasons discussed earlier. However, in safeguarding capitalism, colonialism destroyed the means of livelihoods in underdeveloped regions, especially those in Africa. Colonial capitalist exploitation effectively transformed communities into appendages of international capital and undermined indigenous political economies (Rodney 1980; Mbikusita-Lewanika 1990; Imboela 2004).

### 3.2 Colonial Development and the African Husbandman

Imperialism extracted its profits directly from the exploited labor and land of Africans. During colonial times the majority of Africans lived agricultural-based lives. Not much has changed in that particular sense as seventy-five percent of Africans live in rural areas and sixty percent of Africans earn their living directly through agriculture today (*New African*, 2006, p. 19). Therefore in Africa, land is the main source of
livelihood. Moreover, land is more than a resource, a means of livelihood or a commodity to most Africans. It often embodies the identity of communities because the entire superstructure of African societies is linked to land (Imboela 2004).

For colonial capitalism on the other hand, land value was determined by the accumulation of profit and individual and private property rights were emphasized. This so-called modern-industrial type of landownership is the type of ownership that conventional development experts and practitioners expect to precede Africa’s real economic development. The colonial British East Africa Royal Commission Report of 1953 to 1955 assumed that customary tenure restricted individual enterprise and economic progress:

Individual tenure [as opposed to communal tenure] has great advantages in giving to the individual a sense of security in possession, and in enabling, by purchase and sale of land, an adjustment to be made by the community from the present unsatisfactory fragmented usage to units of an economic agricultural size. The ability of individuals to buy and sell land by a process of territorial law, instead of a process of custom, opens the door to that mobility and private initiative on which a great sector of economic progress tends to depend…. The specialist farmer is relieved of the liability of providing a place for the subsistence of his clan relations. Moreover individual tenure should lead to the release and encouragement of new genius and to new experiment in finding the most productive use of land.  

As mentioned in the report, anthropological studies of Zambia and other African territories tended to emphasize communal or customary forms of landownership and use. In order to understand the history of under-development in Zambia, it is necessary

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34 Kibwana, 1996, p. 158; Yudelman, 1964, p.15
35 For a full exposition of communal pre-colonial land tenure in Zambia see, Audrey Richards (1939), Land, Labour and Diet in Northern Rhodesia: An Economic Study of the Bemba Tribe, London: Oxford University Press; Also, W.Allan (1949), Studies in African Land Usage in Northern Rhodesia. Rhodes-Livingstone Papers, No. 15 For Southern, Central and East Africa, see, Montague Yudelman (1964),
to comprehend the nature of livelihoods that colonialism claimed to develop (Mbikusita-Lewanika 1990; Imboela 2004).

I examine the case of Zambia’s indigenous agriculture system (citemene) which was viewed as primitive and unsustainable by colonial officials. Citemene is a form of shifting cultivation, in which fields are moved to use trees for slashing and burning and suitable soil for planting. This form of cultivation is common to most of Zambia where the soil is heavily leached, acidic and regularly receives in excess of 1000 mm of rainfall annually (Schultz, 1976, p. 50).

This indigenous agricultural system is characterized by the cutting and burning of tree branches and mixed crop rotation. It is the cutting and burning of tree branches, which in the minds of development experts and administrators define a set of practices as a form of citemene. It is worth noting that people who practice citemene in Zambia also practice more permanent cultivation (Allan, 1965, p. 68-69; Schultz, 1976, p. 58; Moore and Vaughan 1994).

There was and still is a tendency by development experts to view any system that involves the burning of trees as wasteful. Audrey Richards’ widely read 1939 book, *Land, Labour and Diet in Northern Rhodesia* described citemene as, “one of the most

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Moore and Vaughan, 1994, p. 3
primitive forms of bush cultivation” (p. 19). Richards echoed the ethnocentric view of colonial experts that citemene was backward and primitive (Moore and Vaughan 1994).

Agricultural research in Zambia in the 1930s and 1940s established that citemene systems were very well suited to the local ecological conditions of high rainfall and acidic soils. Allan (1965, p. 72) for example, pointed out that citemene methods furnished more productive and reliable yields than hoe cultivation and agricultural experiments comparing indigenous agriculture to ordinary farm practices found that citemene was more productive and reliable for most yields for finger millet. When one agricultural researcher tried ordinary farm practices with manure and fertilizer, it was clear that such methods cost much more with no better results. In fact, manure decreased millet yields by killing useful living organisms in the soil, like the plant, \textit{Eleusine Indica}.

In an experiment conducted at the Lunzuwa agricultural station, millet grown on dug plots prepared according to the Mambwe grass-mound system was compared with that grown on citemene plots over five seasons, during which three millet crops were taken. The results are shown on table 1.
Table 1 Millet Yields: Citemene and Dug Plots Compared

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Dug kg/ha</th>
<th>Citemene kg/ha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>Failure</td>
<td>1,798</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Groundnuts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>489</td>
<td>1,638</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Beans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>650</td>
<td>1,333</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Allan 1965, p. 73; Moore and Vaughan 1994, p. 29

Table 1 shows that citemene yields were more stable and higher than results obtained by the supposedly more advanced Mambwe grass-mound system.

The fertilizing effect of ash is one reason for the success of citemene agriculture. Richards (1939) and Schultz (1976) also noted that burning destroys potential weeds and Richards further noted that burning enhanced the phosphate, potash and calcium status of the soil, and that improved fertility. Furthermore burning decreased soil acidity, which allowed phosphates to be easily maintained (Allan 1965, p. 73). It is apparent that the combination of ash and burn is suited to the local climate and soil and explains the productivity of the citemene system. Allan (1965, p. 73) also observed that citemene cultivators used optimal amounts of branches for burning. He established this by the results of an experiment at Lunzuwa that burnt twice as many branches and got very small yield increments (Moore and Vaughan 1994).
Further research by Birch\textsuperscript{37} revealed that drying the soil by burning increases the availability of nitrate for crops. Birch found that the onslaught of the rains just before the growing season caused humus to decompose and release a large flush of flush of decomposition. This was more evidence of the scientific and ecologically adapted nature of this form of cultivation.

The use of mixed cropping and crop rotation in the citemene system reveals further evidence of the complexity and flexibility of these systems. Benefits derived from mixed cropping include better nutrition, insurance against single crop failure; disease control, and the efficient use of soil nutrients by plants with different needs and characteristics (Moore and Vaughan 1994). On this point, both Moore and Vaughn (1994, p. 37) and Mbikusita-Lewanika (1990, p. 97) assert that commercial mono cash cropping is leading to nutritional deficiencies as crop diversity is reduced.

In Zambia, the BSAC administration provoked resistance by first attempting to ban citemene in 1906 (Moore and Vaughan, 1994, p. 13; Mebelo, 1971, p. 102). Mebelo (1971) highlights the reaction of the Bemba by observing that:

Among the Bemba, these changes … gave rise to a situation which seemed so bad that in 1908, L.A. Wallace, the administrator for North-eastern Rhodesia, directed that a special report be written on the menacingly changed attitude of this people (p. 105).

In fact early in 1908, Chiefs Mpepo, Luchembe, Chikwanda, Changala, Kapoko and Lukaka, sent delegations to Mpika Boma to urge for the reinstatement of citemene (Mebelo 1971, p. 107). When colonial officials waged war against citemene cultivation,

\textsuperscript{37}Ibid., p.74; Moore and Vaughan 1994
they were not waging war against a primitive and backward system but against a locally adapted and productive system that worked well. Realizing that an outright ban on citemene was not feasible, the colonial government resorted to claims of improving and developing indigenous agriculture.

By declaring to be developing and modernizing agriculture vast amounts of land were forcibly appropriated from Africans to make way for cash crops and what was termed commercial agriculture (Rodney 1980; Vickery 1978; Imboela 2004). Moore and Vaughn (1994) describe the context of this development, by noting that:

In the period after World War II, colonial policy in the Northern Province [of Zambia], as elsewhere, underwent a number of changes. These changes were influenced by a number of factors, among them the rise of the nationalist movement that led some officials to suggest development as a means for preventing possible political unrest in the rural areas38 (p. 110).

After 1945 especially, discussions took place at the district and provincial levels directed toward the formulation of national development plans39 in Northern Rhodesia and the entire African continent. Crucial to this type of development, was the alleged modernization and betterment of agriculture through new Farming Schemes. These schemes targeted development resources toward Africans who demonstrated a

38 I am referring to the Colonial Development and Welfare Act that the British passed in 1940 and the French Social Investment Fund of 1946. These acts are addressed in chapter two of this dissertation.

39 Makings, 1966, p. 205
commitment to improved farming methods as defined by colonial interests\textsuperscript{40} (Mac Dixon-Fyle 1977; Moore and Vaughan 1994; Makings 1966; Allan 1965; Dodge 1977).

In the Southern Province of Zambia on the Tonga plateau, the colonial administration established the Improved Farmers Scheme (IFS) in 1946 (Allan 1965; Mac Dixon-Fyle 1977). This development scheme was heavily dependent on chemical fertilizers and Allan (1965) shows that average application in the scheme was 73 lbs of superphosphate and 65 lbs of sulphate ammonia per acre while “The best farmers apply over 100 lbs of superphosphate and between 150 to 200 lb of sulphate ammonia per acre” (p. 417). The scheme proved to be economically unsound as most yields were disappointingly low and it did not appeal to the majority of indigenous people. Throughout its existence, the scheme never attracted even ten percent of the Tonga who resided on the plateau.\textsuperscript{41}

One of the main reasons the IFS was resented by local Tonga was because they had suffered devastating land alienation in order to develop settler commercial agriculture and this led them to be suspicious of the intentions of this agricultural improvement. The IFS also imposed a discriminatory pricing system against Africans and contributed to politicizing many Tonga farmers. Leading the anti-colonial, nationalist struggle in the Southern province of Northern Rhodesia was the African National Congress (ANC), which had been formed in 1951, under the leadership of Harry Nkumbula (Dixon-Fyle 1977).

\textsuperscript{40} These colonial interests involved blunting nationalist struggles and supplying raw materials to rebuild war-torn British industries. This is why ‘agricultural development’ of cash crops expanded across Africa after the Second World War.

\textsuperscript{41} Mac Dixon-Fyle, 1977, p. 586
The ANC spearheaded resistance against the version of development attempted by the IFS. In 1952, the ANC\textsuperscript{42} stated that, “None should join the Improved Farmers Scheme. All Improved Farmers should stop taking advice from the Agriculture department…. The people should plough and plant as they like.” Dixon-Fyle (1977) demonstrates that resistance took many forms ranging from total rebellion and disassociation from the scheme, refusal to apply fertilizer or to inoculate cattle and physical resistance to arrest.

The colonial government began the Peasant Farming Program in what is now the Eastern province of Zambia in 1948. Much like other development schemes, European crops and agricultural practices were perceived as the only way to achieve development and raise rural incomes. Eastern province’s agricultural officer made the following revealing remark in 1960:

\begin{quote}
It cannot be over-emphasized that this scheme is the most important facet of rural development in the province and that there should be no complacency until 15 percent of the total male population is in the scheme. It is only through the creation of a class of landed gentry, farming on a commercial scale and producing the necessary cash crops, that a solid foundation can be laid for the Eastern Province agricultural industry. Penny packet production from the crumbs of village subsistence agriculture cannot create wealth of any kind.\textsuperscript{43}
\end{quote}

The Peasants Farming Program failed because of this ethnocentric attitude that dismissed indigenous agriculture and attempted to impose an unfamiliar foreign model of farming on the Zambians of Eastern province. However, the so-called master farming techniques

\textsuperscript{42}Ibid., p. 591.

\textsuperscript{43}Hellen, 1968, p. 142
and cash crops gave low agricultural yields in the Zambian physical environment and fared no better on raising income (Dodge 1977; Hellen 1968).

This misconceived notion of development was dominant in colonial Zambia, and is best illustrated by the Mungwi Scheme that was established by the colonial government in 1957. The purpose of the scheme was to urge villagers to abandon cite mene for settled cash crop production and to build a modern township in what is now the Northern Province of Zambia. For these purposes, 20, 000 acres of land were misappropriated from the Bemba to build what the Northern News called, “the most comprehensive and up-to-date planning scheme in Africa.”  

Trainees were instructed in modern techniques of farming, received loans for seed and fertilizers and were required to build a Kimberley brick house within two years of being allotted a private plot of land (Makings, 1966, pp. 230-232; Moore and Vaughan, 1994, pp. 133-135; Dodge, 1977, pp. 28-30).

According to Makings (1966) and Moore and Vaughan (1994) one of the reasons the scheme failed was because the capital-intensive, high input agriculture was economically unviable, unless heavily subsidized. This was largely due to chemical fertilizers that were too costly and had little residual effect. Johnson clearly illustrates this:

The fertilizer and seed advance on all this was tremendous as 60 lbs. of Rhodes grass seed and 800 lbs. of sulphate of ammonia was required for the recommended ley. The rate on maize was 100 lbs. of supers and 200 lbs of sulphate ammonia per acre. The rate on groundnuts was 200lbs. of “D” as before, and millet was given 200 lbs. of sulphate ammonia…. The average loan came to 125 British pounds. As this was far beyond the farmers ability to pay, and also because of their complaints, the Rhodes grass programme was written off.

44 Moore and Vaughan, 1994, p. 133
45 Ibid., p. 134
The Mungwi Scheme also failed because it was a wholesale transplantation of European agricultural practices that did not take account of the local physical, cultural and political environment of Zambia. Additionally, the majority of people did not wish to abandon their way of life, even among the very few who were seeking to modernize and develop their agriculture. As the largest colonial development scheme in Northern Rhodesia, Mungwi was a center of resistance and physical attack by the recently formed United National Independence Party (UNIP) under the leadership of the future President of Zambia, Kenneth Kaunda (Moore and Vaughan 1994; Dodge 1977).

Closely related to development thinking in Northern Rhodesia at the time was the development of the Parish System, which according to Moore and Vaughan (1994), “legalized the existence of individual settlements outside village groupings” (p. 116). Table 2 on the next page, shows the spread of peasant farming blocks in two of Northern Rhodesia’s largest provinces by 1959.
Table 2. The Peasant Farming Scheme in 1959: Northern and Eastern Provinces of Northern Rhodesia (Zambia)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Farmers</th>
<th>Average Loan per farmer, British Pounds</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Northern Province</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abercon</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinsali</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isoka</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kasama</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luwingu</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mpika</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mporokoso</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Eastern Province</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chadiza</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ft. Jameson (Chipata)</td>
<td>585</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katete</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lundazi</td>
<td>266</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petauke</td>
<td>576</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Adapted from Hellen, 1968, p. 140; Moore and Vaughan, 1994, p. 124.
This rapid expansion in individual and allegedly modern peasant farms significantly reduced communal and indigenous farm land in Northern Rhodesia. This transformation in land ownership and use in Zambia is best exemplified by maize cash-cropping on large, individually-owned farms. The British Colonial Department of Agriculture (1945) shows African-grown maize in Northern Rhodesia steadily increasing from 38,000 bags in 1941 to 115,000 bags in 1944.

Table 3. African Maize Sales on the Line-of-Rail, 1941-44

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>European-Grown</th>
<th>African-Grown</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>120,000</td>
<td>38,000</td>
<td>158,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>146,000</td>
<td>51,000</td>
<td>197,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>144,000</td>
<td>60,000</td>
<td>204,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>212,000</td>
<td>115,000</td>
<td>327,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Department of Agriculture, Annual Report For 1944 Lusaka: Government Printers, 1945, p. 5; Chipungu, 1988, p. 61.

Makings,\textsuperscript{46} shows that the quantity of so-called European-farmed maize had expanded from an average of about 170,000 bags in 1942-44 to 240,000 bags from 1945 to 1947. This had reached 105,700 bags in 1955 and peaked at 105,470 bags in 1961.\textsuperscript{47}

Large tracts of land were misappropriated from Zambians to develop European and commercial agriculture. In addition to the development policies of improved,
individualized farming, there was outright confiscation of indigenous land. The first recorded land seizure occurred when the BSA company granted US citizen, George Horton, 50,000 acres of land on the Tonga plateau in southern Zambia. In the next two years, up to 377,000 acres were granted to European settlers mainly along the line of rail where it was recorded that over a hundred permits were granted to settlers by 1914. By 1953, there were about 1,300 European farmers in Zambia, and they occupied about 4.5 million acres of the best land (Vickery, 1978, p. 168; Imboela 2004; Makings 1966).\footnote{Vickery (1978) discusses land alienation that began earlier in 1902 but outright dispossession began with the George Horton case in 1908}

Once the land was converted for European agriculture and peasant farming, indigenous Zambians were forced into Reserves. The Reserves were in unsuitable areas for European settlement, agriculture or commerce, and those who resisted had their chiefs whipped and their homes and crops burnt by British settlers (Mac Dixon-Fyle 1977; Vickery, 1978; Imboela 2004). The enforcement of reserves led to many Zambians being confined to small and arid areas. The infertility of these reserves, coupled with the artificially high population density, led to severe land degradation. Overcrowded on the reserves, people cleared, tilled and grazed land excessively and what followed was environmental destruction, poor harvests and chronic hunger in many reserves.

Vail’s pioneer work in Eastern Zambia illustrated how the establishment of game reserves created poverty and sickness for Africans. In 1902, the BSA company established the first game reserve and prohibitive gaming laws in the Luangwa river valley in Eastern Zambia. For Vail, the combination of land
alienation and labor migration to the copper mines brought Zambians in the Eastern province to the brink of starvation and annihilation through diseases such as sleeping sickness (trypanosomiasis in cattle) transmitted by the tsetse fly and crop failures due to cultivation of infertile soils.

Vail (1977) notes:

The refusal to allow Africans to hunt led to the development of large areas of bush in which an ever growing animal population dwelled and set the stage for one of the major ecological reverses in eastern Zambia’s history, the spread of tsetse fly and with it, human and animal sleeping sickness (p. 138).

Nineteenth century European explorers found tsetse flies in Central and Southern Africa’s hot river valleys, where the flies lived off the blood of wild animals including buffalo, kudu, eland, warthogs and bush pigs. Without these species and a suitable habitat, the tsetse disappeared. Vail (1977) adds that:

The great rinderpest epizootic had killed off most of the tsetse’s natural hosts, and by 1896 Zambia was largely free from the creatures. Thus, even in the Luangwa Valley, where game habitually abounded, cattle were raised by the local people successfully. Protection of game and amalgamation of villages, coupled with the large scale emigration of men from their villages, gave the opportunity for a remarkably quick regeneration of both bush and wild game following 1896…. From about 1905 onwards official reports speak of the spread of tsetse and the dying out of African stock…. By the end of the colonial era, the people dwelling in some of the most fertile and hospitable land in the country were impoverished and disease ridden. The land had been rendered barren and desolate, and the finely balanced relationship between man and his environment prior to the mid-nineteenth century was undermined, involving it in a process of underdevelopment still unresolved today (pp. 139-140).

Mulongo (1981) demonstrates the contradiction in the colonial government’s environmental policy of establishing game parks, especially Lochinvar, in Southern
Zambia. Due to strict protection laws, the people not only lost their land but lost access to free range meat and other animal protein. Mwalukanga (1981) chose Lusaka district “to examine the fate of peasant production between 1905 and 1953.” All these studies concluded that Zambians were impoverished by land dispossession and labor expropriation (Chipungu 1988).

Mbikusita-Lewanika (1990) writes, “By 1938, much of the country had been recreated into just hinterland labour reserves. Like the rest of Rhodes’ sphere of control, the land and people of Zambia were not protected from exploitation. It was protected for exploitation” (p. 52). A study in Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) by the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute concluded that:

The process of defining African reserves has created conditions where the carrying capacity of the indigenous systems in some areas was exceeded. The resulting excessive clearing of bush, much of which would ordinarily lie fallow for long periods to regenerate, would set off a cycle of reduced vegetative cover, deterioration of the soil and breakdown of its structure, and eventual erosion (Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, 1949, No.15 culled from Cliffe 1979, p. 155.)

Therefore, when placed in the historical context, poverty, landlessness and environmental destruction in Zambia are seen to be caused by international capital’s dispossession of indigenous land, in its world-wide search for more profits. Displacement in Zambia was primarily to make room for white settlers who were to grow cash crops on Zambia’s best land (Vail 1977; Vickery 1978; Imboela 2004).

In similar fashion, the colonial government in Mozambique forced independent farmers to grow commercial crops. As a Mozambican peasant explained:
We didn’t want to grow cotton, but we had to grow it; we wanted to grow cassava, beans and maize. If we refused to grow cotton, they arrested us, put us in chains, beat us and then sent us away to a place from where one often didn’t come back (Ciment, 1997, p. 34).

As the author observed further, the expansion of commercial agriculture also entailed the accelerated establishment of large plantations, which were often financed by foreign capital under Portuguese management. Throughout colonial Africa this type of development was being enforced through development schemes that forced people to grow cash crops under the guise of modernizing and improving agriculture.

One of the largest colonial development failures began in Tanganyika (now Tanzania) in October 1946 when the British colonial government established the East African Groundnut Scheme. This was a very large-scale mechanized scheme that appropriated 1,830,000 acres of Tanganyika’s land to grow groundnuts for oil in war-torn Britain. In fact the project aimed at growing groundnuts on 3,210,000 acres by expanding into Kenya and Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia). That never materialized because by 1950 the colonial government had admitted failure at this costly and misconstrued development scheme (Hogendorn and Scott 1981).

Hogendorn and Scott contend that the fully mechanized Groundnut Scheme failed for two principal reasons. The mode of agricultural development via large-scale mechanization and capital formation has not been proven to work in Africa and because the development experts did not take into account the specific agronomic conditions of Tanzania where the project was located. The soils had high contents of clay and sand which both made operating tractors very difficult and inefficient and when the tractors
broke down, spare parts were hard to obtain. Additionally, the rainfall pattern was erratic and the area prone to droughts.

This supposedly modernized and individualized cash cropping was the mode of development implemented at colonial schemes ranging from: the Gonja Development Scheme in the Gold Coast, to the cotton-growing Office du Niger scheme in Niger and Gezira in Sudan, to the rubber growing Paysannat Turumbu in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Sokoto Mechanized Rice Scheme in Nigeria, the peanut-belt at the Terres Nueves scheme in Senegal and tea and coffee in the Kikuyu highlands of Kenya. Without exception, these development schemes failed to improve the lives of the majority or lead to widespread adoption of so-called modern farming techniques (Allan, 1965, p. 392-459; Bonneuil 2000).

In Northern Rhodesia (Zambia’s colonial name), it was apparent to some colonial officials by 1934 that the colonial version of developing agriculture was not viable. Lewin (quoted in Chipungu (1988), the Chief Agriculturalist observed in 1934 that, “Natives are attempting to become peasant producers on the land suited only to their traditional system…. Even in more fertile areas, long periods of continuous cultivation without crop rotation began to show signs of soil degradation.” This was definitely the case in the Tonga reserves near the rail line. According to an anthropological report of 1950 (culled from Hellen, 1968):

Increase in acreages for commercial crops leads to the disruption of the villages into smaller units and the formation of scattered peasant farms, such as are seen in Reserves XI and XIII…. The misguided ploughing and poor cultivation of large maize gardens adds to the erosion…. At present contact with the European is
destroying what is best in the native’s traditional agriculture and providing in its place the defects of an alien system (p. 133).

O’Connor (1989) studied similar far reaching effects of industrial agriculture in West Africa:

The environment has been ruined by a conjecture of crop specialization for export, the pushing back of subsistence agriculture to more ecologically fragile lands and less land availability for cattle grazing. This has led to overgrazing and starvation of cattle. In times of drought, the well intended French government sank wells for the cattle, with the effect that areas around these wells were destroyed by the concentration of cattle. The result has been the growing fragility of the environment and the economy, and the mass impoverishment of a people who once had a well integrated and regulated subsistence economy (p. 5).

Contemporary features of poverty such as landlessness, food insecurity and environmental destruction have their roots in colonial capital misappropriating land and subjecting it to the interests of international capital. While cash crop plantations accumulated massive wealth for international capital, they simultaneously cultivated conditions for contemporary poverty and dependency in Zambia and SSA (Imboela 2004; Vickery 1978; Vail 1977; O’Connor 1989).

It is in this context that mainstream development theories are not adequate. Conventional discourse on development ignores or glosses over the historical and structural causes of under-development and therefore does not explain how and why the poor became poor and landless (Berberoglu 1992; Imboela 2004). Thus using a historical approach I show that colonial capitalist commodification was crucial in shaping contemporary under-development in Zambia and the rest of SSA.
Under-development in Zambia is historically linked to international capital’s export enclaves that attach the country to global markets as a supplier of cash crops and copper. These enclaves were the points through which surplus was transferred from Zambia to international centers of capitalism. Surplus was extracted directly through exploited and underpaid labor and livelihoods came to be dependent and determined by international capital (Imboela 2004; Davidson 1994; Mbikusita-Lewanika 1990).

It is noteworthy that the earliest mine commissioned in Zambia was a lead mine at a town called Kabwe, that ran from 1902 until 1994. Today, Kabwe is the most polluted city in Africa and one of the ten most polluted sites in the world. In the nineteen twenties BSA prospectors began commercial copper mining in Zambia that is still underway.

Commercial mines in Zambia required large amounts of labor as they were heavily under-capitalized. In order to get Africans off the land and into the mines, the colonial administration enforced the hut and poll tax that it had established in 1901. Having to pay taxes in cash for the first time forced many Zambians and other Africans into employment on settler mines and plantations. Early on this was mostly male labor as the colonial government considered only males as the owners of property and hence subject to taxation (Mebele 1971; Davidson 1994; Imboela 2004).

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Table 4 shows the extent of labor absenteeism in several districts of Zambia (then known as Northern Rhodesia) by 1938.

Table 4 Percentage of Absentees in 1938

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Districts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Over 60</td>
<td>Mporokoso (50-70%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 50</td>
<td>Sesheke (60%); Fort Jameson (50-60%); Mongu (55%); Lundazi (52%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 40</td>
<td>Kasama (50%); Petauke (50%); Abercorn (49%); Mumbwa (45%); Kalabo (43%); Mankoya (42%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 30</td>
<td>Kawambwa (40%); Serenje (40%); Senanga (32%); Kasempa (33%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 20</td>
<td>Chinsali (29%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 20</td>
<td>Balovale (17%); Luwingu (20%); Mkushi (12%); Broken Hill (10%); Mwinilunga (10%); Livingstone (5%); Mazabuka and Kalomo (Low)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Hellen, 1968, p. 96
Some of the major consequences of migrant labor from rural areas in Zambia included food shortages and hunger as crucial labor was forced to work in European plantations and mines while village fields and gardens suffered. Also the feminization of poverty as the work burden for women increased when they had to produce food staples as well as tend to the homes and children. In general rural livelihoods were under-developed and undermined by migration due to colonial taxation (Hellen 1968; Meebelo 1971; Imboela 2004).

3.3 From Colonial to Postcolonial Development

One may be correct to assert that to a large extent, the history of contemporary poverty in Zambia and SSA dates back to colonial capitalism. Especially after 1945, colonial governments in Zambia and Africa claimed that modernizing and improving indigenous agriculture into individualized, cash crop plantations would raise incomes and deliver development to the majority of Africans. Present-day landlessness and inequality are products of colonial land appropriation in favor of finance capital’s plantation and mine interests. Degraded soil, environmental and ecological damage are all linked to monoculture plantation cash crops and concentration of people on small fragile land.

It is therefore correct to assert that the foundations for present conditions of underdevelopment were laid in the era of colonial capitalism. The next chapter focuses on the transition from colonial to post-colonial development in Zambia. The main issue is whether or not independence changed the nature of development and integration into the international political economy and improved the welfare of most Zambians.
Chapter 4 Neo-Colonial or Post-Colonial Development in Independent Africa?

4.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the main paradigms of post-colonial development in Zambia and the rest of Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA). The term post implies an epochal break with the colonial capitalist system and is usually associated with the colonial foreign government withdrawing from the former colony. However, development critics have shown that the essence of capitalism is financial control and that does not require physical occupation as a direct colonialism did from the 1880’s to the late 1950s in Africa (Nkrumah 1966; Onimode 1988; Davidson 1994; Rist 2002; Imboela 2004; Ninsin 2006).

Nkrumah (1966) wrote the book Neo-colonialism to refer to states that are nominally independent with the trappings of international sovereignty but in reality have their financial and political systems and domestic policies controlled from the outside. In the case of Zambia, for example, the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (GRZ, PRSP, 2002) states:

It is estimated that a total of $1,200 million will be spent on PRSP programmes between 2002 and 2004. This is made up of ongoing (pre-PRSP) and new programmes. Donors will finance 67 percent of the total cost, while the rest will come from internal resources. The success of the first Zambian PRSP is, therefore, dependent on donor goodwill. However, Zambia will also work hard to reduce costs of general administration in the medium-term so as to free her own resources for the PRSP (p. 15).

Section 36.3 of Zambia’s current and fifth national development plan\(^5\) states:

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\(^5\) GRZ, 2006, p. 240.
The FNDP has been constructed on the basis of two major assumptions. These are (a.) accelerated growth and poverty reduction … and (b.) an increase in the resource envelope based on an anticipated scaling up of donor aid over the baseline projections. The anticipated increase in aid assumes that the international community will honor the commitments they made at the Gleneagles G8 Summit in 2005. At this summit, the G8 countries pledged that official development assistance (ODA) will be $50 billion higher by 2010 than is currently the case, with half the increase earmarked for Africa (p. 240).

The Zambian government itself is proclaiming that financing national development depends on G8 nations “honoring their commitments” to increase “official development assistance.” The government\(^\text{51}\) claims that total domestic resources will provide only 17.6 percent of the financing for the current development plan. Thus the overwhelming majority of programs and projects are to be financed from external sources such as loans and grants. As it is in Zambia today, neo-colonial control in Africa is secured through aid used to finance development. Other African nations exhibit similar dependency on donors for budgetary support.

Nevertheless, the ending of classic colonialism is an important juncture in the history of former colonies because it held the promise of ending the injustices of colonial capitalism. Instead of externally imposed exploitation, development was expected to benefit most Africans. Whether an African country declared itself to be socialist, capitalist or non-aligned, the expectation of development was central to independence. This hope for development remains largely unfulfilled for the majority of Zambians and other Africans. This chapter demonstrates that independence in Zambia did not change the mode of integration into the capitalist system and did not change the mode of

\(^{51}\) Ibid, p. 238

It is important to draw attention to the fact that the post-colonial era has benefitted certain segments of African societies. In Zambia, the social composition of elites that acquired state authority at independence was crucial in determining the development strategy of the post-colonial state. To a large extent in Zambia, the governing classes decided on the exploitation and distribution of national resources to the benefit of the elites (Chipungu 1988; Imboela 2004).

4.2 The Post-Colonial State and Development: Entrenchment of Under-development

On October 24, 1964, the United National Independence Party (UNIP), defeated the African National Congress (ANC) in national elections and formed the first independent government in Zambia. Chipungu (1988) describes the social class that acquired state power at independence in Zambia:

The U.N.I.P leadership that captured political power cannot by any definition be considered as constituting a peasant social group, although their roots were in that social group. Some had been part-time peasants after losing their salaried jobs at the height of national politics in the late 1950s and early 1960s. The majority had been urban-based primary school teachers, clerks, social workers, carpenters, petty traders and other lower government functionaries. But with independence, many such people moved to the centre (Lusaka) as cabinet ministers, members of parliament, civil servants and other full-time middle-class salaried jobs, and some again were dispatched to various Zambian rural areas as party representatives and government workers (p. 133).

Zambia’s first President, Dr. Kenneth Kaunda and the governing elites declared humanism the national philosophy. In 1969, a Ministry of Rural Development and a
National Agricultural Marketing Board (Namboard) were created\textsuperscript{52} while there was an earnest attempt to extend agricultural, health, educational and other social facilities to the broader population. However, the development policy for agriculture, from which the majority of Zambians earned their living, had the same objectives as the Colonial Department of Agriculture. These included the production of new cash crops and national self-sufficiency in maize.\textsuperscript{53} Thus the declaration of independence did not substantially alter state policies towards agriculture and the rural areas. The new Ministry of Agriculture stated: “The year 1964 will be remembered more for the political changes it saw than for any outstanding agricultural feature.”\textsuperscript{54} Because of the desire to increase commercial agriculture, the state even appealed to the 1200 European settlers to stay in Zambia after independence (Jain 1967; Dodge 1977; Chipungu 1988; Mbikusita-Lewanika 1990; Imboela 2004).

The new Zambian administration did not have a chance to formulate a set of post-independence development policies and suffered from a lack of modern manpower (GRZ 1966). Consequently, in 1963 the transitional government requested United Nations assistance for “establishing the broad framework and policy of an integrated economic and social development plan.”\textsuperscript{55} This led to the appointment of the joint United

\begin{footnotes}
\item[52] Gertzel, 1980, p. 241
\item[53] As illustrated in the previous chapter of this dissertation, the colonial government’s main aim was to extract wealth and hence it had no desire to incur the cost of feeding the colonies. This forced the colonial government to ironically adopt a policy of self-sufficiency while actually promoting cash crops that undermined food self-sufficiency.
\end{footnotes}
In its report the Mission said that economic and social progress in the territory depended on the rapid modernization of its traditional agriculture. It noted that subsistence farming was the mode of life of about 450,000 farm families comprising 70 percent of the population, with an estimated agricultural output of 25 million pounds, of which about 5 million represented cash income (probably a considerable overestimate as the official figure for 1964 was 3.1 million pounds). The mission made projections of the increase in commercial output from agriculture which assumed that from a base of 5.9 million pounds in 1965 the expected growth to 9.6 million pounds by 1970 could be pushed up to 16.2 million pounds (an increase of nearly 70 percent) as a result of the mission’s program of action. This program involved the increasingly widespread adoption of modern techniques in all branches of farming within a framework provided by modified tenure systems, resettlement, provision of credit, improved marketing facilities, and the participation of local authorities (pp. 238-239).

This report provided the first framework for Zambia’s post-colonial development which was expected to depend on modernizing indigenous agriculture. The main objective of the post-colonial state in rural Zambia, up to the economic collapse of the mid-1970s was to ensure economic growth and development by raising output of agriculture to diversify the economy and to reduce dependence on copper mining. Central to this pattern of development was the idea that local raw materials could feed the modern mining sector and lead to domestic industrialization, economic growth and development of the traditional rural sector. In Zambia and throughout Africa, this strategy

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56 The joint UN/ECA/FAO mission is known as the Seers Report because it was headed by Dudley Seers who is famous for his social definition of development. See: Dudley Seers (1969) and Chapter 2 of this study.
was termed Import Substitution, the brainchild of Arthur Lewis and his dual economy analysis\textsuperscript{57} (Makings 1966; Dodge 1977; Chipungu 1988; Mbikusita-Lewanika 1990).

### 4.3 The First National Development Plan (FNDP) and the Agricultural Sector, 1966-70

The FNDP was largely shaped by the short and long term policy guidelines of the Seers Report. These included developing Zambia’s customary land tenure and the improvement and modernization of indigenous agriculture via mechanization,\textsuperscript{58} fertilizer support\textsuperscript{59} and resettlement. This was to provide increased employment and income for Zambians and to address the rural urban bias in the country.\textsuperscript{60} Except for the land reform,\textsuperscript{61} the government translated these broad proposals into eight objectives:

1. Diversifying the economy so that the copper industry is not the main employer in the economy, and ensuring that a greater proportion of domestic demand is satisfied by domestic production from a large industrial base

2. To increase employment by at least 100,000 jobs during the course of the Plan

3. To increase average monetary output per head from K 122 per annum in 1964 to about K 200 per annum in 1970

\textsuperscript{57} See Chapter Two of this dissertation for a summary of Arthur Lewis’ dual economy position on economic development.

\textsuperscript{58} The Seers report suggested government-administered tractor pools with a goal of 3000 tractors by 1970 (Dodge, 1977, p. 53).

\textsuperscript{59} A fertilizer program that would use more than 40,000 tons by 1970 and would have to be subsidized by government (Ibid., p. 53).


\textsuperscript{61} Although the Zambian government did not implement full scale land reform, it passed the Land Acquisition Act in 1969 that was aimed at reducing customary control over land use (Gertzel, 1980, p. 241).
4. To maintain reasonable price stability

5. To minimize the inherited economic imbalance between the urban and rural sectors with a view to raising the capacity of the latter sector for transforming resources into social and economic growth.

6. To raise rapidly the general levels of education, as well as develop a wide range of specific technical, administrative, executive, professional and management skills in the population.

7. To provide more and better living accommodation as a requisite ingredient of a better standard of living, and to raise the general level of social welfare.

8. To develop new communications, sources of energy, transport and other economic infrastructure for a new economic order.\textsuperscript{62}

Agriculture’s role in national development was to assist with diversification from copper by providing raw materials for import substitution agro-industries. Sunflower\textsuperscript{63} for instance, was to be used to establish local oil industries and reduce Zambia’s dependence on imported oil. It was also claimed that commercial agriculture would increase rural employment and incomes thereby raising purchasing power to expand the local market for the industrial sector that was being planned. All these may be desirable goals but they have not been achieved via the dual economy industrial mode of development.

To date, the diversification and the industrialization of the Zambian economy have not been achieved and the majority of people continue to live in poverty. However, it is widely acknowledged that the first post-independence government sought to create the infrastructure for the industrialization of Zambia.\textsuperscript{64} Zambia’s Economic Report for 1971


\textsuperscript{63} Figures of sunflower hectarage are shown later in the chapter.

\textsuperscript{64} GRZ, Economic Report for 1971 and Mbikusita-Lewanika, 1990, p.125
stated that agriculturally based industries did not take-off: “Both ‘food industry’ and ‘beverages and tobacco industry’ recorded a decline during this period [1966-1970] as well as the corresponding seven months in that year [1971].”

Furthermore, Zambia’s state-run Industrial Development Corporation (INDECO) and its main subsidiary, Rucom Holdings had net losses of K374, 000 in 1969-1970 and K965, 000 in 1970-71. Table 5, shows that the performance of the agriculture sector during the FNDP fell below expectations as the output of commodities including maize, milk and groundnuts fell.

Table 5. Zambia: Marketed Production of Main Agricultural Commodities:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maize</td>
<td>MT</td>
<td>377,580</td>
<td>374,680</td>
<td>249,240</td>
<td>253,140</td>
<td>124,370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groundnuts</td>
<td>MT</td>
<td>11,530</td>
<td>14,810</td>
<td>5,390</td>
<td>7,820</td>
<td>3,270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>L(000)</td>
<td>19,000</td>
<td>18,300</td>
<td>18,400</td>
<td>16,200</td>
<td>15,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virginia To.</td>
<td>MT</td>
<td>6,570</td>
<td>4,950</td>
<td>6,290</td>
<td>5,020</td>
<td>4,790</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burley To.</td>
<td>MT</td>
<td>860</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotton</td>
<td>MT</td>
<td>2,780</td>
<td>1,830</td>
<td>4,250</td>
<td>6,920</td>
<td>5,610</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

MT-Metric Ton; L-Litres To-Tobacco


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Several reasons were given for the poor performance of the agricultural sector right after independence but mainly the departure of European settler/commercial farmers in the 1960s is seen as the cause. This is usually attributed to Zambia’s independence and her frontline role in the anti-colonial movements of Southern Africa. Later Zambia severed links with the settler-dominated Southern Rhodesia and South Africa in support of African liberation and the number of European settlers in Zambia declined from about 1200 in 1953 to 600 by 1970. The Seers Report, which re-named settler agriculture commercial, had expected this sector to increase productivity by about 70 percent by modernizing indigenous practices (GRZ, SNDP 1971, pp. 14-16; Dodge 1977, p. 66; Klepper 1979; Chipungu 1988; Moore and Vaughan 1994).

A few under-capitalized Zambians had become commercial farmers but the settlers had produced most of the cash crops such as tobacco and cotton. Their departure caused the output of commercial agriculture to increase by a mere eight percent from 1965 to 1969. The Zambian government continued to encourage the growth of cash crops in the rural areas for local industrialization and President Kaunda noted that, “Industrial growth has … thrown a dual challenge to rural people. Firstly, they must produce more and more food for…. Urban workers … and their own consumption. Secondly, they must supply raw materials for … manufacturing industries.”

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67 Chipungu 1988, p. 139; Dodge 1977, p. 66

68 Jolly 1971, p. 7 and Chipungu, 1988, p. 139

69 Mbikusita-Lewanika 1990, p. 77
Because the mode of development and integration into the national and international economy had not changed, structural under-development continued to impoverish the rural majority. By 1970, when the FNDP ended, President Kaunda stated: “It is a fact that the urban areas … were enriching themselves at the expense of the rural areas. Rapidly increasing prices for consumer goods and costs of production, on the other hand, make farming not a very attractive proposition.” As a result, the rural Zambian population continued migrating to urban areas to escape poverty. Table 6 illustrates the continued rural-to-urban population flow in Zambia’s provinces during the early post-colonial period.
Table 6. Provincial Rural-Urban Net Migration, 1963-74

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Population (in Thousands)</th>
<th>Net Migration as % of 1963 Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Luapula</td>
<td>357.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Northern</td>
<td>564.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Eastern</td>
<td>480.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Northwestern</td>
<td>211.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Western</td>
<td>362.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Southern</td>
<td>466.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sub-total</td>
<td>2,441.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Central</td>
<td>505.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Copperbelt</td>
<td>544.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sub-total</td>
<td>1,049.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3,490.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Mwanza, 1979, p. 28.
Rural-urban migration fosters under-development in Zambia as male labor especially is absent from rural agriculture. The consequences of this absence are poor harvests, hunger in rural areas, slower population growth and disruption of family life in rural areas as well as the feminization of poverty, as women are made to care for children as well as to tend to farms for local food staples (Hellen 1968; Meebelo 1971; Imboela 2004).

Table 7. National rural and urban population figures from 1963 to 1969 in Zambia.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Urban Population</th>
<th>Rural Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>3,489,500</td>
<td>715,000</td>
<td>2,774,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>4,057,000</td>
<td>1,192,100</td>
<td>2,864,900</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In order to spread modern development practices, the state introduced agricultural extension services and camps, particularly in the rural areas. The experts in these camps had the duty “to introduce and explain technical productive forces and to encourage peasants to adopt them on a regular basis” (Chipungu, 1988, p. 145). The Zambian government established numerous camps, especially in the provinces where commercial agriculture was purportedly least developed. The Central Province registered a 37.5 expansion; Southern, 77.6; Eastern, 24.7; Northern 38.8; Copperbelt, 157.1; Luapula, 104.3; Northwestern, 110; and Western Province, 110 percent expansion.70 This government infrastructure had the dual purposes of supporting emergent commercial

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70 Chipungu, 1988, p. 145
farmers to produce more cash crops and encouraging poor peasants outside the development schemes to produce more for the market.

Despite these efforts at development, rural provinces continued to lose their populations to the Copperbelt and other urbanized areas. This was because the post-colonial government maintained the internally disarticulated developmental mode that extracted wealth from rural areas. As shown earlier in this dissertation, these practices impoverished rural Zambians. The Second National Development Plan (SNDP) continued this dual mode of development with adverse consequences for rural inhabitants especially.\footnote{The main difference between the FNDP and SNDP is that government services were targeted at cooperatives during the FNDP while the government aimed its services more at private households during the SNDP. However, as will be shown later in the chapter, the mode of development remained the same and had the same unsuccessful results. See Dodge, 1977, pp. 62-68 and Klepper, 1979, pp. 139-145. Dodge, 1977, p. 60 shows that in September 1969 Professor H.A. Turner of the ILO drafted a report on wages, employment and rural living standards at the request of the Zambian government. This was the most influential and first major assessment of policies of the FNDP. In fact in December of 1969, the Government convened the Second National Convention on Rural Development and one of the stated objectives was to illicit views on Professor Turner’s report from all walks of life.}

### 4.4 The Second National Development Plan (SNDP) and Agriculture, 1972-1976

The listed goals of the SNDP illustrate that the framework and objectives of development remained unchanged. These goals were:

1. To improve rural standards of living and to create a self-reliant and progressive rural society
2. To create in the rural areas new employment and income opportunities and to improve those infrastructural services related to increased rural productivity, in order to counteract migration to the urban areas;
3. To increase the contribution of the [rural] sector to GDP and to promote the diversification of the economy;
4. To develop self-sufficiency in staple foodstuffs and to reduce the growing
dependence on imports of higher value commodities;

5. To improve nutritional standards by means of increased production and
consumption of protein and protective foods for local consumption rather than
merely as cash crops.\(^2\)

As the following data show, during the SNDP, the government focused on boosting
maize production for national food self-sufficiency and the development of cash crops.
Maize production rose from the 1970 record low of 1,490,300 bags to 6,642,915 in 1974
and 6,214,690 in 1975.\(^3\) Much like in colonial Zambia, the spread of a mono-cultural
commercial agriculture and the consequent transformation in land use and ownership in
post-colonial Zambia, are exemplified by increasing maize production under the guise of
agricultural development.\(^4\)

While boosting maize production, the state was also encouraging diversification and
development of cash crops such as sunflower, cotton and tobacco for local
industrialization. Data from the Central Province of Zambia shows that 1,700 hectares
were under sunflower cultivation in 1973 and increased to 10,862 hectares by 1975.\(^5\)
Output increased from 1,385 (50kg) bags in 1973 to 144,964 in 1975. In Southern

\(^2\) GRZ, SNDP, 1972, p. 61; Dodge, 1977, p. 70

\(^3\) Chipungu, 1988, p. 151

\(^4\) Chapter three of this dissertation utilizes the figures of the British Colonial Department of Agriculture
(1945), Makings (1966) and Dodge (1977) to illustrate the increase in individualized cash cropping in
colonial development schemes. Chapter four has shown how post-colonial development schemes continued
the growth of ‘economically viable cash crops’ with the same model that is dependent on chemical
fertilizers. During both the colonial and post-colonial era, these development schemes have not resulted in
food self-sufficiency, a significant reduction in poverty or widespread adoption of so-called ‘improved’
agricultural practices.

\(^5\) GRZ, Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1974-1975, 66.r

The post-colonial Zambian state increased productivity of non-traditional cash crops by following another recommendation of the Seers Report to enforce resettlement schemes, called intensive development zones. These were where modern agricultural techniques and practices could be used to grow cash crops on large private plots provided and supported by the state. Due to its desire to increase cash crops, the state deliberately targeted farmers who had already began commercial farming, mostly benefitting the elites and rich peasants (Chipungu 1988; Moore and Vaughan, 1994, p. 137; Schultz, 1976, p. 182; Dodge, 1977, p. 71). According to Chipungu (1988, p. 159), in these agricultural schemes, selected peasants with knowledge of modern farming and some savings of their own were “lured from the villages into plots of land granted by the state…. Such peasants were expected to grow cash crops.”

The attack on the indigenous system of agriculture continued in post-colonial Zambia, with much the same impoverishing effects. Increasingly land and labor were being devoted almost exclusively to growing cash crops on mono-crop plantations of maize, sunflower or cotton. Industrial agriculture, such as attempted by the import-substitution strategy of Zambia, requires large amounts of raw material for domestic industry to be successful. Since agriculture in Zambia was meant for local

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76 Dodge, 1977, p. 28, shows that the largest colonial development scheme, Mungwi, was conceived under a plan called an Intensive Development Zone (IDZ) illustrating the historical continuums from colonial to post-colonial development. The failures of this scheme are discussed in chapter three of the dissertation. Gertzel, 1980, p. 248 shows that apart from the Seers Report that recommended IDZ’s in 1963, a FAO/World Bank mission in 1965, an ILO team in 1969 and another FAO mission in 1970 all suggested this development strategy to the Zambian government.
industrialization, sunflower, cotton, tobacco and maize were the preferred crops on large single-crop plantations. Chipungu (1988) notes that:

After independence, maize has been joined by cotton, tobacco and sunflowers, and peasant growers of these cash crops have been considered “progressive,” thereby justifying the focal interest of the Extension Branch of the Department of Agriculture. To belong to the colonial or post-colonial agricultural schemes has meant to cultivate these economically viable cash crops (p. 231).

The Zambian state encouraged monoculture cash crop production because it subscribed to the economic prescriptions of Arthur Lewis. The state believed that Zambia was a dual economy comprised of a small modern mining enclave and a large and backward rural area where indigenous agriculture was practiced. Development and modernization depended on the rural areas supplying crops like sunflower seed for a local oil industry. These cash crops were designed for local industrialization, aimed at raising rural incomes and diversifying the economy to reduce dependence on copper. In addition to supplying more cash crops, the rural areas were expected to grow enough food for themselves and the growing urban population.

Modern industrial agriculture utilizes large, single-cash crop plantations in order to produce adequate raw material for import-substitution industrialization. However intensive single-crop cultivation drains nutrients from the soil and hence the post-colonial schemes in Zambia were just as dependent on chemical fertilizers as the failed colonial schemes discussed in chapter three of this thesis. By 1978, Zambia had “one of the highest per capita fertilizer consumptions in the developing world.”

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77 Chipungu, 1988, p. 211. Chipungu noted that in 1970 the government of Zambia established Nitrogen Chemicals of Zambia in Kafue and by 1983 the Kafue plant made the country almost self-sufficient in fertilizer.
In addition to cash crops diverting resources from food production, mono-crop agriculture drains the soil while the chemical fertilizers intended to boost productivity, kill useful organisms and acidify the soil and thus further reduce the natural fertility of the soil which led to poor yields in the long run. In addition to creating visible features of poverty such as nutritional deficiencies, state-sponsored post-colonial schemes continued the differentiation began during the colonial commodification and privatization of land into very large individual farms. For example, Chipungu (1988, p. 161) observes that, “it was reported in 1974 that Amon Matyau of the Mbaya-Musuma scheme farms 160 hectares of land in his own right, growing maize, sun-hemp and beans.” Lee Holland, Settlement Advisor at Mbaya-Musuma remarked in July, 1971 that:

Mr Abel Chitatu is known for his complaint that at planting time there is neither Saturday nor Sunday. His complaint is well taken. In less than 20 days this man co-ordinated three teams of oxen and successfully ploughed, harrowed, and planted 30 acres of maize. He then planted groundnuts and sorghum, fenced his lands and in March winter ploughed a further 15 acres. At present his pigs and cattle are enjoying the abundance of maize stover and he is having to shell almost 600 bags of maize (Quoted in Chipungu (1988, p. 161).

As noted in Holland’s statement, these progressive farmers were farming their individually-owned private farms and even fencing and otherwise enclosing their newly acquired land. Their increasing demand for labor on these large farms and ever-increasing participation in the market economy led these rich farmers to hire wage labor as the wealth differences between the rich and the poor in rural Zambia were intensified during the First and Second National Development Plans (Muntemba 1978; Chipungu 1988; Mbikusita-Lewanika 1990; Imboela 2004).

President Kaunda himself said:
What … am I to think of the predominance of projects which we have carried out in rural areas ever since Independence and which we are carrying out now, which have only enabled, and indeed will only enable a privileged few to settle on farms where they might employ hundreds of their fellow Zambians as farm laborers? We have been doing this and are doing this now with Government funds. In other words, some privileged few - both co-operators and individual farmers - get this chance to exploit their fellow men. On the other hand, we are all busy preaching Humanism. Surely this is a contradiction.  

Bwalya (1984, p. 74) captured the sentiments of poorer Tonga farmers who felt that development schemes were a deliberate camouflage to prevent them from sharing equally in the nation’s resources.

Since the Zambian government sought to modernize agriculture in rural areas by introducing cash crops, it targeted development resources at emergent or commercial farmers. The poor and landless suffered while the post-independence elites acquired new resources and entrenched themselves as the new land owning class. Therefore, as President Kaunda noted, state sponsored rural development cemented the unequal social relations that impoverished the rural majority, despite state rhetoric of a classless and humane society. In a nutshell, post-colonial agricultural development in Zambia did not industrialize or diversify the economy and did not achieve food security or raise rural incomes and standards of living (Dodge 1977; Muntemba 1978; Chipungu 1988; Mbikusita-Lewanika 1990; Imboela 2004).

### 4.5 Zambia’s Economic Decline and Neo-colonialism: 1973-Present

At the root of Zambia’s economic problems is the legacy of under-development arising out of colonial capitalism attaching the nation to the international capitalist system.

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as a primary exporting economy that relies mostly on copper and cash crops while essential commodities like oil are imported. For instance, the state’s pursuit of modernization and development, particularly in the agricultural sector, depended almost entirely on copper revenues. Zambia’s SNDP, published in 1972, revealed how crucial copper was to financing the First Development Plan:

Revenue resources constituted the bulk of the total resources and their percentage share in the total was also higher at 87.3 percent than anticipated [84.6 percent]. It is to be noted that the revenue resources continue to be predominantly copper-based. For out of total revenue resources of K 1, 556 million, royalties on mineral resources, the copper export tax as well as income tax constituted over 70 percent.  

Since British South Africa (BSA) Company prospectors realized Zambia had copper in 1925, the state has depended on copper exports for the bulk of its revenue. Primary metal exports, predominantly copper, constituted 97 percent of the total value of exports in 1977; 95.7 percent in 1978; and 97.6 percent in 1979. By 1983, Zambia’s mineral industry contributed just below 95 percent of the country’s foreign exchange. Much of

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79 GRZ, SNDP, 1971, p. 7; Chipungu, 1988, p. 183. The First development plan was financed by the Zambian government to the tune of 87.3 percent while only 17.6 percent of the current development plan is financed by the Zambian Government, as illustrated at the beginning of this chapter. This is a typical example of how financing development of an independent state is dependent on donor goodwill. Nkrumah (1966) defined a neo-colonial state as a state that is in theory independent and has all the trappings of international sovereignty, such as debt, but in practice has its financial and hence political policies controlled from outside.  


Zambia’s current economic downturn can be traced to the falling price of raw copper and the 1973 oil and energy price hikes.

Dependence on copper exports made the Zambian economy extremely vulnerable to the vagaries of the global market for copper and imported commodities like oil. Zambia also imported machinery for commercial agriculture and mining. According to Mbikusita-Lewanika (1990, p. 126), copper prices tumbled from 870 pounds (British sterling) in 1974 to 550 pounds (sterling) in 1975. This was a loss of more than 60 percent in one year alone. In fact, government export earnings declined from the 1974 high of K905.09 million, to K593.6 million in 1979, a loss of over a third.

While export earnings were declining after 1975, the cost of imports showed a steady upward trend: from K468.70 million in 1976 to K873.60 million in 1983. The rising import bill adversely affected the country’s balance of payments position, particularly in the early 1980s. It is noteworthy that although Zambia’s import bill rose from the middle 1970s, the country did not import significantly more manufactured goods. Chipungu (1988, p. 195) illustrates how Zambia was struggling to maintain a constant level of imports of essential machinery for the copper mines. The fact that Zambia’s import bill was growing and yet the imported goods remained constant reflected the declining terms of trade for raw materials like copper, in the global economy controlled by the industrialized countries (Galabuzi 2006; Chipungu 1988).

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83 Ibid.
Due to falling international copper prices and rising import bills, the Zambian government increasingly turned to donors for financial assistance from 1973 onwards. Most of this international aid is coordinated through the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB), which are known as the Bretton Woods Institutions (BWIs).

According to Mbikusita-Lewanika (1990):

> The full-fledged takeover of Zambian national economic doctoring by the IMF began in May, 1981. This is when the IMF availed a three year Extended Fund Facility, which was the fourth in a series of stabilization and adjustment programs since 1973. It was followed up in April, 1983 by a one year Stand-By Arrangement (p. 135).

Chipungu (1988) notes that it was then reported in the *Daily Mail* in April 1986 that the International Development Association, a lending arm of the World Bank, had lent Zambia about K56 million ($8 million) “to improve the planning and budgeting system of the Ministry of Finance and National Commission for Development Planning.”84 This placed Zambian finances and development under the influence of the BWIs. Under the tutelage of the World Bank and IMF, the Zambian state removed all subsidies, and this resulted in a 120 percent increase in the price of the staple food, maize meal. At least 15 Zambians lost their lives as civilians clashed with the police and military. The riots ended when President Kaunda rolled back the price increases85 because people were starving.

Zambia then proceeded to break ties with the BWIs from May 1, 1987 to December 1988 and attempted to implement a National Economic Recovery Program (NERP)

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which was independent of the IMF and WB. This was short-lived as Mbikusita-Lewanika (1990, p. 137) succinctly notes, “in June 1989, Zambian authorities announced new economic measures which clearly signaled the process of reverse compromise towards the IMF fold.” Kaunda and UNIP lost the elections of 1991 to the Frederick Chiluba-led Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD). According to Kapende (2004, p. 1), former President Chiluba and his MMD, “embraced the most rapid and rigid SAP in Africa” whose impact I review in the next section.

4.6 Structural Adjustment, Poverty Reduction and Zambia’s Poor

Zambia first began implementing SAPs in the mid 1970s as a result of the precarious balance-of-payments position, caused by the sudden oil price increases and declining copper revenues. Subsequently, Zambia began to sporadically acquire loans from the BWIs and other donors to finance her external and internal deficits. Since 1991, the government has consistently and comprehensively applied the SAPs/PRSPs of the BWIs. Despite the implementation of neo-liberal BWI policies, the country is mired in poverty and economic crisis. Between 1974, the year after Zambia’s first adjustment loan, and 1989, Zambia’s real per capita GDP declined every year except for 1981 and 1989. From 1990 to 1999, Zambia’s GDP grew at only one percent, the lowest in the Southern

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87 Mbikusita-Lewanika, 1990, p. 106
African Development Community (SADC). \(^{88}\)

Personal income in Zambia fell by 45 percent from the 1970s to 1999. \(^{89}\)

Application of the free market, export-oriented model has also led to massive debts for Zambia. By 1986, Zambia had the highest debt per capita ratio in the developing world, at US $ 849. \(^{90}\)

Zambia’s debt peaked at US $ 7.2 billion in 2004. \(^{91}\)

Following the most recent tumble in copper prices in 2008 and 2009, the *Wall Street Journal* notes that the IMF is considering lending Zambia another US $ 200 million, on top of the US $ 79 million it approved in June of 2008. \(^{92}\)

The Zambian government itself and mainstream development critics such as Imboela (2004, p. 186) have shown that the burdensome external debt and the economic crisis are making Zambia donor dependent. Meanwhile the country is not the recipient of significant aid or capital inflows from donors. This happens because under neocolonialism, development aid is made contingent upon countries honoring their debt obligations and other BWI conditionalities. The priority of foreign aid is to facilitate further debt payments and remove so-called impediments to the private sector and free market to enhance the role of multi-national companies in a country such as Zambia (Panford 2001; Imboela 2004; Ninsin 2006). A vicious cycle has emerged where

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\(^{88}\) GRZ, PRSP, 2002, p. 19

\(^{89}\) Galabuzi, 2006, p. 346

\(^{90}\) Ibid., p. 349

\(^{91}\) GRZ, 2006, p. 239

countries borrow more money from the same institutions to service old loans. Hence the Zambian government (GRZ, PRSP 2002) observing that:

"External funding, however, has tended to create a paradoxical situation in Zambia. Funds from international cooperative partners would be forthcoming only if the country is current on debt servicing. As a result, nearly half the inflow of external assistance has tended to flow out again in the form of debt service payments (p. 29)."

Overall the continent’s total external debt stood at U.S. $350 billion in 1998 and debt service was about U.S. $13 billion per annum (Ninsin, 2006, p. 52). Compounding this is the fact that lofty claims by G-8 nations to cancel debt are rendered meaningless by what are being termed vulture funds. The vulture fund companies buy up the debt of poor nations cheaply, when it is about to be written off, and then sue for the full value of the debt plus interest. On February 15, 2007 Zambia, lost a case in English commercial courts to Donegal International and was ordered to pay U.S. $42.3 million on a debt the company purchased for $3.2 million.\(^{93}\)

Zambia’s disputed debt began in 1979, when the Romanian government lent Zambia money to buy Romanian tractors. Zambia was unable to keep up with the payments and in 1999 Zambia and Romania negotiated to liquidate the debt for just over $3 million. Before the deal was finalized, Donegal International intervened and purchased the debt for $3.2 million and filed suit. However, the largest vulture fund in New York belongs to Paul Singer who is currently suing the Republic of the Congo-Brazzaville in U.S. courts. Mr. Singer paid $10 million for an allegedly forgiven debt and expects to collect $400

\(^{93}\) Donegal International Limited V. Zambia, 
million from the Congo.\textsuperscript{94} So far creditors have won judgments totaling U.S. $996 million from 11 countries including Cameroon, Guyana, Sierra Leone, Nicaragua and Uganda.\textsuperscript{95} Debt servicing in SSA is currently ensuring massive capital outflows and opening up African economies to a distorted free market capitalism.

On the national and continental levels, BWI policies have become instrumental for transferring wealth from developing to developed countries. BWI policies transfer resources from Africa to the developing world through private and public means. Ninsin (2006) confirms that in the post-colonial context, net capital outflows from Africa, remain unabated:

Capital transfers from Africa during the period (1999 and 2000) increased from US $5.4 billion to US $8.3 billion- a massive increase of fifty-three percent for African governments already depending precariously on external borrowing for development. Meanwhile, the ‘loan-pushers’-the World Bank and IMF-have continued to push them to contract more loans. For example, the Bank alone granted Uganda a $2 billion loan in 2000 and $1.1 billion to the Democratic Republic of the Congo in 2001 despite the fact that these countries and many more in Africa carry a debt burden that is not sustainable and threatens any attempt at social development (p. 51).

The continued flow of resources from Africa to developed countries has severely restricted the capacity of the African state to improve the lives of citizens. Zambia’s debt servicing adversely affects government budget allocations, especially to critical social sectors. External debt financing amounted to 10 percent of Zambia’s GDP from 1990 to


2000. For the same period, budgetary allocation to social sectors such as health, education, water, sanitation, social welfare and other community services claimed only five percent of GDP. Overall SSA debt service payments, of US 30 million dollars a day, equal four times the spending on health in the entire region.

In order to pay their debts and maintain their creditworthiness, African governments are also encouraged to increase their exports of primary commodities. Countries are encouraged to increase and diversify agricultural exports and thus seek to grow more cash crops. Zambia and other members of the African Union launched Africa’s Comprehensive African Agricultural Development Program (CAADP) in 2007. CAADP is popularly called Africa’s Green Revolution. CAADP is expected to increase productivity in the agricultural sectors of countries by six percent. This is to be achieved through the use of high yielding crops, fertilizers and pesticides and is funded mainly by a $150 million grant from the Gates and Rockefeller Foundations. As Dixon (2007, p. 1) notes, “Of course, U.S.-based agribusiness holds the patents to these wondercrops, and can exercise their proprietary ‘rights’ at will.”

The U.S. patented wonder seeds, chemical fertilizers and pesticides that are to drive CAADP are justified because they claim to increase output. However, chemical fertilizers have been shown to destroy essential organisms and acidify the soil and thus decrease natural fertility while creating dependency on expensive fertilizers among peasant

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96 GRZ, PRSP, 2002 p. 28


The African Union is implementing the Green Revolution and many African nations will be growing the same cash crops for the same European and American markets. Ultimately, the oversupply of cash crops will depress prices on the world market, and result in more revenue losses and a potential rise in poverty. Declines in international prices hurt small producers the most because they are not insulated by the credit available to commercial farmers and they do not have enough land or livestock to have other viable options. Consequently, falls in international prices directly impact the standard of living of the small producers (Imboela 2004; Shiva 2005).

The switch from food crops to cash crops is at the root of hunger in many African communities. In many parts of SSA, cash crops like tea, coffee and roses are grown on very fertile land that has been appropriated from indigenous people by expatriates and a minority of local elites. Farmers are told by development experts that high yielding cash crops in addition to chemical fertilizers will increase agricultural productivity which would raise their income and standard of living (Shiva 1992; Imboela 2004; Lines 2008).

However, as stated earlier, due to the policies of the BWIs and other donors, farmers across SSA and the developing world are growing cash crops for the same markets in Western Europe and North America. This leads to price reduction and revenue losses because of market saturation and protection by developed countries. Additionally many small farmers are saddled with debt due to the high cost of wonder seeds and chemical
fertilizers. This debt usually leads to further loss of land as poor families sell land to meet their obligations (Shiva 1992; Imboela 2004).

In the agricultural sector, where the majority of Zambians earn their living, neo-liberal policies have undermined food self-sufficiency and destroyed local markets. Even Zambia’s PRSP (GRZ, 2002) that advocates liberalizing agriculture\(^9\) acknowledges that:

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\text{...sudden state withdrawal of support to agriculture without adequate private sector response to fill the gap in many instances led to loss in income. On top of that, rural areas suffer many deprivations such as poor access to amenities like health services, safer water, quality education and infrastructure (p. 51).}
\]

Zambia’s PRSP (GRZ, PRSP, 2002 p. 31) adds that “the poor, particularly those in rural areas, see agricultural sector policies as having contributed significantly to their poverty.” The Zambian government’s (GRZ, 2006, p. 230) own assessment of food and nutrition situation in Zambia confirms the views of the poor. Currently, 70 percent of the Zambian population faces food insecurity and chronic malnutrition among children, increased from 39.6 percent in 1990 to 49 percent in 2002. This was largely due to the donor-imposed removal of government subsidies and services.

The so-called free market or private sector agenda implemented through SAPs/PRSPs is worsening conditions of life for many Zambians. The privatization of land and essential social services is drastically raising the cost of living and impoverishing millions. An illustration of this condition is that in 2004, 68 percent of the Zambian population was classified as living in poverty by the Zambian government itself (GRZ, 2006, p. 29).

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\(^9\) GRZ, PRSP, 2002, p. 55
Currently, 32 of the 48 poorest countries in the world are the SSA countries that subscribe to the IMF/WB sponsored neo-liberalism. It appears in practice SAPS have raised the cost of living by drastically reducing the size of the state and alienating millions from the source of their livelihoods via privatization. Senegalese economist, D.M. Dembele concludes that:

Many of the African states have been stripped of all but a handful of their economic and social functions…. State retrenchment primarily aimed at eliminating subsidies for the poor, removing social protection, and abandoning its role in fighting for social justice through income redistribution and other social transfers to the most disadvantaged…. If the experience of the last quarter century has taught Africa one fundamental lesson it is that the road to genuine recovery and development begins with a total break with the failed and discredited policies imposed by the IMF and the World Bank.99

4.7 The Unfulfilled Promise of Neo-liberal Development

Thirty-two of the 54 African states apply IMF/WB sponsored national development programs (Ninsin, 2006, p. 53). In accordance with the neo-liberal agenda, these states are made to privatize and de-regulate their economies and strategic social services even though it is not in their long-term interest (Panford 2001; Ninsin 2006).

The BWIs and Africa’s other development partners regard private-sector development and export-oriented free trade as the solution to the development crisis in Africa. It is claimed by Zambia’s donors that the free market and private sector are the most efficient and dynamic way of allocating resources and developing nations. However, as shown in Zambia’s case, the last two decades of failed development demonstrate that free market, export-oriented policies are not beneficial (Imboela 2004; Lines 2008). Even though Zambia’s own PRSP states that, “There is little disagreement

99 Lines, 2008, pp. 57-58
within Zambia presently that the policy of liberalization is correct for revitalizing agriculture." Paradoxically, the same document cites Zambians as saying liberalized agricultural policy is the number one cause of poverty (GRZ, PRSP, 2002, p. 31 and 145). This illustrates how while officially and in development circles the policies of the IMF and WB are lauded as the solutions to lack of economic development they are in the real life experience of the majority of Zambians and other Africans, raising the levels of national poverty to unprecedented levels.

\footnote{GRZ, PRSP 2002, p. 55}
Chapter 5 Discussion and Analysis of Results from Fieldwork

5.1 Introduction: Providing a Context for the Study and Locating the Fieldwork

This chapter analyzes the data for my study and applies the political economy of the local framework to study rural development issues in Zambia. I conducted field research from August 2007 to January 2008 in two rural districts of Zambia, namely, Kafue and Namwala. Kafue is 45 kilometers (km) south of the Zambian capital, Lusaka\textsuperscript{101} with a population of 150,217 comprising 77,001 males, 73,216 females. Fieldwork in Kafue was carried out in an area known as Konga-Makeni. Namwala is 300 kilometres southwest of the national capital with a population of 82,810 comprising 40,486 males and 42,324 females. In Namwala, fieldwork was carried out in the village of Mbeza, in the Chiefdom of Senior Chief Nalubamba and in Maala and Namusonde villages in the area of Chief Mungaila. Kafue and Namwala populations are good representations of life in rural Zambia.

Approximately 60 percent of Zambians reside in rural areas, where the poverty rate is 78 percent compared to 53 percent in urban areas. The highest rate of poverty in Zambia is among rural small-scale farmers, which is 79 percent, with 66 percent of those being extremely poor (GRZ, 2006, p. 29). The overwhelming majority of people in Konga-Makeni, Mbeza, Maala and Namusonde are small scale farmers who subsist on maize cultivation, cattle rearing and fishing. According to the Zambian Government

\textsuperscript{101} Until the 1990 census Kafue and Chongwe districts were classified as Lusaka Rural and are still commonly referred to and thought of as such by inhabitants and other Zambians.
(GRZ, 2003, p. ix-3) 75 percent of the Zambian population is engaged in subsistence agriculture and in all nine provinces, except Luapula, maize is the staple crop.

My objective is to explain lingering poverty among Zambians in spite of five national development plans and the relatively high rates of economic growth since 1999 (GRZ, 2006, p. 30). I also plan to identify and describe the Zambian’s definition of development and contrast that with mainstream development and its practice. Data was collected using semi-structured interview questionnaires and participant observation. I used the political economy of the local approach to investigate the links between local or village level social relations and structural under-development in the areas I selected to study. For instance, mainstream discourse\textsuperscript{102} has treated indigenous agriculture and land tenure as backward and used this as a pretext for modifying and developing indigenous land use. I used village and house-hold level data to explore how the development of agriculture is affecting farmers in both Kafue and Namwala.

As shown in Appendix 1, the questions used in this study were open-ended to allow for flexibility with respect to unanticipated issues and to tap into the experience and insights of respondents. Open-ended interviews enabled me to investigate more complex issues by making it feasible for me to clarify questions and for respondents to elaborate on their answers. Additionally, open-ended questions allowed me to avoid confirmation bias where participants tell the researcher what they want to hear.

\textsuperscript{102} Mainstream implies the International Development Partners (IDPs) and the Government of Zambia who subscribe to conventional development theories and practice.
To strengthen the validity of the information and data I gathered through interviews, I used participant observation as an additional technique for data collection. I was especially interested in indigenous agricultural practices, the impact of privatization on agricultural land and so-called non-traditional cash-crops which are the ‘new’ focus of development in Zambia (GRZ, PRSP, 2002, p. 55; GRZ, 2006, p. 26 & 53).

My fieldwork and data are based on a total of 80 in-depth semi-structured interviews. The breakdown of participants was as follows: 70 were rural dwellers with 40 women and 30 men; 60 out of the 70 were small scale rural farmers while 10 were rural elites, comprising one Senior Chief, four village headmen and five rich farmers. The other ten occupied important development policy positions in the two rural districts of Kafue and Namwala. These included: The Minister and Permanent Secretary for Finance and National Planning, the Chairman of the National Economic Commission, the Director of the Central Statistical Office and the Director of an umbrella non-governmental organization called the Civil Society for Poverty Reduction (CSPR). I also interviewed the district planning officers of Kafue and Namwala who are key local government officials.

The small scale farmers in Kafue and Namwala were interviewed to elicit information on how they define development or sustenance of their communities and what they identify as the causes of their poverty. This was done in order to compare the Zambian poor’s definition of development with the conventional development practices that are currently underway in the country. I attempt to highlight whose interests are
actually being served through mainstream development pursued by the Government of Zambia and international donors.

5.2 Farmers’ Views on Development and Development Implications

Zambia is predominantly an agricultural country with 70-75 percent of its population in subsistence production (GRZ 2003; GRZ 2006). During my fieldwork, sixty-nine of the seventy rural respondents mentioned agriculture or land as their main source of livelihood. The majority of the rural poor envisioned development as intricately tied to the land. A mother of four in Konga-Makeni (Kafue) echoed the views of the respondents: “Farming takes care of all our needs, especially feeding our children and paying for school.” Land provides food security which is an integral part of how poor farmers in Kafue and Namwala conceive of development.

The overwhelming majority of poor farmers in both districts practiced subsistence agriculture primarily to feed their own households. All the forty women I interviewed cited adequate food as a major requirement of household and community sustenance or development. Maize is the most common crop cultivated and serves as the main food and cash crop for poor farmers in Kafue and Namwala. Other important uses of crops include bartering for labor and food as well as being a source of income to assist with educational and other costs. Poor farmers in both districts practice some version of indigenous agriculture which is characterized by mixed cropping, organic fertilization and the growth of indigenous crops such as cassava and sweet potatoes, using seed from previous harvests. Industrial agriculture on the other hand relies on so called high yielding seed, chemical fertilizers, pesticides and other biochemical inputs that have been shown to degrade the environment and soil and hence reduce the sustainability of agriculture.
Owing to their biodiversity, productivity, adaptability and stability, indigenous farming methods and crops offer a practical solution for food insecurity in Zambia and elsewhere. With indigenous farming and crops, increasing productivity for food or income does not require small farmers adopting expensive biochemicals or so-called high yielding seeds, and hence soil degradation, dependency and debt are avoided (Shiva 2007). As shown in chapters three and four of this dissertation, so-called modern industrial agriculture promotes single cash crop plantations because a large quantity of raw material is required for industrialization and huge amounts of cash crops are supposed to raise the incomes of rural farmers.103

**Mixed Cropping or Single Cash crop Plantations?**

Mixed cropping is a defining feature of indigenous agriculture. In my study, I found 61 of 70 farmers practicing mixed cropping with maize, cassava, sweet potatoes, beans, groundnuts and pumpkins. Some farmers also grew vegetables like cabbage, bondwe, mulembwe, tomatoes and onions. Fruits such as mangoes, bananas and guavas were also grown. The bio-diversity of indigenous mixed cropping has enormous capacity to increase food productivity in Zambia and elsewhere. Shiva (2007) explains why:

A small farmer can intensify bio-diversity and the higher the bio-diversity, the higher the productivity, stability and sustainability of agriculture. A large farm has to intensify external inputs like agrichemicals and fossil fuels. These inputs lower the fertility and hence productivity of the soil, lead to non-sustainability and economic and ecological vulnerability.

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103 See Chapter four of this dissertation for Zambia’s pursuit of the industrial model of agriculture and its consequences.
Other benefits derived from mixed cultivation include more balanced and better nutrition; insurance against single-crop failure; disease control among crops and efficient use of soil nutrients by plants with different needs and characteristics. An additional advantage of mixed cropping maize with cassava and pumpkins is that the leaves of cassava and pumpkins are eaten as vegetables while the leaves of maize are fed to cattle and other livestock. Furthermore the leaves of tubers and roots, such as pumpkin, cassava and sweet potatoes protect the soil from erosion when grown with maize. In an environment like Zambia’s where droughts occur and agricultural production is primarily rain-fed, it is important to encourage diverse, drought-resistant food crops to ensure reliable food production while protecting the soil from heavy rainfall. Droughts in 2002 and 2005 proved this point as many Zambians were forced to go hungry due to maize shortages.

**Chemical or Organic Fertilizers?**

Indigenous farming in Namwala and Kafue is characterized the by low application of chemical fertilizers and other biochemical inputs. Out of the 70 small farmers in my study, seven used chemical fertilizers for the 2007/2008 planting season. There is growing concern over the safety of chemically grown and genetically modified (GM) food. For instance after a drought in 2001-2002, Zambia experienced food shortages but steadfastly refused to accept genetically modified maize as development assistance from
the United States. Zambian scientists deemed it unsafe and declared that they could not determine the long term effects on the health of the people and environment.  

In both Konga-Makeni (Kafue) and Namwala, poor farmers maintain the soil’s natural fertility and productivity by using compost, manure and ash. Compost was the most common method of fertilization among farmers in my study. Droppings of domesticated animals like goats, chickens, ducks and pigeons are mixed with grass and leaves from various trees and plants to form compost. Cow dung was more commonly used in Namwala because cattle are more widespread because cattle herding has historically been a part of livelihoods in that district. In both Kafue and Namwala, every household that owned cattle used their manure as fertilizer. Due to these practices, animal-crop policy should form an essential part of any self-sustainable agricultural development in Zambia. Organic fertilizers like compost and manure produce naturally healthy food, do not degrade the soil and water and the organic materials improve soil structure, reducing erosion and leaching. This ensures long-term use of agricultural land. Useful living organisms such as earthworms thrive in organic material as Vandana Shiva (1988) illustrates:

The little earthworm working invisibly is actually the tractor and fertilizer company and dam combined…. By their continuous movement through soils, earthworms make for the formation of channels which help in soil aeration. It is estimated that they increase soil-air volume by upto 30 percent. Soils with earthworms drain four to ten times faster than soils without earthworms and their water holding capacity is higher by 20 percent. Earthworm casts, which can be 4-36 tons dry weight/acre/year contain more nutritive materials containing carbon, nitrogen, calcium, magnesium, potassium, sodium and phosphorous than parent

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soils. Their work on the soil promotes microbial activity which is essential to the fertility of most soils (p. 108).

Soil fertility is also maintained by beds of ash in both Kafue and Namwala. The scientific reasons for indigenous practices such as burning and ash discussed in chapter three of this dissertation include the fertilizing effect of ash and burning which enhances the phosphate and potash status of the soil. Freshly burnt soil also contained large amounts of calcium that improved fertility. Furthermore burning decreased soil acidity which allowed phosphates to be easily maintained and drying the soil increases the availability of nitrogen for crops. Researchers concluded that the first rains just before planting caused humus to decompose and to release large flushes of nitrogen into the soil. The drier the soil was before wetting, the greater the flush of decomposition (Moore and Vaughn 1994).

As shown in chapter three of this study, the unsuccessful introduction of chemical fertilizers was started by the British colonial administration after 1945. In 1964, the Seers Report recommended a fertilizer program that the post-colonial government sought to implement until 1990. After 1990, Zambia adopted IMF/WB policies based on the liberalization and privatization of national agriculture in exchange for development assistance. The rapid increase in fertilizer use continued until 1990 when the government stopped subsidizing agriculture and fertilizer as they became too expensive. While the sudden and externally imposed withdrawal of the government from agriculture has generally undermined food security, the reduction in biochemical fertilizers may have some benefits in the future.
In addition to the dangers of soil and environmental degradation, farmers avoid incurring the cost of expensive chemical fertilizers. The seven respondents in my study who used fertilizer noted that the cost was a major expense they could not overcome without assistance from relatives and friends. The severe reduction in government support made chemical fertilizers and industrial-type agriculture very expensive for poor Zambian farmers.

In Kafue and Namwala two types of fertilizers are applied by rich farmers. These are Urea\textsuperscript{105} that is known as top dressing and compound D\textsuperscript{106} which is referred to as basal dressing in rural Zambia. At the conclusion of my fieldwork, a fifty kilogram (kg) bag of urea cost K 327, 000.00 while a fifty kg bag of D-compound was K 250, 000.00. With their low monthly incomes, many farmers in my study could not afford to purchase a single bag of either fertilizer. The poorest farmers reported monthly incomes as low as K 30, 000.00. Among my study participants, a monthly income of K 150, 000 was considered high.

It should be noted that rural dwellers in both Kafue and Namwala have other minor sources of income. These include working on others’ land and selling maize, chickens, vegetables, fruit and alcoholic beverages. Unquestionably the cost of fertilizer is out of the reach of the majority of farmers in Kafue and Namwala. In Konga-Makeni, Kafue, the Sangalala Co-operative that comprised some rich farmers, had a membership fee of K 500, 000.00 and yearly fees such as K 50, 000.00. None of the poor farmers in my study

\textsuperscript{105} Urea is used mainly as a nitrogen fertilizer.

\textsuperscript{106} Compound D contains manufactured nitrogen, phosphorous and potassium.
from Kafue could afford membership in the co-operative and hence were not eligible for fertilizer support from the government.

In addition to prohibitive costs, chemical fertilizers acidify the soil and lower the natural fertility and reduce the sustainability of agriculture. A mother in Namwala represented the views of most of my interviewees by saying: “Even though some people are requesting fertilizer support from the government, really what these chemicals are doing to our soils is that they are destroying them.”

The majority of poor farmers in both Kafue and Namwala use organic fertilizers and their own indigenous seeds for planting new crops. The predominance of these agricultural practices indicates the failure to de-Africanize indigenous agriculture and hence indigenous development in rural Zambia. Vandana Shiva (2007), one of the world’s leading development critics, uses her work in India to expose the fallacy that large industrial farms are more productive than indigenous organic farms. She writes:

Navdanya’s rice and wheat farmers have doubled the production of rice and wheat by using indigenous seeds and organic methods. Jhumba rice in Uttarakhand has 176 quintal per ha of biomass production compared to 96 quintal per ha of Katsuri, a high yielding rice variety. Farmers in West Uttar Pradesh have got 62.5 quintal per ha using a native wheat variety 308 for organic production compared to 50 quintal per ha for chemically produced wheat.

Similar research needs to be conducted in Zambia to determine the basis for food self-sufficiency and self-sustainable development as an informant in my study explained:

Due to the skill of our people, Zambian [indigenous] agriculture is the only widespread national base for development because at their current level of knowledge people can sustain themselves. Our leaders need to change their way of thinking and realize that Zambian crops, goats and chickens are much easier to maintain and provide very good nutrition.
Another respondent described how indigenous cattle are very well adapted to local conditions:

Here in Namwala, a lot of cattle were lost by replacing well adapted indigenous breeds with exotic, purportedly more productive herds. Most of these cattle that were distributed to subsistence farmers succumbed to disease and perished. Re-stocking with these same exotic breeds has also not succeeded. By and large, subsistence farmers who retained their indigenous cattle fared much better as their cattle proved much more resistant to disease.

Indigenous crops such as cassava and sweet potatoes are drought resistant and hence well suited to local agronomic conditions.\(^{107}\) Bwalya\(^{108}\) lists the other advantages of cassava over maize: it is self-storing for up to three years after maturation, requires no fertilizer and is therefore cheaper to grow. Cassava’s cultivation is also less labor intensive as it does not require constant attention. It also has more carbohydrates and can be used for water purification because the leaves have high copper concentrations.

In Zambia, cassava and sweet potatoes saw an increase in both planting area and production between 1991 and 2004.\(^{109}\) As one of my informants stated, rural Zambians have the expertise and desire to grow indigenous crops. The increased production of local food staples coincides with the state’s IMF/WB imposed withdrawal of maize and other agricultural subsidies. In exchange for development assistance and debt relief, the state is required to liberalize and privatize agriculture. As shown in chapter four of this study, the Zambian government began implementing neo-liberal policies in 1990 and accelerated them after President Chiluba and the MMD won the election of 1991.

\(^{107}\) JAICAF, 2008

\(^{108}\) 2006, pp. 42-43

\(^{109}\) The Maize in Zambia and Malawi, 2008, p.17
The state’s sudden withdrawal of maize subsidies has contributed to the increased production of indigenous staples such as sweet potatoes and cassava. Currently the Zambian government itself proclaims that 70 percent of the Zambian population faces food insecurity\(^{110}\) and that chronic malnutrition increased from 39.6 percent to 49 percent between 1990 and 2002.\(^{111}\) The latest development plan further notes that 70 percent of Zambians earn their living through subsistence agriculture and the highest rate of poverty in the country is among rural small scale producers whose poverty rate is 79 percent, compared to 68 percent nation-wide.

Zambia’s rural farmers have responded to the sudden state withdrawal of subsidies for maize by growing more indigenous food staples and practicing mixed cropping. Trends are similar on the African continent, where 75 percent of the population resides in rural areas.\(^{112}\) Over 70 percent of the people facing food insecurity in Africa are rural dwellers, the majority (50 percent) of whom are small farmers.\(^{113}\) Two hundred million people are malnourished on the continent and that represents an increase of 20 percent since 1990.\(^{114}\) Continent-wide, between 1990 and 2005, maize production increased by 32 percent while cassava, sweet potato and sorghum increased by 69, 105 and 107

\(^{110}\) GRZ, 2006, p. 230

\(^{111}\) Ibid

\(^{112}\) New African, Jan., 2006


percent respectively.\textsuperscript{115} For the scientific and practical reasons discussed, indigenous agriculture and crops should be encouraged in Zambia and the entire SSA region.

**The Question of Seed: Indigenous or So-called High Yielding Varieties?**

The majority of small farmers in both Kafue and Namwala utilize indigenous seeds from previous harvests for planting new crops. In order for food production and agriculture to be self-sustainable in Zambia and the rest of Africa, care must be taken when working with development partners to ensure that propagation of local food staples, such as cassava, sweet potatoes, groundnuts and pumpkins remain firmly in the control and ownership of small producers in Zambia and Africa. The food crisis of 2008 demonstrated just how critical the politics of food self-sufficiency and global trade are.

US President, George W. Bush emphasized this fact earlier in a speech of July 2001:

Can you imagine a country that was unable to grow enough food to feed the people? It would be a nation that would be subject to international pressure. It would be a nation at risk. And so when we’re talking about American agriculture we’re really talking about a national security issue.\textsuperscript{116}

The African Green Revolution, sponsored by the Gates and Rockefeller Foundations and implemented as the African Union’s (2007) Comprehensive African Agricultural Development Program, relies on the industrial model of high cost inputs. The claim by Africa’s development partners such as Monsanto and Cargill, is that wonder seeds they have patented will increase food production and end hunger in Africa. The industrial

\textsuperscript{115} Lines, 2008, pp. 121-122

\textsuperscript{116} Quoted in Lines, 2008, p. 118
model has shaped African agricultural development since 1945 and has not ended hunger or been adopted by the majority of farmers (Sharife 2009).

Dixon (2007) and Sharife (2009) contend that the wonder seeds manufactured by Monsanto and Cargill could foster dependency among small producers because the high-yielding varieties cannot be replanted and thus seed has to be purchased every planting season. Additionally, many of these seeds are manufactured to be fertilizer and pesticide dependent. Sharife (2009) states, “The business of biotechnology is intimately entwined with agrichemicals, over 60% of GM seeds are built to be pesticide and herbicide dependent. In 2005, global pesticide sales stood at $5.4 bn, mainly accrued by three companies.” Development skeptics such as Dixon (2007) and Sharife (2009) assert that the Gates Foundation and biotechnology firms such as Monsanto are seeking to patent seeds for crops and thus control Africa’s food supply, creating the ultimate state of dependency and source of profits. A Zambian development analyst, Obine Bwalya (2006) warns:

With the threat of Genetically Modified Organisms we need to be on top of things in this area through the Zambia Seed Company. But more importantly, these are matters of national security. It would be wise to empower Zambians in this area. There is also need to look into the preservation of traditional seed. Today you can’t replant seeds from a water melon; one has to go and buy fresh seed from commercial stockists.117

Since Zambian independence, there has only been widespread violence once. Food riots in 1986 were spurred by IMF-imposed removal of maize subsidies that caused a

117 Bwalya, 2006, p. 42
price hike of 120 percent. That then led to the deaths of at least 15 Zambians before President Kaunda and UNIP stepped in to regulate the price of maize.\textsuperscript{118} These riots indicate how food security is a moral and political-economic issue that lies at the heart of national sovereignty, peace and development.

**Non-traditional Exports: Is that a new path to Economic Diversification and Development?**

The Zambian government defines non-traditional exports as, “mostly primary agricultural products such as cotton lint, cotton yarn, flowers, vegetables, gemstone and tobacco\textsuperscript{119} ….” Flowers and vegetables are the only non-traditional agricultural exports as cotton and tobacco were introduced by colonial development schemes which were pursued by successive post-colonial regimes.

These so-called non-traditional exports are expected to diversify the economy away from copper dependence. The current development plan (GRZ, 2006) states:

> In terms of export diversification non-traditional exports (mostly primary agricultural products) … performed well. Receipts grew by an annual average of 18 percent and went up by 50.7 percent to US $538 million from $357 million in 2002 … they are increasingly becoming an important source of Zambia’s foreign exchange, employment and income (p. 26).

There is nothing inherently wrong with so-called cash crops but as raw materials, they reinforce the position of Zambia and other developing nations in the subservient status as primary producers. My informants had grown baby corn, sweet peppers and paprika all in one year. The unpredictable situation of growing three different new cash crops within a year, illustrates the financial hazards of depending on volatile and specialized

\textsuperscript{118} Mbikusita-Lewanika 1990; McMichael 2004

\textsuperscript{119} GRZ, 2006, p. 26
international markets for revenue. Many of these non-traditional horticultural and floricultural exports are not only highly perishable but also have more specialized markets than traditional exports including copper, tea or cocoa. Thus they are even more susceptible to the wild fluctuations of the international market (Lines, 2008, p. 80).

Some of the farmers I interviewed in Kafue related their experience with growing the non-traditional cash crops of baby corn, sweet pepper and paprika for Agriflora corporation. Agriflora was one of the largest suppliers of fresh vegetables and fruits to the United Kingdom. A farmer related this typical story during my fieldwork:

In one year we grew baby corn, sweet pepper and paprika, half of which were rejected because the buyers claimed they did not meet export quality standards that were not clear to us. I went to Agricultural college and can manage maize, beans, tomatoes, cabbage and most local vegetables, but these foreign crops need to be learnt every time a new crop is introduced.

For growers of these non-traditional exports there was complete dependence on Agriflora for income, seed, fertilizer and expertise. This resulted in losses for the small farmers I interviewed, because their crops were regularly rejected by Agriflora for not meeting dubious export standards. Some rich farmers were able to withstand the losses incurred because they had enough land to grow other crops for their own consumption and for sale. Farmers on small pieces of land suffered the most when their crops were rejected because they did not have the land to grow other crops.

My interviewees informed me they were being paid US $ 0.15 per kilogram while Agriflora was selling the product for up to 17 British pounds per kilogram in the United Kingdom. This illustrated the unequal terms of trade between Zambia’s rural farmers and private corporations such as Agriflora. A young man described this price difference as
financial racism, while another man asserted: “It seems that these people (owners of Agriflora) want to starve us to death.” The Zambian government was forced by public outcry to investigate Agriflora as the operator of numerous development schemes. By 2004 Agriflora’s two top executives fled the country while under investigation for massive financial irregularities and escaped the law.120

Paradoxically in 2003, the Government of Zambia awarded Agriflora the Exporter of the Year award121 and it owned thousands of hectares of land in Zambia, in addition to numerous outgrower schemes. As Exporter of the Year, Agriflora had the full backing of the Zambian government which is attempting to convert indigenous agriculture into commercial.

The small farmers I interviewed in Konga-Makeni all incurred losses trying to produce these new cash crops and the overwhelming majority of people practice some version of indigenous agriculture. The fact that poor farmers grow non-traditional cash crops may be partially explained by the effect of modernization. In order to meet some of their needs, such as school uniforms and books, the poor seek new means of cash. Poor farmers also have to contend with the rising cost of living and declining incomes as one elderly interviewee described:

The main reason for poverty is because we cannot support our families on agriculture because of the prices we receive for our produce … and life is expensive these days. That is also why the youth are turning to theft and crime especially when they go to the city.


121 Ibid.
An interviewee in Konga-Makeni highlighted the challenges of coping with an increasingly monetized economy and food self-sufficiency when he explained that: “it is common in this area and other villages for many people to sell their maize to ‘briefcase’ business men\textsuperscript{122} and then face hunger.” Another elder male farmer, added:

money seems to have some kind of mystique because people here will sell all their food to get cash. Unfortunately it is no secret in Zambia that our rural farmers are exploited and underpaid and inevitably end up without enough money for food and other needs.

The government is currently promoting non-traditional exports because it claims this will diversify the economy away from dependence on copper and raise incomes for the poor. As noted in chapter four of this dissertation, the diversification of the Zambian economy has not been achieved because independence did not transform the colonial economy. After independence, Zambia’s development continued to depend on cash crops and raw copper and lead that are at the lowest rung of the international economy controlled by the developed nations.\textsuperscript{123} The nation’s adverse position in the international political economy as a primary exporting country has instead been entrenched by post-colonial development.\textsuperscript{124}

The majority of developing countries are now being encouraged to diversify their traditional exports to non-traditional ones (Lines 2008). Thus African countries may

\textsuperscript{122} Briefcase Businessmen is the name given to cartels of retailers who buy wholesale amounts of maize at artificially low prices and then create scarcity that raises the price of the maize. For a similar observation in the Northern province of Zambia, see Moore and Vaughan (1994, p. 185).

\textsuperscript{123} See Galabuzi (2006) for an illustration of the declining terms of trade for raw copper which has been Zambia’s largest revenue earner since the British began commercial mining in 1925.

\textsuperscript{124} See Mbikusita-Lewanika (1990) and Imboela (2004)
inevitably be growing the same cash crops and competing for the same narrow markets in Europe and North America. This will lead to an increase in the supply of non-traditional exports. Consequently prices will fall and small farmers will remain poor. Lines\textsuperscript{125} shows how this happened in several markets crucial to developing countries:

world coffee exports increased from 3.7 million metric tons in 1980 to 5.9 million tons in 2000, but their total value declined from US $12.5 billion to $10.2 billion in the same years. Over the same period cocoa exports more than doubled from 1.1 million to 2.5 million tons but … their value fell from $2.8 billion to $2.5 billion…. Over a long period there was a substantial fall in nearly all international commodity prices, although much of it was disguised by the violent ups and downs that also characterize those markets.

What are today known as cash crops in Zambia were first introduced into the country mostly after 1945 when the British colonial government bolstered claims that recreating indigenous Zambian agriculture and land use into European-style farming schemes would bring development to Zambia. These schemes aimed at directing resources to Africans practicing progressive methods of agriculture as defined by colonial interests.\textsuperscript{126} This led to the abandonment of indigenous land use and food crops. Instead emphasis was placed on growing cash crops like cotton and tobacco on privately owned plantations for export by white settlers.\textsuperscript{127} Huge and fertile tracts of land were misappropriated from Africans to establish this settler agriculture during colonial rule.\textsuperscript{128}

\textsuperscript{125} Lines, 2008, p. 41

\textsuperscript{126} After WWII, Britain was trying to rebuild its war-torn economy and thus extraction of surplus from cash crops increased in its African colonies after 1945. See: Davidson, B. (1994), Modern Africa (Longman, London).

\textsuperscript{127} For details and failure of these development schemes in Zambia, see: Allan (1965); Makings (1966) and Moore and Vaughan (1994).
Many Zambians were forced into small and arid reserves where the productive capacity of the land was exceeded and still expected to grow cash crops. Due to overcrowding in small and infertile areas, land was tilled and grazed excessively. Consequently farmers began to rely on chemical fertilizers introduced through colonial development schemes. This in turn resulted in environmental degradation, poor harvests and hunger in many communities. Additionally, this colonial period of development reinforced Zambia’s adverse position in the international division of labor as a supplier of cheap primary products, mostly cash crops and minerals such as copper and lead.

Zambia attained independence on October 24, 1964, but the post-colonial framework of development was initiated by the joint UN/ECA/FAO commission, headed by Dudley Seers and remained mostly unchanged from colonial times. The first Ministry of Agriculture in independent Zambia acknowledged this when it stated: “The year 1964 will be remembered more for the political changes than for any outstanding agricultural feature.” The First National Development Plan (FNDP, 1966-1970) and the Second National Development (SNDP, 1972-1976) followed the recommendations of the Seers Commission to develop Zambia by seeking to modernize indigenous agriculture. Until the international oil and energy crisis of 1973 that exposed the vulnerability of the Zambian economy and began the economic decline of the country, the FNDP and the SNDP both aimed at developing rural Zambia by growing cash crops including cotton.

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128 Colonial development is discussed in detail in Chapter three of the dissertation.
130 Muntemba (1978); Chipungu (1988); Moore and Vaughan (1994)
and sunflower for local industries, raising rural incomes and diversification away from copper. The government also aimed at boosting maize production to become self-sufficient in food, although the country continued to import maize in drought years and also wheat\textsuperscript{132} and rice that are consumed mostly by the elites in Zambia (Dodge 1977, p. 75; Muntemba 1978; Chipungu 1988).

This industrial mode of development depended on rural areas growing cash crops for local industries but it had disastrous results in post-colonial Zambia. The diversification and industrialization of the Zambian economy have never been achieved and the majority of people continue to live in poverty; in part because cash crop production has not raised the incomes of the poor and continues to divert land and human resources away from food production. Since the early post-colonial government pursued the same mode of colonial development, structural poverty worsened and there was massive rural to urban migration in Zambia (Muntemba 1978; Mbikusita-Lewanika 1990).

Prior to privatization in 1991, one of the main reasons development failed in Zambia was because of the government’s unsuccessful plans to modernize indigenous agriculture, as recommended by the Seers Report. Modernizing indigenous agriculture, according to the team led by Dudley Seers, meant converting indigenous crops and tenure from communally owned land into private property for producing cash crops. This was supposed to raise rural incomes in Zambia and lead to successful industrialization. The Seers Report also recommended large-scale mechanization and a chemical fertilization

\textsuperscript{132} Dodge, 1977, p. 75 illustrates for instance that in 1974 Zambia imported 100% of its wheat and 95% of its rice.
program to boost agricultural output. As discussed in chapters two, three and four, indigenous agriculture was being undermined for allegedly modern free market systems and the growing of so-called cash crops.

The communities in my study are still grappling with balancing between food and cash crops, but both livelihoods depend on the land, which is the primary source of food and cash for rural Zambians. Sixty-nine of 70 rural respondents in my study identified the land as their main means of livelihood. They also intricately linked land to their conception of development. They stated that land ownership and access were so critical to their living standards and well being. Therefore regulating access to and developing Zambia’s agricultural land is the central issue of development and self-reliance in rural Zambia.

5.3 The Contested Terrain of Development in Rural Zambia: Neo-liberal Privatization V. Indigenous Land Use and Tenure

In order to achieve food self-sufficiency on the household and national levels, development needs to be re-conceptualized. Instead of privatization projects that alienate people from their main source of livelihood, which is land, development should address community ownership and access to agricultural land and uncultivated resources.  

Since 1991 in Zambia, the government has sought and failed to base development on private firms. This development path has been taken because of IMF and WB budget

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133 Peter Lent, 2007, p. 258 shows that Rosenberg coined the term ‘Non-cultivated Communal Resources’ for rangelands that rural South Africans depend on for their livelihoods. This is where I have extrapolated the term uncultivated resources referring to the land that is crucial for rural livelihoods but is not cultivated. This includes land used for grazing, hunting, gathering food, firewood and herbal medicines and also rivers and streams used for fishing. These uncultivated resources are an integral part of livelihoods in Kafue and Namwala.
conditionalities that stipulate the privatization of agriculture aimed at increasing investments, productivity, and development (Brown 2004; Hansungule 2002). Regarding the cause and political context of private land tenure and use, Brown (2004), writes:

Donors bear much of the responsibility for the inequitable, contentious and confused administration of land in Zambia. Tenure reform was a donor conditionality. Donors invested in sponsoring the conference and background research that led to the 1995 Land Act. Funding dried up, however, when it came to implementation and there was little support for drafting the regulations necessary to improve the administration of land.

The Land Act of 1995 gave legal sanction to full scale privatization of customary land in Zambia. The Act was extremely controversial and pitted the Government of Zambia and it’s donors against many sections of Zambian society (Hangukule 2002; Brown 2004). Consequently, Zambia’s current development plan (GRZ, 2006, p. 55) reads, “With regards to commercialization of the agricultural sector, it is expected that an increased number of small scale farmers will be fully integrated into commercial production through outgrower arrangements or as individuals.”

Protagonists of mainstream development theories claim that individual or private tenure is the only type of land ownership that will spur Africa’s economic development. Hence, Zambia’s IMF/WB imposed Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (GRZ, PRSP, 2002, p. 55) states that, “There is little disagreement within Zambia presently that the policy of liberalization is correct for revitalizing agriculture.” Furthermore, the current national development plan (GRZ, 2006, p. 53) clearly outlines the central role assigned to the private sector in Zambia’s agricultural development:
In 1991, the Government embarked on agricultural sector policy reforms, which were part of the economic reforms pursued under the Structural Adjustment Program. The main policy thrust of the reforms was liberalization of the agricultural sector and promotion of private sector participation in production; marketing; input supply; processing and credit provision.

Prior to implementing the IMF and WB mandated privatization of agriculture, the Zambian state had sought food self-sufficiency and development by providing and subsidizing crop and veterinary services. Agricultural extension camps were set up and began providing crop and livestock services for the rural population. Education and healthcare were provided for free and the Zambian government even set up a National Marketing Board (NAMBOARD) in 1969. NAMBOARD was aimed at stabilizing prices of essential commodities, and guaranteeing a strategic food reserve. This resulted in a more reliable food supply even though it was subsidized by the government and there was still importation of maize during drought years. There was also a bias towards commercial farmers in the operation of NAMBOARD and many other rural institutions (Dodge 1977; Bwalya 1984; Mbikusita-Lewanika 1990).

Structural Adjustment in Zambia aimed at rolling back the allegedly over-extended state and allowing the free market or private sector to be the engine of economic growth and development. Consequently, the Zambian government withdrew agricultural, health and educational subsidies, sold national assets, including copper mines and closed NAMBOARD (Imboela 2004). In the perception of my respondents, there was a direct link between impoverishment and neo-liberal policies in Zambia. An interviewee from Namwala echoed the sentiments of my study population when he informed me that:
“poverty in these times is because all the companies that employed Zambians were sold. In the name of privatization, they destroyed the market we had created and made agriculture very difficult …. the only way for us to overcome our poverty is to return to our own methods of agriculture since even the government has withdrawn from helping us.” Another respondent from Konga-Makeni added: “here in Makeni, foreigners own huge tracts of land that used to belong to Zambians which are now private property.”

During fieldwork, some participants in Kafue showed me a 600-hectare farm that was a state dairy farm known as Chilongolo that supported about 40 rural households and was now being leased by a white Zimbabwean. Upon investigation, I learnt that the farm had been purchased by a Zambian businessman who in turn leased it to the Zimbabwean farmer in 2002.134

One of the elder farmers from Konga-Makeni explained to me the consequences of privatization: “when Chilongolo dairy was privatized, we lost access to land for vegetables, dairy cattle and also an important burial site …. Many families had to move away because the new owner did not need so many employees.” Farmers also showed me huge tracts of enclosed land on the Chanyanya135 road that belonged to absentee landowners who they said were of Greek origin. During my fieldwork, the majority of this private land was unused despite the fact that many Zambians were in need of land to grow food. As noted earlier, 69 out of 70 respondents stated that land is their main source of livelihood and their first priority in terms of valuable assets.

134 A number of White Zimbabwean farmers have been entering Zambia and acquiring large tracts of land since the controversial land reform began in about 2001 in Zambia’s southern neighbor, Zimbabwe.

135 One of the main roads in the farming community of Makeni in Kafue district.
It is noteworthy that in Konga-Makeni and Namwala there are Zambian farmers who own large private land but their holdings are almost always smaller than the foreign owned plantations. The interviewees in Kafue and Namwala associated private property with their impoverishment because they felt it placed agricultural resources in the hands of a few wealthy Zambians and foreigners. As one interviewee explained to me: “In fact what is happening these days in some of our villages is that Chinese investors are sending Zambians to headmen and Chiefs to act as front men for the Chinese who are really buying up our land.” Attempts to enforce individualized private tenure and farming among peasants is met with skepticism by poor Zambians, as it was during colonial times.136

Uncultivated Communal Resources Versus Privatization Policies

In rural Zambia, as in other developing areas of the world, land is not only used for agriculture. It is well established that rural societies depend directly on uncultivated lands and forests for hunting and gathering of food, building materials and medicinal herbs and plants. Grazing livestock and fishing are two other important uses of customary land. However, indigenous use of uncultivated land is outside the scope of conventional development economics in Zambia and most other countries (Lent 2007). Shiva (2005) reminds us that:

In most countries of the [global] South large numbers of people continue to derive their sustenance in the survival economy which remains invisible to market–oriented development. All people in all societies depend on nature’s economy for survival…. Without clean water, fertile soils and crop and plant genetic diversity human survival is not possible (pp. 3-4).

136 For colonial times see: Moore and Vaughan (1994).
The environment is the ultimate source of survival for all human beings and living organisms. This is one reason why land reform tends to be an explosive and divisive political matter, especially in societies where most peoples’ livelihoods depend on the land.

Through participant observation I noted important uses of uncultivated land in Namwala and Kafue. These included collecting herbs for medicine as well as hunting and gathering food and firewood from communally-owned land. Out of the 70 rural Zambians in my study, 59 said they or someone in their household used medicinal herbs or various wild food from uncultivated land. A study participant introduced me to a herb locally known as muleza that was used to care for stomach ailments. He took a lot of pride in saying: “I know a lot about herbs and medicine. Actually almost any time I am not well, I treat myself without consulting anyone.” This illustrates not only the desire but the possibility for self-reliance in many spheres of life. Thus the conversion of communally-owned Zambian land into enclosed private property alienates people from their source of food, medication and other necessities of life.

With the introduction of new and higher medical fees, many people in Namwala and Kafue no longer visit hospitals. A female interviewee echoed the sentiments of the poor who preferred modern hospitals but could not afford the cost: “Nowadays when I go to the hospital, I cannot even afford the medicine while some people in this country travel to England and South Africa for a mere headache or check-up.” Neo-liberal privatization in Zambia is not only raising the cost of living but also benefitting local elites while marginalizing the poor at a fast pace. Utilizing uncultivated land for food and medicine is
especially important during the hot and dry season from August to October when I carried out my fieldwork. Study respondents from Kafue and Namwala are opposed to the type of privatization that the government and its development partners claim is a prerequisite to agricultural development because they do not want to lose a vital source of livelihood.

Land alienation in Namwala and Kafue districts is also a consequence of reserving land for tourist game reserves. Kafue National Park, which lies along the Kafue River in Lusaka province, also traverses parts of the Central, Southern and Copperbelt provinces. This is one of the largest game reserves in the world. At 22, 400 square kilometers, it is the size of the entire nation of Wales. Maala village in Namwala lies on the banks of the Kafue River and the entire district sits between the Lochinvar and Kafue national parks as can be seen from appendices two and three. Huge tracts of fertile land are reserved for private game lodges and tourists. Vail (1977) and Mulongo (1981) both established that the colonial government’s policy of creating the Luangwa and Lochinvar game reserves and the refusal to allow Africans to hunt within them, resulted in the loss of free range meat and other animal protein for rural inhabitants. Post-colonial regimes in Zambia have continued with game reserves and the country currently has 19 game parks and 34 management areas making a total of 22.4 million hectares of land from which indigenous people are banned. This amounts to forty percent of Zambia’s land area that has been privatized and cannot be accessed by rural dwellers for food or other uses.


138 GRZ, 2006, p. 88
In both Konga-Makeni (Kafue) and Namwala, meat has become too expensive for most people. One woman in my study bluntly represented the views of the poor majority when she stated: “there is no way we can afford to buy meat.” Another woman added: “the lack of meat and vegetables is causing many people to be weak and sick.” Meat does not equate to a fully balanced and nutritious diet but is the most expensive food, with the exception of the staple maize. For instance during my fieldwork, chicken was K 20,000.00 each, while a goat was sold for as much as K300,000.00. The majority of respondents in my study have a monthly income of K50,000 and an income of K150,000 was considered high.

The national development plan (GRZ, 2006, p. 230) acknowledges the high cost of meat and the consequent protein deficiency: “Among the major nutrition problems in Zambia, that affect vulnerable groups of women, children and the poor are protein-energy malnutrition.” The UN states that almost 50 percent of all pregnant women in SSA suffer from iron deficiency anemia. The roots of Zambia’s protein-energy deficiencies lie in the reservation of land as game reserves for the private benefit of a few individuals.

Brown contends (2004) that the privatization of nature, under the guise of agricultural development and tourism, is eroding communal resources in Zambia’s most fertile areas. He writes:

"During the past decade, much of the agricultural investment in Zambia has flowed to riparian areas where farmers can more easily irrigate their crops. At the same time a growing number of safari lodges have been built on the banks of the Zambezi and Luangwa rivers. In 1996, for instance, there were only three

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"Organic Agriculture and Food Security in Africa"

investors with title to land in the Chaiwa chieftaincy, on the outskirts of the Lower Zambezi National Park. By 1999, nineteen more tour operators held title. These lodges owned primarily by white Zambians or foreign investors, are built on riverside locations where scenery and wildlife viewing are at their best … tourism and the number of lodges in the Victoria Falls area, for instance has led to the enclosure of more and more riverfront property in this particularly arid part of Zambia (p. 95).

The Victoria Falls (called Mosi-oa-Tunya by most rural Zambians) is in the Southern province of Zambia which is also the driest part of the country. The source of the falls, the Zambezi River, is the lifeline of the province. However, rampant privatization of land in this area is drastically reducing access to both water and forests for local Zambians because riverfront property is being privatized by foreign investors (Brown, 2004). The profits that are supposed to trickle down from these investments and displacements are non-existent among poor Zambians because the game reserves and tourist safaris are privately owned corporations. These businesses, by definition, are answerable to their private owners and not local Zambians who depend on the land for survival.

5.4 Modern Development and Cultural Destruction

Fifty percent of interviewees said that a modern and artificial lifestyle contributed to their inability to provide for themselves. To rural Zambians in my study modern and artificial usually referred to a very individualistic way of life. An interviewee in Konga-Makeni explained: “in the days when our traditions were strong, it was possible to plough very large fields because we would all take turns to work on each other’s field; but this modern lifestyle prevents neighbors from working together.” This respondent was referring to communal labor that was crucial to food production. Moore and Vaughan (1994) reveal that labor shortages have been recognized as a major cause of rural hunger in Zambia. Mainstream development, however, in concept and practice, makes little use
of the history of under-developed societies. During my fieldwork, I observed that every household in my study employed extra labor at some point during the agricultural cycle. Although many respondents decried the death of communal traditions, people still regularly helped each other out, usually in exchange for beer or food.

Other interviewees defined modern and artificial in terms of excessive spending on clothing and the predominance of a poor work ethic due to beer drinking. My respondents viewed this modern and artificial lifestyle as an abandonment of traditional values for individualized westernized behavior. A number of widows inherited land from their husbands and conflict with elder male children was fairly common in part due to job shortages. One woman in Konga-Makeni is said to have died from hunger and anguish because her sons sold their land after the husband died. Many participants from Konga-Makeni believed that the young men sold sacred ground because the man buried there was a highly respected and prominent man. Interviewees informed that an infant had also been buried on the land and this increased the sanctity of the plot. Another farmer explained: “land is so scarce nowadays we do not even have a place to bury our dead.”

During my fieldwork, I observed a residence being built on the plot of land that respondents regarded as sacred. Another respondent explained: “these modern developers will never really understand the way we Zambians regard our land and when they come to invest in the land it is for their benefit and not ours. They do not even know that they are building on a burial site.”

\(^\text{140}\)(Rist 2002; Shiva 2005).
I literally witnessed modern development pushing Zambians off their land turning them into squatters. The plot of land in Konga-Makeni that had been sold to a new developer had supported a very large and successful compound. I concluded my field work in January 2008 and the members of this household no longer had any rights to the land. The majority of families in the household had left the land and their hunger and weight loss was visible to my naked eye. In the view of study participants in Konga-Makeni, the plight of these families illustrated how development and modernization in Zambia are not only leading to hunger but also destroying the socio-cultural fabric of the society.

Despite the colonial and post-colonial attempts to modernize and privatize indigenous agriculture, the majority of poor farmers in Namwala and Kafue, still practiced some version of indigenous agriculture in 2008. Out of seventy rural respondents, sixty-one were practicing indigenous agriculture on their land. Indigenous agriculture and customary tenure systems have survived all efforts at modernization and development while ensuring access to land and water for Africans and a genuine sustainability of natural resources, until recently. These systems should be studied and solidified to meet the current socio-economic needs of rural Zambians.

The practice of the often mislabeled backward agriculture is an attempt by rural Zambians to be self-sufficient. Although participants in my study continue to practice indigenous agriculture, the modernizing effect of development is still noticeable. During my fieldwork, I observed some people having a breakfast of tea and bread instead of maize, groundnuts and bananas which constitute traditional morning meals. Not only is
this modern breakfast less nutritious and delicious, it is more expensive. Additionally, none of the farmers in my study sample were growing wheat or tea. Therefore this modern breakfast of tea and bread relied on packaged and often imported food and thus undermined self-reliance.

In Namwala, Kafue, Zambia and the entire Africa, the majority of people are primarily subsistence producers (GRZ 2006; New African 2006). Shiva (2005) notes, that development ideology declares subsistence farmers poor because they eat maize grown by local farmers rather than commercially produced and marketed food, including imported wheat flour for bread and other pastries. They are declared poor because they live in huts made from ecologically adapted materials like thatch and mud. Rural Africans are deemed poor because they wear handmade garments of natural fiber rather than costly synthetics manufactured abroad.

Shiva’s point is that people are poor because they lack access to resources and not because they earn less than a dollar a day. In an agricultural-based economy, such as in rural Zambia, it is imperative that the people have control over the major means of livelihood, especially water and arable land. The local people must meaningfully participate in decisions over the resources that affect and concern them (Imboela 2004). This is imperative because as I have attempted to show, especially in chapter three of this dissertation, indigenous land use in Zambia is practical and efficient and thus can be the basis for enduring agricultural development and food security. Additionally, the majority of respondents continue to practice some version of indigenous agriculture despite the development and modernization by the British colonial regime and successive post-
colonial governments which not only failed to improve but continued to worsen the living conditions in rural Zambia as shown in the cases of my selected regions of study.

5.5 The Farmers’ Views on the Politics of Development

Sixty-seven of seventy interviewees in my sample felt that the political system prevented the poor from placing resources and development under their control and for their benefit. Due to the power disparity between the rural people, the state and its bureaucrats, it is difficult for the people to assume control of their development. As one participant in Konga-Makeni noted: “The politicians and people on top make laws that suit themselves and the politicians pay themselves so it is difficult for them to listen to us. Even though this town is so close to Lusaka, they did not even bother to come meet us before the last election.” This showed how disregarded some Zambian poor farmers are by public officials who are supposed to be working for their welfare.

The phrase, “politicians pay themselves” refers to the mid-term gratuity that the Zambian government pays to Members of Parliament in the middle of the year. Ironically, the members of parliament themselves decide how much they should be paid in addition to their salaries. As the woman reminded me, not a single member of parliament had refused the mid-term gratuity despite the financial hardships of farmers, retirees and most Zambians. On the issues of privatization and liberalization of agriculture that are currently being implemented in Zambia, my respondents were clear. They emphasized that privatization is not development and does not serve the interests of most Zambians.
The majority of respondents in my study opined that indigenous forms of land tenure are necessary for them to control their land and other crucial resources because the current political system marginalizes the majority.

**Table 8. Land Acquisition: Namwala and Kafue**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SOURCES of LAND ACQUISITION</th>
<th>NUMBER of PARTICIPANTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Directly from Headman</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inheritance via Headman</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aunt</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Directly from Government Schemes</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 70


As shown in table eight, an overwhelming majority, i.e., 63 of 70 interviewees in Kafue and Namwala acquired land through the traditional method. This involves distribution of land by the headmen and inheritance of customary land.

The wealthier members of the community acquired their land via government title. Out of a total of 30 male heads of households, six had government-issued titles for land. Four out of 40 women I interviewed were heads of households and only one had title to the land issued in her own name. This disparity among men and women in modern land registration is a consequence of the commodification of land and cattle in Zambia that
occurred during colonial rule. The British government recognized only men as property owners and hence subject to taxation and thus men dominated the ownership of resources (Imboela 2004; Meebelo 1971).

All respondents who acquired ownership of land through the indigenous system felt that the modern form of land tenure was cumbersome, expensive and is operated to the advantage of the elites or abapamwamba as they are known in Konga-Makeni. Moore and Vaughan (1994, p. 211) studied Northern Zambia and observed that, “The right to land by birth is being overridden by the right to land by Government lease.” My own findings confirm this belief among the rural poor of Zambia. Many respondents in my study associated land registration with social exclusion as a few individuals began to own large tracts of private land.

Purportedly modern land registration in Zambia can only be carried out in the central locations of Lusaka and Ndola. The cost of travelling 30-45 kilometers by bus is prohibitive for half of my sample. During my field research from August 2007 to January 2008, it was K 8, 000. 00 for a single round trip from Konga-Makeni (Kafue) to Lusaka. It is even worse for the majority of Zambians who reside further from Lusaka or Ndola. In addition the cost of having surveyors travel to rural Zambia to map an area is exorbitant. As an interviewee in Konga-Makeni told me: “It has been almost impossible to get land surveyors from Lusaka onto our property since the passing of my father three years ago.” By the time I completed six months of fieldwork, this family had

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141 See Appendix 1

142 For a detailed breakdown of costs involved in surveying and registering land in Zambia, see Brown (2004).
still not been able to acquire a title for their land. Another respondent in Maala emphasized how the modern land policies are failing due to difficult and expensive implementation: “our leaders are trying to bring the ‘town-thinking’ of private property here but our way of life and thinking are different and so it does not work here.”

Meaningful development for rural Zambians means relying on their own political power and indigenous systems. Policies on agricultural development and land tenure have shown to be as much socio-political as economic in Zambia (Hangusule 2002; Brown 2004). The private tenure system is beyond the financial reach of the poor in rural areas. The rural poor are in disadvantaged positions against investors who have money and government officials such as land surveyors who implement the privatization of customary land (Brown 2004).

In order to address the interests of rural Zambians, policies on agricultural development have to resolve the serious inequalities arising out of privatizing land and the unfair price rural farmers receive for their produce. Contemporary development has been de-politicized because social and power relations involved in privatization and development projects, particularly at the local level are not examined (Kothari 2005). As a result, mainstream discourse is shifting development away from appropriate land reform to a private-sector led development of non-traditional exports that is not working to benefit most Zambians. There is widespread belief among the poor in Namwala and Kafue that the greed of the elites is the cause of their poverty. Twenty-five out of 70 rural
respondents in my study blamed poverty on the rich and their public official accomplices who “are only interested in taking care of themselves and their children.”

143 In rural Zambia, their children almost always meant everyone who was part of a particular household and that was almost never restricted to the nuclear family of father, mother and their children. Older and younger relatives are part of the household.
Chapter 6 Concluding Observations

6.1 Summary of Dissertation

This dissertation had two objectives. Firstly, I sought to explain persistent poverty in Zambia despite numerous national development plans and relatively high economic growth since 1999 (GRZ, 2006, p. 30). Secondly, I attempted to re-conceptualize development as the majority of Zambians define and practice it using the cases of Kafue and Namwala. I explain lingering poverty in Zambia by examining the historical evolution and perpetuation of under-development and its contemporary practice. The mode of integration into the global economy, that is at the root of under-development in Zambia, remained unchanged in the era of independence. Additionally, I contrasted the Zambian people’s definition with mainstream and critical conceptions of development.

My dissertation furnishes a historical perspective and explanation for under-development in Zambia. What is deemed development in Zambia first appeared on the government’s agenda when the British passed the Colonial Development and Welfare Act in 1940. That Act was a tool to blunt nationalist struggles. The political context of colonial development was discussed in chapter three of this dissertation. I illustrated that colonial officials regarded development as a euphemism to control and manipulate Zambians (Moore and Vaughan 1994). After 1945, the colonial government of Northern Rhodesia (Zambia’s colonial name) began formulating and implementing development schemes centered on cash crops grown on private farms (Makings 1966; Moore and Vaughan 1994).
When colonialism ended in Zambia in 1964, the joint UN/ECA/FAO Seers report, became the basis for Zambia’s post-colonial development until the 1973 oil embargo that led to huge import bills for Zambia. The Seers Commission recommended modernizing indigenous agriculture as the impetus for economic growth and continued the colonial mode of agriculture. In fact the Seers commission merely renamed settler agriculture, commercial (Chipungu 1988).

The poor in rural parts of Zambia were not consulted on what type of development they preferred. Furthermore, development did not significantly alter Zambia’s position in the international capitalist system as a copper dependent monocultural economy that imported crude oil, food and other essential goods. Under post-colonial development, the cultivation of cash crops continued to alienate Zambians from their land and undermine food self-reliance. This caused Zambia’s import-bill to skyrocket after the 1973 oil embargo and since then, the country has increasingly acquired loans and grants from partners to finance development projects which have failed to alleviate high levels of poverty.

As a result of their precarious financial positions, Zambia and many other African countries were required to accept free market and export-oriented strategies as a condition of aid from the BWIs. The so-called free market model of development originated in a report published by the World Bank in 1981, titled Accelerated Development in Sub Saharan Africa also known as the Berg Report. Zambia is one of

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144 See Imboela (2004)

145 US Economist Elliot Berg authored the report and hence the name Berg Report.
thirty-two African countries that officially apply IMF/WB-sponsored national development plans that require the privatization or liberalization of economies and strategic services, even though they are not in the interest of the majority of their citizens. From the Colonial Development Act (1940), the Seers Commission, to the current neoliberal, export-oriented policies of the BWIs, Zambia’s development plans have been conceived mostly by foreign experts. This study has sought to illustrate how the colonization of the development discourse led to what I termed the de-Africanization of development in Africa. Zambia is an excellent example of how mainstream theories discussed in earlier chapters of this study have the country caught in a development trap. The overwhelming majority of African countries subscribe to the same free market theories while from 1981 to 2005, the number of the extremely poor in SSA increased by 180 million from 200 to 380 million (WB 2009).

6.2 Conclusions
This section summarizes ways in which theorists and practitioners can fully comprehend development in Zambia and the rest of SSA. I also provide a way forward based mainly on the perspectives of respondents in this study. Eliminating poverty in Zambia and other parts of Africa firstly requires knowing how poverty is created and perpetuated (Shiva 2005). Shiva (2005) has shown that the notions by mainstream economists, including Jeffrey Sachs (2005), that the poor are poor because they were left behind by the industrial revolution is ahistorical and cannot be the basis for genuine development and poverty eradication. Sachs, for instance writes, “A few centuries ago everybody was poor…. The onset of the Industrial Revolution, supported by a rise in
agricultural productivity, unleashed an explosive period of modern economic growth. 

As I have attempted to show in this dissertation, in poor and agricultural societies like those in Zambia, poverty is created by alienating the majority of people from their land, which is the main source of livelihood.

I have also sought to demonstrate that historically in Zambia, alienation of people from their land happened through: taxation, mineral extraction, privatization and modern development projects like commercial mono-crop agriculture and the creation of game reserves by the British Colonial administration and subsequent post-independence regimes. When Zambians are rendered landless squatters, they are forced to adopt vulnerable and dependent lifestyles which cause and perpetuate poverty and often degrade the physical environment (Vail 1977; Imboela 2004).

Paradoxically, after more than fifty years of agricultural development in Zambia, the majority of Zambians are still small farmers growing food crops and not crops for export. As a result, mining has been and remains the country’s largest foreign exchange earner. However, mining destroys agricultural land and permanently displaces people from their source of livelihood while polluting the environment. As discussed in this dissertation, the first commercial mine in Zambia, Kabwe (formerly Broken Hill), is now the most polluted city in Africa and the fourth most polluted site in the world. The pollution of Zambia’s agricultural land does not stop at Kabwe.

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The largest multi-national mining company in Zambia, Konkola Copper Mines (KCM), which is owned by a United Kingdom corporation, Vedanta Resources, has been cited by the Environmental Council of Zambia (ECZ) for dangerous pollution of the Kafue river, the largest water source in Zambia. According to the ECZ and other reports, the polluted water had 1,000 times the recommended safe amounts of copper; 77,000 times the amount of manganese and 10,000 the amount of cobalt. The ECZ warns that these chemicals cause liver, kidney, respiratory and heart diseases and recommended that KCM should be sued because of the serious long-term health effects. KCM has not been sued, revealing the weakness of institutions responsible for the health and welfare of Zambians. It also demonstrates one of the many hazards Zambians face in the global search for profits by private corporations.

Zambia’s current national development plan (GRZ, 2006, p. 60) states, “Copper has been a prime mover of economic development in Zambia for over 70 years … contributing about 70 percent of export earnings.” Meanwhile, copper mining has not been able to lift Zambians out of poverty because the mode of integration into the global economy remains unchanged. Zambia continues to rely on primary products, mainly cash crops including cotton and tobacco, and copper. Currently copper revenues are 70 percent of export earnings and the government is promoting non-traditional cash crops, such as horticultural and floricultural products (GRZ 2006, p. 60, p. 26). These commodities perpetuate Zambia’s vulnerability and dependence on a precarious world market for raw and often perishable exports.

The Zambian government passed the Zambia Development Agency (ZDA) Act No. 11 in 2006. This act established Multi-Facility Economic Zones\footnote{“Multi-Facility Economic Zones! What Are They?”<http://mcti.gov.zm. Retrieved 3/9/2009.}} in the country. These highly controversial economic zones are meant to attract foreign investment for employment and development by providing areas of unrestrained free market capitalism. The Zambian government and its international donors claim that providing the private sector with huge tax incentives and a free market with no or few regulations, will lead to development that benefits impoverished Zambians. Zambia launched the first China-Africa economic zone in 2007. This economic zone is supposed to serve as a model for other African countries.\footnote{“Cape Verde Joins struggle for Chinese economic zones”<http://www.afrol.com. Retrieved March 2, 2008.}} The Chinese Non-Ferrous Metals Corporation (CNMC) built a copper smelter in Chambishi, 420 kilometres north of Lusaka where it claims the Chinese will invest US 800 million leading to 6000 Zambian jobs.\footnote{“Zambian President hails Zambia-China trade Co-op”<http://www.chinatradeinformation.net/china-trade-news/zambian-president-hails-zambia-china-trade-co-op.html, Retrieved April 19, 2009.}}

ZDA Act No.11 exempts CNMC from taxes for the first five years of operation, defers payments of 16 percent value-added tax and levies no taxes on dividends and duty for capital equipment and raw materials. Similar tax waivers were extended to U.S., South African and Indian firms in economic zones around Lusaka in October 2007.\footnote{US Firms granted tax break in Zambia. Retrieved from http://www.lusakatimes.com, March 10, 2009.}} Zambia’s President, Rupiah Banda proceeded to declare parts of the national capital, Lusaka, a Sub Economic Zone.\footnote{RB launches Lusaka Sub Economic Zone. Retrieved from http://www.lusakatimes.com March 10, 2009.}} The government also declared Solwezi district in the
North-Western Province an economic zone in December 2008. An Australian and Canadian company, Equinox Minerals, has just begun operating one of the world’s largest copper mines sixty-five km outside of Solwezi.

In practice, the models of development implemented, place countries such as Zambia in foreign hands and lead to capital outflows overseas. This clearly does not benefit most Zambians but it is justified by the government and its development partners as providing free access to markets. There is also the claim made that the private sector will trickle down jobs and economic growth to Zambians. However, profits usually trickle-up, while displacement and environmental destruction trickle down to the people. Laws such as ZDA Act No. 11 (2006) need to be reviewed and changed if Zambians are to benefit from foreign and domestic investment.

The Swiss-based International Mineral Resources and Bein Stein Group Resources of Israel closed the Luanshya mine in the Copperbelt province of Zambia in December 2008. As a result, unemployment, frustration and anger were widespread among workers who lost their main sources of income. Ironically, the company owners are demanding US 80 million as withdrawal fees from the Zambian government. Zambia urgently needs to prevent this type of disastrous investments and approach to economic development.

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Misconceived development and investments such as Luanshya Mine,\textsuperscript{157} lend support to the perspective of one of my participants who resisted the Mbeza Irrigation Project in 2005. This respondent said: “we resisted that project because foreigners invest to make money for themselves as businessmen and our leaders also work for their own interests while no-one takes care of our land.” The right of the Zambian people to earn a living from their land has to be protected. Even one of the largest advocates for private sector western capitalism, the \textit{Wall Street Journal}, recently criticized the Zambian government for poor development planning:

Over the past decade, as a commodity boom boosted growth across poverty stricken Sub Saharan Africa, governments, donors and aid groups watched and hoped it meant the start of a more prosperous era. But now the commodities downturn is wallop big swathes of the continent, ending an unprecedented period of optimism in resource-rich countries across Africa…. The Zambian government didn’t take advantage of the boom to diversify its economy or save for a rainy day. It lost out on a large share of copper revenues by offering lucrative concessions to mining companies. When the mines began to pull out, Zambia’s foreign exchange flows dwindled, depreciating its currency the Kwacha. The IMF is considering a $200 million loan to boost the country’s foreign exchange reserves, on top of $79 million loan approved in June.\textsuperscript{158}

The cycle of dependent development that landed Zambia in a quagmire is being repeated because development has not been re-conceptualized. Zambia is still heavily dependent on copper for foreign exchange. Dependency on one or a few primary commodities is

\textsuperscript{157} It should be noted that in when the mines were first privatized after 1991, Anglo American Corporation purchased the largest mine on the copperbelt, Konkola Copper Mines (KCM) of which Luanhsya mine was a part. Anglo American shocked the Zambian government and quit the mine in 2002, resulting in similar devastating job losses and the creation of Ghost Towns such as Luanshya. See Anglo American Quits Zambia, \url{http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/business}.

\textsuperscript{158} “Zambia’s Economy Falls With Price of Copper,” (2009, March 26). Retrieved from \url{http://online.wsj.com}.
encouraged by foreign orientation and has brought Zambia and other African countries to the brink of economic disasters.

The case of Zambia is paradoxical because despite all the impoverishment, especially in rural areas, the country has had unprecedented economic growth in recent years. The current government development plan\footnote{GRZ, 2006, p. 22} reads:

The performance of the Zambian economy considerably improved during the period … from 2002 to 2005. Real GDP growth averaged 4.7 percent per year, up from an annual average of 2.2 percent in the preceding four years. The rapid expansion of mining and construction were the key drivers of growth during the period. The renewed expansion of the mining sector was a result of … the privatization of state-owned mines.

The state has also recorded impressive agricultural growth and development that has not positively impacted the lives of the rural poor, even though most Zambians earn their living in this sector. The cultivation of non-traditional cash crops spearheaded the lopsided growth in agriculture, as the latest figures from Zambia illustrate\footnote{Ibid., p. 26}:

In terms of export diversification non-traditional exports (mostly primary agricultural products) … performed well. Receipts grew by an annual average of 18 percent and went up by 50.7 percent to US $538 million from $357 million in 2002 … they are increasingly becoming an important source of Zambia’s foreign exchange, employment and income.

The government\footnote{Ibid., p. 30} itself proclaims that: “The persistently high income poverty that was observed in 2004, is in sharp contrast to the rapid acceleration in economic growth experienced since 1999.” So-called private sector-led development in mining and
agriculture in Zambia is driving economic growth and creating immense profits for mining corporations such as Vedanta and agricultural firms like Agriflora. At the same time the privatization of agricultural land and state-owned mines is leading to landlessness and unemployment which in turn lead to hunger and poverty. Private-sector development is also leading to pollution of the Zambian environment as I have noted in the case of Kabwe lead mine and the Kafue River.

Typically private firms tend not to reinvest their profits and are also exempt from corporate taxes for the first five years of operation under ZDA Act No. 11 (2006). My study draws attention to this lopsided concept and practice of development. I sought to not only re-conceptualize agricultural development but also to highlight the perpetuation of the adverse international division of labor that reinforces Zambia as a foreign-oriented, primary exporting economy.

The power disparity between people and the various development leaders, explains why elites are able to impose skewed economic development on the people. Restoring decision-making power to the people can only be achieved through real political education and awareness as an important first step. Political education should make the people realize that genuine development is a political question and requires an active population.

Conventional development theory and practice assume that development is a universal process, of mostly economic westernization. That is, to be developed is to acquire the characteristics of industrialized western nations (Rist 2002; Imboela 2004). My field research leads me to conclude that among the rural poor in Zambia,
development does not focus on non-traditional cash crops and privatization but rather on indigenous agriculture and land tenure. Thus, to be meaningful to the people of rural Zambia, development has to address the structural land and power issues that small farmers’ face.

In this study, it has been shown that structural under-development in Zambia and other African countries was created and is perpetuated by poor nations being unequally attached to the global economy and their subsequent inferior roles as primary exporting countries usually dependent on one or two minerals or cash crops. This mode of integration was not changed by independence and clearly the Zambian government is expanding cash crop production, with negative consequences for the majority of Zambians while private businesses make huge profits. Furthermore, after many decades and attempts at diversification and development, roughly 70 percent of Zambians are still subsistence farmers while copper earns 70 percent of the country’s foreign earnings in 2006 (GRZ 2006).

In order to re-conceptualize development in the interests of poor Zambians, firstly it must be acknowledged that private ownership of land per se is not a requirement for increased productivity and development. In this dissertation, I have shown the suitability, adaptability and resilience of indigenous agriculture to Zambia’s soils and climate. As I have sought to demonstrate, in order to increase food production and ensure sustainable food self-sufficiency, Zambia’s development needs to be based on the bio-diverse indigenous farms that rely on organic inputs and not on the privately owned, large monocrop plantations that depend on expensive chemical fertilizers. This industrial model of
agriculture has led the Zambian government itself (GRZ, 2006, p. 230) to proclaim that 70 percent of the population faces food insecurity.

The Zambian government intending to continue expanding private mining and tourism, has continued to commission new mines for non-traditional export growth, while reserving 22.4 million hectares of prime land as game parks (GRZ, 2006, p. 88). As I mentioned earlier, the first commercial mine in Zambia is now the most polluted city in Africa. Elsewhere, the area of Chief Nkana has been permanently destroyed by emerald and other gemstone mining which leave huge holes in the ground. Reserving 40 percent of Zambia’s land for private game parks creates landlessness which results in hunger and poverty. Meanwhile, the development and profits from these private game reserves do not reach local Zambians.162 According to the respondents in this study, this could be changed by providing access to land for Zambians and not through privatization. Meaningful development of agricultural land should be based on indigenous agriculture and land uses such as pastoralism and hunting and gathering, which are all crucial to the sustenance of rural Zambians as I have sought to illustrate in this dissertation.

If development is not re-conceptualized to protect land from private investors, Zambia’s cash crop plantations and mineral extraction will leave the country a despoiled patch of land with a dependent population, stripped of their source of livelihood, unable to produce food and without mineral wealth. At this point, if privatization of land for commercial agriculture, tourism or mining is to be pursued at all, the long term interests

162 During my fieldwork I visited the Hotel Mosi-oa-tunya in Livingstone. Workers at the hotel actually had a hard time believing that a Zambian was staying at the hotel. Since the hotel was privatized to Sun International, the number of Zambians staying there has drastically reduced and during my few days stay, I encountered none.
of the indigenous people should be paramount. In addition, land for private game reserves and cash crop plantations should be minimal and never include the total loss of rights from the indigenous people to private investors, foreign or local.

6.3 The Way Forward: Re-conceptualizing Development Policy, Research and Politics

Agriculture:

The majority of respondents in my study acknowledged that chemical fertilizers and single-crop plantations damage soil in the long-run. Additionally, the few farmers who had livestock all used their livestock for manure and almost all the farmers practiced mixed cropping and crop rotation. Based on these practices and insights, livestock-crop policy should also form an essential part of the indigenous model of agriculture.

Advocates for genuine development should ensure that scientists who develop new crop varieties take into account the local conditions in Zambia and ensure the hybrids used fit into indigenous crop rotation. Additionally, the farmers and governmental authorities must be vigilant in identifying all forms of dependency that may result from patented, so-called high-yielding seeds and chemical fertilizers that are imported. Historical lessons must be drawn from the industrial model of agriculture that has been applied from colonialism to the current African Green Revolution and has failed to end hunger.

The recent food crisis caused by skyrocketing prices revealed food security to be a contentious political matter (Lines 2008; Shiva 2007). Infact, fifteen Zambians lost their lives in the 1986 food riots spurred by the IMF imposed removal of maize-meal
subsidiess. Zambia’s peace and international sovereignty depend primarily on sustainable food self-reliance. The hallmarks of the indigenous model that needs to be supported should be bio-diverse cropping in conjunction with livestock-crop policy.

Irrigation should also be incorporated into agricultural schemes because as one interviewee remarked: “Nothing can survive without water. Even Zambia’s well known drought resistant crops like cassava, sweet potatoes and sorghum require a little water.” Bwalya (2006) notes that Zambia’s potential for irrigation is almost unlimited as the country has several perennial rivers. Compared to drought-resistant indigenous crops, maize requires a lot of rainfall and fertilizer. The Japanese Association for International Cooperation of Agriculture and Forestry (JAICAF 2008) recently conducted research on food staples in Zambia and concluded that:

As compared with other staples (cassava, sweet potato, sorghum) maize is more susceptible to drought and its production may be hit substantially by bad weather. Furthermore inputs such as chemical fertilizer and improved seed are essential for realizing a high yield. Sufficient maize production is simply impossible without those inputs (p. 16).

Thus, the efforts of rural Zambians to grow more cassava and sweet potatoes should be encouraged and supported and utmost care must be taken to ensure that small farmers remain firmly in control and ownership of seeds for planting new crops.

Uncultivated Communal Resources and Rural Development

As my study participants conveyed, uncultivated communal resources are an important source of survival for most rural Zambians. Communal resources provide food

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163 Refer to the maps of Zambia to see how many rivers criss cross the country. All the major rivers and most tributaries in Zambia are perennial.
in the form of wild plants, fruit, vegetables, roots and birds. Furthermore, these uncultivated resources are an integral source of medicine for Zambians. Agricultural research in Zambia should first of all document all the plants, and animal species that are edible, medicinal and useful for other purposes. These resources should then be formalized as part of the educational curriculum in Zambia and further research should go into the best way to develop these indigenous resources in order to meet the people’s needs. Plants such as bondwe, mulembwe and muleza should be more intensively cultivated for food and health self-sufficiency. The same applies for indigenous animal species including caterpillars, grasshoppers and termites (Bwalya 2006).

One of my interviewees hit the nail on the head when he said: “Our leaders need to change their way of thinking and realize that Zambian crops, goats and chickens are easy to maintain and provide very good nutrition.” The cultural and ideological dominance of mainstream development discourse treats uncultivated resources as under-developed, wasted and often without ownership. This provides the pretext for the neo-liberal privatization of uncultivated land for commercial farms and game reserves that is alienating many Zambians while a few benefit.

Re-conceptualizing Tourism for Meaningful Rural Development

Aside from single cash crop plantations and new mines, privatization of customary land in Zambia is proceeding through tourist game reserves. There is a need for a re-conceptualization of the industry in order for tourism to be beneficial to the majority of citizens. Zambia’s current development plan (GRZ, 2006) notes that forty percent of
Zambia’s land is preserved as game reserves and thus not accessible to local inhabitants. This kind of land alienation creates hunger and poverty in Zambia.

Instead of tourism displacing Zambians from their land, indigenous land use needs to be fully recognized and protected by law. The so-called backward lifestyle involving shifting cultivation, pastoralism and hunting and gathering are not only rational and efficient uses of land, but they are also specific to the cultural traditions and the physical landscape of Zambia.

**Politics and Rural Development**

Sixty-seven of seventy interviewees in this study reported that the political system in Zambia operates to the advantage of local and foreign elites and exploits the local people. A system that is not working in the interest of the majority of citizens could never be a democracy because it does not reflect the will of the people. Zambia’s experience under the first President, Dr. Kenneth Kaunda demonstrates that despite genuine humanitarian concerns among many of the early post-independent elites, post-colonial development did not alter the adverse international division of labor. The industrialization and diversification of the Zambian economy has never been achieved and hence the country remains at the lowest rung of the global economy as a narrowly based, primary exporter. Currently, 70 percent of Zambia’s income is accrued from exporting raw copper to the volatile world market\(^\text{164}\) and the government reports that total domestic revenues can only finance 17.6 percent of the nation’s development plan.\(^\text{165}\) Not only does Zambia rely on

\(^{164}\) GRZ 2006

\(^{165}\) Ibid, p. 238
donors to finance development, it also heavily dependent on the global marketplace for revenue. Most other African countries exhibit similar dependency.

Therefore, it must first be acknowledged that for Zambia or any African country to define its own path to development and to receive fair prices for exports, it requires power and independence within the global political economy. Food self-sufficiency places nations in positions to pursue development models that are suitable to their conditions and aspirations. However, the only long-term solution for African countries is to restructure global political economic relations by uniting under one strong African organization.\(^\text{166}\) Within a united continental governmental framework, Africans can negotiate fair terms of trade. As Nkrumah (1970) explained, for the integration of African economies to be meaningful, it had to:

coordinate all existing resources, … and employ them methodically, so as to improve the overall surplus, to assist a wider capital development, permit planning to eliminate the present imbalance in identical forms of primary trading economies and provide for the eviction of a complementary pattern of development … we would still need to exchange primary products for capital goods … (but) … within … integrated planning, we shall be better placed to extract the most advantageous aid agreements … offer greater attraction … because of … anticipated high profitability ratios … (and) … the soundness of the guarantees that united continental development offer\(^\text{167}\)

Creating continental unity and consciousness is not easy as has been in both the cases of the Organization of African Unity and the African Union.\(^\text{168}\) Building successful

\(^{166}\) Nkrumah (1973)


\(^{168}\) Panford (2006)
institutions of national and continental governance will be contingent on these institutions truly reflecting both the will and the needs of the majority of Africans.
Appendix 1: Interview/Questionnaire to Zambian Rural Farmers

1. How did you acquire this land?
2. Compare the ‘Modern Private Title’ system to land to the ‘Indigenous’ forms of land acquisition
3. How do you sustain yourself and family?
4. Do you have difficulties sustaining yourself and family?
5. If yes, what can be done and by whom?
6. How do you define poverty?
7. What are the origins of poverty/hunger in this community?
8. How do you define development?
9. Who decides what development projects are implemented?
10. How does the political system/leader(s) affect your sustenance or development?
11. How do people react to or cope with their poverty?
12. Do people resist unfair development projects?
13. If yes, why? If no, why not?
Appendix 2: Map of Zambia’s National Parks

Source: http://www.zambiatourism.com/travel/maps/mapparks
Appendix 3: Map of Zambia

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