

Sustaining Life

A Theological Vision for the Diversification of the Copperbelt's Economy

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**Sustaining Life:
A theological Vision for the Diversification of the
Copperbelt's Economy**

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Declaration

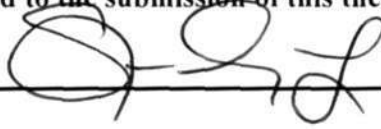
I hereby state that the whole thesis, except where specifically indicated to the contrary in the text, is my own original work

Christopher Chabu Kangale

Date: _____

As Supervisor, I have agreed to the submission of this thesis

Dr. S. de Gruchy



Date: 29-3-05

Dedication

**To my Mother for her endless insistence on the power of
Knowledge and Critical Thinking**

**To my wife Gertrude Kalumbu
and My children Chipulu and Kutasha
for their Love, Patience and Encouragement**

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Abstract

Since independence in 1964, Zambia in general and the Copperbelt Province in particular have largely depended on the mono-economy based on copper mining. Around the 1970s the copper prices started falling causing the mining industry to collapse leading to economic stagnation. Efforts to revive the economy, such as the Structural Adjustment Programme implemented since the late 1980s have not brought about well-being for the people of the Copperbelt. As a result the government of the Republic of Zambia decided to launch an economic diversification programme for the Copperbelt province whose main aim is to seek and implement alternative economic activities that would accelerate economic growth thereby improving people's living conditions on the Copperbelt.

This thesis proposes that in order to overcome poverty and improve people's living conditions, we need to shift our policy and practice from free market economic growth centred approaches, to *shalom*. The shift is based on the argument that development seen through the lenses of free market economic growth alone has not sustained life; instead it has contributed to environmental degradation and poverty creation in Zambia and the Copperbelt Province in particular.

The thesis argues that *shalom* is an authentic development paradigm. This argument is based on three fundamental integral parts of *shalom* namely creation, people and justice. In order to bring about comprehensive well-being for people there is a need to

- a) appreciate creation as a phenomenon with its own integrity. It should not be destroyed for selfish economic ends;
- b) give pre-eminence to people as free agents who could participate in creating their own destiny based on their capacities and social conditionalities; and
- c) ensure social justice as a necessary condition for human relations and economic dispensation.

Acronyms and Abbreviations

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
CDO	Copperbelt Development Organisation
CDA	Copperbelt Diversification Authority
EPZ	Export Processing Zones
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GMO	Genetically Modified Organisms
GNP	Gross National Product
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MAFF	Ministry of Finance Food and Fisheries
MMD	Movement for Multiparty Democracy
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
TB	Tuberculosis
UNIP	United National Independence Party
ZCCM	Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines

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Chapter One

Introduction

1.0 What this thesis is about

The Copperbelt Province of Zambia, as the name suggests, is a mining province whose economy has depended largely on the mining of copper since the 1800s and more recently cobalt and gemstones. The mining industry became the major employer and contributed up to 80% of the Gross Domestic Product¹ of the whole country. As from 1964 the mining industry ensured that people led economically decent lives by providing employees with social amenities such as free education, free quality medical services, a good salary and free water and electricity services. The economic strength of the Copperbelt was short lived. In the 1970s the mining industry started experiencing economic difficulties which eventually led to increasing poverty amongst the people of the province. Out of an estimated population of 2,000,000 staying on the Copperbelt, 47% are living in abject poverty, over two thirds live in substandard housing² and by December 2001, 8,000 people lost their jobs³. Some of the new investors in the mining industry such as Anglo American, Binani Group of companies and Anglovaal have pulled out of the companies they invested in citing various reasons ranging from financial to market problems.

The decline in the economy has been attributed largely to external factors such as the economic recession of 1970s, which led to the decline in copper prices on the international market, and the introduction of integrated circuitry and cellular communication systems which led to less demand for copper wire. In an effort to salvage the economy from further decline, the Government of Zambia in 1991 introduced the IMF and World Bank propagated Structural Adjustment Programme

¹ UNICEF in Zambia Report, (UNICEF, 1998) Pg 26

² The Environmental Council of Zambia, *State of Environment in Zambia 2000* (Lusaka: ECZ, 2001) pg 13

³ John Kangwa, "Mining and Society: Privatisation and Social Management" (Unpublished Paper written for African Institute of Corporate Citizenship, July 2001) Pg 23

that led to the privatisation of the mines. The results of the Structural Adjustment Programme did not improve the social-economic well-being of the majority of the people on the Copperbelt. Although in 2001 the GDP grew by 5% as compared to 1998 (-2%) and 1999 (2%), poverty levels continued to increase among the population. "According to the 1998 Living Conditions Monitoring survey in Zambia, around 73 per cent of Zambians are classified as poor (compared to 69.7 percent in 1991). The majority of people suffer from weak purchasing power, homelessness, and insufficient access to basic necessities such as education, health, food and clean water"⁴.

In 2001 the government imposed a wage freeze on all government workers limiting their capacity to cope with high commodity prices. Inflation which has been oscillating between "22.9 percent in February 2003 [and] 16.8 percent in February 2004"⁵ pushed the prices of essential commodities up.

The under five mortality rate is high. "One in six children (i.e. 168 per 1000 live births) in 2001/2002"⁶ died before they reached the age of five.

It has become clearer than ever that Zambia in general and the Copperbelt Province in particular can no longer rely on mining as the sole source of livelihood. Means and ways of improving people's lives should be sought and found as soon as possible. From 3rd to 5th June 2002, the Government of Zambia and the World Bank called an international conference to discuss the Economic Diversification of the Copperbelt Province. The meeting was attended by economic experts and deliberately excluded the Church and local civil society because the discussions were of an economic nature.

In this thesis I provide a theological vision for the economic diversification of the Copperbelt Province. I will argue that in order to bring about life that is worth

⁴ Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development report entitled "Zambia" at <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/13/36/24976663.pdf>, 26th December 2003, Pg 349

⁵ CSO "Consumer Price Index" at <http://www.zamstats.gov.zm>, March 2004

⁶ CSO "The Monthly" at <http://www.zamstats.gov.zm/monthly/health.asp>, March 2004

living, life that enhances human dignity and promotes the universal vocation of humanisation for the people of the Copperbelt Province of Zambia, will take more than simply diversifying the economy. Rather we will require adopting a broad based life-sustaining programme that integrates human capacity, proper utilisation of natural resources and social justice. I therefore advance the theory that the goal of developing the Copperbelt region is what from the theological perspective we call *shalom*. *Shalom* as we shall see in chapter two, means complete well-being for both humans and nature and that it is the basis of the church's agenda for participation in the development process.

1.1 The Church on the Copperbelt

Before I go any further let me begin this brief introduction to the church by explaining that the church here is understood not exclusively in terms of congregations and denominations but it is understood in broad terms to mean people who confess Christ as Saviour and follow the teachings of Christianity as their guide in life. In that sense, in talking about church, I will also be implicitly referring to other church related institutions such as faith based organisations, Christian colleges and student fellowships in various secular colleges and universities.

Proposing *shalom* as the goal for bringing about a programme that sustains life on the Copperbelt is anchored on two fundamental facts: First, that according to the Preamble of the Zambian Constitution as amended by act number 18 of 1996, Zambia is a "Christian Nation"⁷ and secondly 72% of people in Zambia are Christians, distributed in different denominations as follows; "Roman Catholic 42%, Jehovah's Witnesses 21%, Protestant 15%, African Independent 14%, Anglican 2%, Neo-Apostolic 2%, others 4%, (African religion 27%, Hindu and Muslim 1%)"⁸. What that means is that the socio-economic and political dispensation of Zambia in general and the Copperbelt region in particular should be based on integrative non-segregatory development policies that are inspired by Christian thinking.

⁷ Constitution of Zambia as reproduced in the *Times of Zambia* of Friday, November 14th 2003.

⁸ http://www.reformiert-online.net:8080/t/eng/land_statisch/149.htm, January, 2004

As a matter of fact, Christianity in Zambia dates as far back as the 1800s when the Paris Mission arrived in 1877 and established their missions. They were followed by the LMS (1883) “the Presbyterians (1894), the Primitive Methodists (1894), the White Fathers (1895), and the Dutch Reformed mission from South Africa (1899)”⁹. A number of other churches started work in the 20th century — in particular, the Wesleyan Methodists, the Seventh Day Adventists, the Salvation Army, the Brethren, the Church of Christ, and the Anglicans.

Over the years the church has evolved into a viable social-religious asset not only responding to the spiritual needs of the people but has also greatly involved itself in the social welfare and uplifting of the lives of the poor in the communities. On the Copperbelt the impact of the church’s social response is being felt through various programmes that the church runs. These programmes range from development and management of schools to encouraging farming and to responding to the epidemic of HIV/AIDS. The Catholic Diocese of Ndola for example, runs the biggest home care programme by an institution on the Copperbelt. By 1999, through its 500 volunteers, “well over 10,000 patients”¹⁰ were being given not only physical hope but also psycho-spiritual well-being. The Gospel Mission Outreach is another good example to give that is responding to the social challenges of the Copperbelt region. Under their programme called Salem, they have developed a child friendly centre which incorporates various services aimed at assisting street children, and providing decent accommodation, meals and basic education. As at December 2003, the Salem centre looked after 102 children who otherwise could have been on the street.

In searching for an alternative methodology for improving people’s lives the church should therefore bring its vision for development to the fore and ensure that it is made known. In the next chapter we will clearly outline *shalom* as the church’s vision for development on which alternative thinking and reflection to sustaining life could be based.

⁹ http://www.reformiert-online.net:8080/eng/land_statisch/149.htm, January, 2004

¹⁰ Glen Williams et al. *Under the Mupundu Tree, Volunteers in Home Care for People with HIV/AIDS and TB in Zambia’s Copperbelt*. (London: Actionaid, 1999) pg 15

1.2 Objectives of the Research

The objectives of this research are

- To understand the economic challenges of the Copperbelt Province
- To make an analysis of the Economic Diversification Programme of the Copperbelt Province
- To propose parameters for consideration in order to sustain better lives for people on the Copperbelt.

The key research questions that directed my research were

- What is the current economic status of the Copperbelt Province?
- Is economic diversification the solution to poverty on the Copperbelt Province?
- Does the diversification programme have what it takes to bring about acceptable human conditions on the Copperbelt Province?
- What are the attributes of economic diversification that could bring about positive social and economic change on the Copperbelt?
- How can the concept of *shalom* be translated into a socio-economic and political agenda?

1.3 Scope and Sequence

The paper is divided into six chapters with this first chapter being an introduction, which highlights the issue at hand and briefly highlights the background to the idea of *shalom* as the church's agenda. It also looks at the objectives and research questions.

Chapter Two provides the theoretical and theological framework on which the entire argument will be anchored. We present *shalom* as the vision toward which all human efforts of bettering people's lives should be directed.

In the third Chapter we analyse the economic history of the Copperbelt Province showing how it has come to be in the state in which it is. The chapter will look at the economic legacies of colonialism, post independence and neo-liberal policies.

Chapter Four looks at the current economic diversification programme focusing on its origin, how it is being implemented and by whom. I will expose the strengths and weaknesses of the approaches being used so far.

In **Chapter five** drawing on our theological reflections in chapter two we will look at sustaining life from the people's perspective as the way forward to bringing about desirable lives on the Copperbelt.

In **Chapter six** we will summarise and provide conclusions for the thesis

Chapter Two

Theoretical Framework

A Theological Vision of Development

2.0 Introduction

In this section we begin by asserting that the aims and methods of development as it has been practiced in the last half century have failed to bring about satisfactory results in the world due to inherent flaws in theory and methodology. We will briefly expose the flaws and the limitations in methodologies of development in order to build a new goal and propose that the sole goal of human endeavour on earth is to live in the state of *shalom*. We explain that in order to overcome dehumanising conditions and bring about dignity to human life there is a need to look at life in its totality viewed from the *importance of people, the integrity of creation and the necessity of justice*. The integration of these three elements together is a necessary pillar for sustaining life and gives it the crown of dignity and integrity it deserves. It enables people live within their own means based on their capacities, skills and innovations. This is the reality of what *shalom* can mean for us.

2.1 The Demise of Development

Writing in 1993, Wolfgang Sachs says that “the last 40 years can be called the age of development”¹¹ which according to Gilbert Rist was inaugurated on 20th of January 1949 in an inaugural speech by the American President Truman.¹² In his speech, Truman said “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 underdeveloped areas....”¹³

The appearance of the term ‘underdevelopment’ evoked not only the idea of change in the direction of a final state but, above all, the possibility of bringing about such change. No longer was it just a question of things ‘developing’; now it was possible to ‘develop’ a region. Thus ‘development took on a transitive meaning (an action performed by one agent upon another) which

¹¹ Sachs Wolfgang “Introduction” in *The Development Dictionary: A Guide to Knowledge as Power*. (Ed) W. Sachs (London: Zed Books, 1993) pg 1

¹² Gilbert Rist, *The History of Development: From Western Origins to Global Faith*, (London, Zed Books, 1999) Pg 70 - 75

¹³ Gustavo Esteva, “Development” in W. Sachs (Ed). *The Development Dictionary: A Guide to Knowledge as Power*. (London: Zed Books, 1993) pg 6

corresponded to a principle of social organisation, while underdevelopment became a naturally occurring (that is seemingly causeless) state of things.¹⁴

What that translated into is that at the end of colonialism, countries that had been ruled with laws based on racial segregation and oppressive structures suddenly became known as “underdeveloped” and those that colonised and benefited from colonial systems were “developed”. The attitude toward former colonies immediately changed. Instead of being looked at as independent and competent nations, they became deficient, poor and incompetent nations that needed the almighty scientifically advanced and developed nations to lead them from that low level of misery to a developed state. The idea of development looked at people not as agents but as recipients of expert knowledge and development aid. Arturo Escobar puts it this way “...Development was – and continues to be for the most part - a top-down, ethnocentric and technocratic approach, which treated people and cultures as abstract concepts, statistical figures to be moved up and down in the charts of ‘progress.’”¹⁵

The key idea of development as it has traditionally been practiced can be summed up as market driven economic growth centred development propagated under the ideology of capitalism. According to a capitalist world view, development is equated to “economic growth, private possession of capital, individual freedom, and the autonomy of the market.”¹⁶ It is argued that the increase of capital comes about as a result of a direct link between production and consumption. In order to increase profit production must be increased, and what has been produced must be consumed. In order to ensure that what is produced has access to the market, competition becomes inevitable and is the only referee that should exist to regulate the market forces. Governments should not be allowed to interfere in the free flow of things. Workers’ wages, prices of goods and the supply of services to the population should be regulated on the simple rule of supply and demand. As demand goes up so should supply which in turn brings about more profits. It is argued that these profits can then trickle down to benefit everyone in the world.

¹⁴ Gilbert Rist, *The History of Development* Pg 73

¹⁵ Arturo Escobar. “The Making and the Unmaking of the Third World through Development” in Rahneman M and Bawtree V. *The Post Development Reader* (London: Zed Books, 1997) Pg 91

¹⁶ Richard Higginson quoted by Evaristo M. Mambwe. “The Challenge of Poverty for the Church in Zambia: A response to the effects of the Structural Adjustment Programme(SAP)” unpublished Masters Thesis presented to the University of Natal – 2002, Pg 56

When looked at critically, this notion of development, which focuses on pursuit of self interest and individualism in the process of production, simply ends up concentrating wealth in the hands of the few and breeds various injustices in terms of ownership and distribution of the wealth that is created. The trickle down theory of wealth simply does not work. The stark reality is that in spite of the immense natural and human wealth that exists in Africa, “the African Stock Exchanges taken together account for only about 1 percent of the capitalisation of all the exchanges in the world compared to 7.5 percent for the other developing countries and 91.5 percent for the developed countries.”¹⁷ Wealth as measured in foreign direct investment terms also has a similar picture. At the end of 2000 the “African countries accounted for less than 1 percent of global foreign direct investment compared to 25 percent for other developing countries and 74 percent for other industrialised countries.”¹⁸ Although investors may argue in terms of investment risk, costs of production and so on as reasons for not massively investing in Africa, the simple truth is that global wealth is in the hands of very few people who make choices on where and when to invest as long as they can accumulate as much wealth as they can from that part of the world.

Capitalism in its very definition insists and focuses on economic growth, which reduces the phenomenon of poverty to the absence of income. Capitalism is built on the argument that “markets typically work to expand income and wealth and economic opportunities that people have.”¹⁹ By so doing capitalism has dictated over the years how to measure a country’s wealth. All nations’ wealth indicators are measured in income terms; GDP for example is simply goods and services produced in the country put together, while other indicators such as inflation rates, minimum wage and so on are all income based. We need to think about this notion critically. Looking at income poverty alone is deficient in design and progression because although partially true that a lack of income has a serious bearing on how people can utilise their capabilities, it ignores other human elements that are equally important if not more important²⁰. It must be stated that poverty is more than simply absence of

¹⁷ Vernon Mwanga, “Our People Need Empowerment” in the *Post Newspaper*, Issue No: 264SU111, Sunday, January 11, 2004, Pg 6

¹⁸ Mwanga, “Our People Need Empowerment” Pg 6

¹⁹ Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom*, (New York: Anchor Books, 1999) pg 26

²⁰ Sen, *Development as Freedom*, pg 87ff

income. As Amartya Sen says poverty is actually the deprivation of the capabilities of individuals which hinders them from creating their own lives as they see it fit, appropriate and relevant to their existential survival. Situations such as unemployment (deprived of a job), hunger (deprived of food), and premature death (deprived of life) are way beyond income and wealth in the ordinary sense²¹. So when we talk about the wealth of a community we must not restrict ourselves to the counting of how many cars and cell phones that community has but we must also look at human values and quality of life in terms of living longer, the absence of violence, respect for the fundamental rights of people, respect for the rule of law and the preservation and conservation of the natural environment.

Klaus Nürnberger drives the point home by alluding to the fact that the understanding of poverty from income terms only, has a special effect on human conduct. He observes that “when the incomes of people go up, their needs go up as well. More than that, their needs tend to surpass their incomes, whatever these incomes may be.”²² Capitalism has this tendency of turning wants into needs through incessant advertising with addictive mental erosion. It forces people to desire what is not fundamental and channel resources to that which will not contribute to sustaining life but to actually destroying it both in the short and long term.

As the machinery of advertising keeps pushing the boundaries of human needs further and further, humans not only accumulate wealth but they also accumulate what cannot be consumed called waste, which is slowly making the environment we live in uninhabitable. The United Nations Commission for environment highlights the levels of environmental destruction and warns against the trends of development that are based on a skewed vision of unregulated market driven economic growth when it says that

[globally]...acid precipitation kills forests and lakes and damages the artistic and architectural heritage of nations...the burning of fossil fuels puts into the atmosphere carbon dioxide, which is causing gradual global warming...other industrial gases threaten to deplete the planet's protective ozone shield to such

²¹ Sen, *Development as Freedom*, pg 87ff

²² Klaus Nürnberger, *Making ends meet: Personal Money Management in a Christian Perspective*, (Pietermaritzburg, Encounter Publications, 1995) Pg 3

an extent that the number of human and animal cancers would rise sharply and the oceans' food chain would be disrupted.²³

As the environment on which we all depend groans and starts showing signs of fatigue so does the rise in the number of people living in extreme poverty, especially in Africa²⁴. While the so called developed countries have such surpluses of food that they are even destroying in order to cut down on over supply, Christian Aid notes that there are over 800 million people around the world in need of food.²⁵ These people are not starving because they are lazy. They are starving because the economic trade agreements between poorer countries and richer ones are not equitable. They disadvantage the poor economies.

The other reason why so many people are in need of food is the change in weather patterns. Due to an increase in industrial gas emissions and poor disposal of waste the world is experiencing a phenomenon that has come to be known as climate change. As the earth's temperature rises, different parts of the world are experiencing extended droughts while others are experiencing flooding, both of which affect the ability to produce food for consumption and selling.

The poverty situation is further compounded by the debt that the so called developing or underdeveloped countries have accumulated along the years. Zambia for example owed the international community a staggering \$6.3 billion at the end of 2000²⁶. By repaying these debts the developing countries deprive themselves of necessary finances needed to invest in their own people and their own development programmes. "During the 1982 – 90 period, developing countries remitted in debt service alone \$1,345 Billion (interest and principal) to the creditor countries. For a true picture of resource flows, one would have to add many other South-to-North outflows such as royalties, dividends, repatriated profits, underpaid raw materials

²³ World Commission on Environment and Development, *Our Common Future*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989) pg 2

²⁴ A report by Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development found at <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/13/36/2497663.pdf> shows that the GDP per capital (US \$) in Africa steadily declined from 850 US\$ to 650 US\$ between 1990 to 1994. It slightly went up to 750 US\$ in 1995 and again to 650 US\$ in 2001.

²⁵ Christian Aid. "Selling suicide – farming, false promises and genetic engineering in developing countries". www.christian-aid.org.uk/indepth/9905suic/suicide1.htm

²⁶ Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) report entitled "Zambia" at <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/13/36/2497663.pdf> Pg 344

and the like.”²⁷ It is very clear that debtor countries have been emptied of the resources they so desperately need to sustain life of their own people.

For these reasons Amartya Sen disagrees with the theory of development that only puts emphasis on market driven economic growth when he says that “...economic growth cannot sensibly be treated as an end in itself.” He further adds that “an adequate conception of development must go much beyond the accumulation of wealth and the growth of gross national product and other income-related variables. Without ignoring the importance of economic growth, we must look well beyond it.”²⁸ Reflecting in the same line, David Korten says,

We have become prisoners of an obsolete vision of our global reality and the nature of human progress. This vision equates human progress with growth in the market value of economic output and subordinates both human and environmental considerations to that goal. The result has been the extravagant consumption of the world’s resources by a favoured few with little recognition of the social and environmental costs borne by the many. These costs have now accumulated to the point of endangering the continued well-being of everyone on the planet²⁹

The goal and methodologies of development as it has been practiced in the last years demands a new theory and practice in order to bring about life that is worth living, which is comprehensive and sustainable based on human agency and justice. It is for this reason that we propose *shalom* and its components as the goal and we outline the methodologies (in chapter 5) for achieving it. The entire argument in this thesis will be based on the theory that *shalom* is an authentic and practical vision which aims at ensuring the well-being of people and nature, it is a vision that endorses the position that whatever programmes that are aimed at improving people’s lives should be those that consider people as agents of their own development, respect the integrity of creation and bring about social justice.

2.2 *Shalom* - The Church’s Agenda

It is argued here that the agenda of the church on earth is to have socio-economic-spiritual arrangements that are founded on justice and equity, which bring about well-

²⁷ Susan George, “How the Poor Develop the Rich” in Rahnama Majid and Bawtree Victoria (eds) *The Post Development Reader*. (London: Zed Books, 1997) pg 209

²⁸ Sen. *Development as Freedom* Pg 14

²⁹ David Korten. *Getting to the 21st Century: Voluntary Action and the Global Agenda* (Connecticut: Kumarian Press, 1990) Pg 3

being and do not neglect people and nature in its completeness. Regardless of who one is and where they find themselves, it is every person's intuition, focus and authentic right to have a life that is worth living, a life based on personal and communal valuation systems which has integrated elements of individual and communal dignity and environmental integrity. *Shalom* is the route by which such an agenda could come.

2.2.1 What is *shalom*?

"*Shalom* is the Hebrew word for peace in the Old Testament. Its root meaning is 'well-being' or 'wholeness' in all aspects of life."³⁰ *Shalom* is not merely a spiritual concept but it is an ideal inspiration which describes and prescribes the fundamental social, political, economic and spiritual requirements for evolving conditions that promote human dignity and the welfare of nature. *Shalom* is a "qualitative matter embracing the whole human situation, transforming it and bringing it to perfection... [It] includes body and soul, personal and social relationships, man (sic) and the cosmos, time and eternity."³¹ *Shalom* is about life anchored in the harmonious relationship between creation, people and God – a relationship that advances the abundance of life which means people ought to live life to the full in bountifulness, plentifulness and generous living.³²

The fullness of human life is about being physically well, spiritually well and at peace with creation (Genesis 29:6 and 43:27). To be healthy is not only desired but projected as the way things ought to be because it is a prerequisite for human engagement in upholding their being. Life as we know it is defined by people's physical and spiritual health. It is right to say that knowing the quality of life that we live requires looking at the quality and the standard of people's health. Physical well-being is such an important element of *shalom* that in Jesus' mission it was a central theme. In Mark 1:32 – 34 we are told that Jesus healed many illnesses and drove out

³⁰ Nlenanya Onwu, "Biblical Perspectives for Peace, Development and Reconstruction" in Phiri I.A, Ross, K.A, Cox J.L (Eds) *The Role of Christianity in Development Peace and Reconstruction: Southern Perspectives* (Nairobi: All Africa conference of churches). Pg 32

³¹ Ukur Fridolin, "Development and Mission" in *The Ecumenical Review* (WCC, Vol 26 NO 1, January 1974) Pg 57.

³² Dan Pantoja, "A critique of Globalisation based on Biblical *Shalom*" at <http://www.waves.ca/light/Globalization&ChristianEthics.PDF> (January 2004)

many demons restoring the well-being of individuals and communities enabling them to live life to the full.

Shalom also expresses the spiritual and religious well-being of an individual and a community when it is used to express the relationship between people and God. In Job 25:2 (and in 1 Kings 2:33, Psalm 35:27 and Mic 4:5) it is said that peace comes from God and God alone is its foundation. In his letter to different churches, Paul emphasises that “grace and peace” comes from “God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ” (1 Cor 1:3, Gal 1:3, Eph 1:2). To live in peace is to welcome this peace that comes from God and embrace it as a gift in a relationship that is based on worship and reverence. Obeying God’s commandments cements the relationship and is the basis of human righteousness (Isaiah 48:18). Unrighteousness which brings about sin severs the relationship between God and people and hinders the availability of *shalom*. *Shalom* is therefore “the result of restored righteousness and cannot be achieved while one is persisting in sin and evil.”³³

Besides being a religious and spiritual concept, *shalom* is also used in the socio-political context in which it expresses “the social or communal relations between friends, parties, and nations...it gives expression to the absence of strife or war... (1 Kings 2:5; Ps 120:6-7; Isa 59:8),”³⁴ and expresses the importance of justice for every human being in society.

At the core of this understanding of *shalom* is an integral relationship between three fundamental elements of *shalom* namely Creation, Humanity, and Justice. To live is to be within the harmonious framework of that interrelationship which brings about completeness of reality and abundance of life. In order to realise the state of *shalom*, there is therefore a need to pay particular attention to the combination of the three fundamental elements not as separate entities but as unified strata, building on each other to make life possible. Reflecting on justice is reflecting on the state of humanity and creation just as reflecting on humanity leads to reflecting on justice and creation and similarly we cannot reflect on creation without taking into account humanity and

³³ Nel J. Philip, “Shalom” in Van Generen (Ed), *New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis*. (Grand Rapids, Zondervan, 1997) Pg 132

³⁴ Nel. J. Philip, “Shalom” in Van Generen (Ed), pg 131

justice. The buoyancy of life is about ensuring that this cyclic relationship between creation, people, and justice is perpetuated and comprehensively enhanced by both human actions and divine intervention. We will now look at the integrity of creation, the importance of human beings and justice in more detail in order to appreciate that the state of *shalom* is the goal for the church's agenda for development.

2.2.2 *Shalom* as the Integrity of Creation

Ulrich Duchrow says that if we would like to reflect on creation, the starting point can no longer be that state of beauty and peace detailed in the book of Genesis 1 and 2, when God created things from chaos and brought about the Garden of Eden. Instead "the point of departure for us can only be the suffering of creation: the inordinate suffering caused by the modern growth in human violence against nonhuman creation..."³⁵ This resonates well with Paul's statement in his letter to the Romans that "all creation is groaning" (Romans 8:22); just like humans, it requires to be saved, to be liberated. The destruction of the earth is as a result of human arrogance and self-glorification. In order to liberate creation and bring about *shalom*, we ought to understand its originality from a different perspective – the perspective of intentionality and purpose of the creator and not from the human myopic and limited point of view.

According to the Bible and human finite experience of the bounty and complexity of the universe, creation is God's initiative. In the first chapter of Genesis we are told that God decided to create the heavens, the earth, and all that dwell therein. His creation intent was about the prolongation of goodness and beauty inherent in him as his nature. In the creation story we are told that each time God created something he did not rush to make another thing without reflecting on it and confirming that it is *good*. As such, every created being on earth has a confirmed inbuilt goodness. It is that goodness which extends to everything else to form what Rasmussen has rightfully called the "earth community" when he says "society and nature together – that is, earth – is a community, without an exit."³⁶ Everything else depends on everything else. Nature is an intertwined complex of individual beings whose goodness radiates

³⁵ Duchrow Ulrich and Gerhard Liedke, *Shalom: Biblical Perspectives on Creation, Justice and Peace* (Geneva, WCC Publications, 1989) Pg 47

³⁶ Larry L. Rasmussen, *Earth Community, Earth Ethics*. (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1996) pg 9

to each other in a mysterious but functional way enabling each other to *be*. Creation is therefore relational in its essence. The interrelationships of beings to each other offer chances for the presence and absence of continuity and regeneration of species. Because of this interrelationship nature is not a separate entity from human beings but the actual foundation upon which humanity was initially formed and eventually sustained. Rasmussen quoting Havel says that if we “endanger [nature], she will dispense with us in the interests of a higher value – that is, life itself.”³⁷ There is a need to keep in mind that “what is done to one part of creation affects the rest”³⁸.

The integrity of creation is grounded in God himself as the foundation of life that flourishes in all that lives. Through his word, he named everything into existence in a pattern that ensured that what came earlier was necessary for ensuring success of what came later. In order for plants to be on earth there had to be light and water first, just as there had to be grass before animals could be created. The creation order demonstrates that God intended a universe with beings that are interconnected to each other harmoniously and consistently building and depending on each other in a mysterious but concise way for survival and well being.

God cares for creation because he is the one who sends forth his breath and all things are created and are renewed on the face of the earth (Psalms 104: 30). In the Gospel of Matthew, Jesus confirms God’s care when he says “look at the birds in the sky; they do not sow or reap, they gather nothing into barns yet your heavenly Father feeds them”³⁹. Since the earth is his, God brings rain to places that have no human beings just to ensure that other creatures continue blossoming as it is illustrated in the conversation between Job and God. God answers Job and says “who has laid out a channel for the downpour and for the thunderstorm a path to bring rain to no man’s land, and the unpeopled wilderness; to enrich the waste and desolate ground till the desert blooms with verdure?”⁴⁰ The earth and all there is in it belongs to God and out

³⁷ Rasmussen, *Earth Community, Earth Ethics* Pg 18

³⁸ Andrew Warmback. “The Earth is God’s and all that is in it: Development from the perspective of the environment” in *The Journal of Theology for Southern Africa* 110 (July 2001) Pg79

³⁹ Matthew 6: 26-30

⁴⁰ It is worth reading the entire chapter 38 of the book of Job where God basically reminds us that God is the owner of earth and the entire universe and that our particular personalised vision of reality does not capture the wholeness of reality.

of his will and freedom takes care of each one of them and allows each one of them to express themselves fully as good interrelated entities depending on each other to live.

The insertion of human beings into creation comes as a special event in both creation stories in the Bible. In the first one (Genesis 1: 1 – 2:4a), God pauses and reflects on what to do next. Then he says “let us make man in our image...,”⁴¹ signalling that humans are different from the rest of creation. In the second story (Genesis 2: 4b – 25), the Bible shows that the creation of a human person was different from that of non-human creatures because God moulded Adam using soil, and then breathed his spirit into him in order to kick start his *being*. However the Bible does not in any way exalt humans as being masters that can do whatever they want to do to other creatures. Genesis chapter 1: 28 which tells the story of the blessings and authority transfer to humans, and which has also brought about “misrepresentation of the biblical image of human beings...”⁴², should be understood in the context of wholeness or completeness of reality and not as an isolated instruction in favour of the human race. According to Rasmussen and I agree with him, when the Bible give humans power to “dominate or subdue” the earth, it does not mean to terrorise, destroy or rape creation. It means, as we say in Bemba, *ukusunga*, which means to keep, to nurture. In other words humans are stewards of creation. Their role is to be active participants in the prolongation of that goodness and the maintenance of the integral interrelationships that exist within creation. Humans are ‘co-creators’ or ‘co-actors’ and not oppressors who should recklessly destroy what is related to each other in a mysterious and harmonious way. Genesis 2: 15 puts it this way “The Lord God then took the man and settled him in the Garden of Eden, to *cultivate* and *care for it*.”⁴³ So humanity’s initial calling is to care for earth, to promote the well-being of all that is in the created realm.

In order for human life to flourish, we need food, shelter, clothing and all other basic needs which we have said is an aspect of *shalom*. The satisfaction of these needs demands that we get back to the use of natural resources. This act of utilising natural resources for the satisfaction of our needs has the potential of being the source of

⁴¹ Genesis 1:26

⁴² Daneel M.L. “African Christianity and Environmental Reform: Zimbabwean Case Study” in Phiri J.A, Ross K.A Nd Cox J.L (eds) *The Role of Christianity in Development, Peace and Reconstruction: Southern Perspectives* (Nairobi: All African Conference of Churches, 1996) Pg 214

⁴³ The emphasis is mine to emphasise the point that the Garden of Eden or Creation as a whole was to be cared for by humans and not to be destroyed.

violence against creation. As an important activity that ensures our relationship with nature, we ought to look at it from the perspective of intentionality and purpose of creation which is interrelational-goodness. Therefore as we develop industries, farms and other enterprises that are responding to the basic human needs, it is necessary to remember that “humanity has the ability to make development sustainable – to ensure that it meets the needs for the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs”.⁴⁴

Nature is a book of various lessons from which we can learn how to develop industries and food production methods that do not harm nature, but integrate other beings into the production processes which accelerate life and well-being of all there is in creation. The use of organic manure for fertilisers and development of biodegradable packaging materials instead of plastic are good practical examples of this point.

Human beings are embedded in creation to an extent that our very own survival and meaning of being-on-earth cannot be divorced in any way whatsoever from that which is non-human. The non-human is the source of food, shelter, medicine and beauty. It is what we breathe - it is what we drink, we entirely depend on it. Creation belongs to God and not to us. We simply relate to it as our partner in the business of sustaining life, which proceeds from God’s breath and is founded on his goodness. Our actions and deeds should be to perpetuate goodness that is inherent in all that is created alongside us; nurturing creation and protecting it, is earth *shalom*.

2.2.3 The Importance of Humanity

The second fundamental element of *shalom* is the importance of humanity. Looking at humanity one discovers that there are two interrelated realms to it; namely the individual and the community; both of which depend on each other in order to exist in their fullness and completeness.

As individuals we humans were created in the image of God and we have all received the breath-of-life that defines our *being*. We are God’s children and by default we

⁴⁴ World Commission on Environment and Development. *Our Common Future* Pg 8

have inalienable rights to be who we are – humans.⁴⁵ Each one of us is created out of an act of love that enables us as individuals to thrive. We are products of absolute freedom and therefore are born free within the confines of creation and the transcendental power of the human spirit, which is capable of relating to itself as well as to God and Creation.

Our freedom to transcend affirms our authenticity of being extensions of divine goodness, goodness which we can actuate by putting ourselves to active service and productive work. That is why in creation, individuals have not only been defined from their identity (*being*) point of view as children of God, but they are also defined as ‘co-actor’ or ‘co-creators’ with God. God gave the Garden of Eden to humans so that they can “cultivate and look after it” (Genesis 2:15) which denotes that a human person has to be pro-creating and to be fruitful in order to continue the existence of the human race but also to be fruitful through the utilisation of land and other resources that nature puts at his or her disposal. It is through action that we contribute to the prolongation of the goodness that God desired at the creation point. Paul emphasises the importance of being an actor when he says that he who does not work should not eat as well. In the letter of James 2: 14 -26 the author discusses the fact that faith without works is dead. To be a human being who relates to God in our identity means to do works that further the abundance of life on earth. In other words humans are beings of the vocation they are called to *be* and to *do*.⁴⁶

God invites humans to live life and live it to the full through being fully human as his children and through their labour related actions as doing beings. As such the individual is not a passive thing in creation. He or she is an active agent who delivers using the body and mind while relating with nature by engaging in works that are pro-life. It is this combination of *being* and *doing* that ultimately expresses the fact that a human being is a *subject* and not an *object*. As subjects humans should not be reified.

⁴⁵ Laurenti C. Magesa “Theology of Integral Development in Africa” in Joseph Therese Agbasiere and Boniface K. Zabajungu (Eds), *Church Contribution to Integral Development* (Nairobi: AMECEA Gaba Publications Spearhead, 1989) Pg 120. See also Klaus Nürnberg *Prosperity, Poverty and Pollution: Managing the Approaching Crisis* (Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications, 1999) pg 178 and Nicholas Walterstorff, *Until Justice and Peace Embrace* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983) Pg 83 - 85

⁴⁶ Steve De Gruchy, “Of Agency, Assets and Appreciation: Seeking Some Commonalities Between Theology and Development” in *The Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*, No. 117, (November 2003)

They cannot be turned into objects of manipulation for the ends of another individual. Doing so would alienate them from their essence of being and doing, it would negate their humanness which is built on the truth that we are created in the image of God and we are people of the vocation living on earth to sustain life and goodness.

Although a human person is defined as an individual, their completeness is defined beyond their being as an individual. From the creation story in Genesis we learn that the only thing that God does not confirm as being good in creation is the aloneness of man. In Genesis 2: 18, God says “it is not good for the man to be alone. I will make a suitable partner for him.” In other words it is not good to be merely an individual. What is good is to be with a suitable partner, to be with the other who is not me. Being with the other is what is called a community which is brought about by the partnership between man and woman who are blessed by God to “be fertile and multiply” (Gen 1:28). In that sense people are beings of togetherness connected to each other in a community. To be *I* is to be in relationship with other people. The confirmation of community as the intent of God’s creation directly rejects the individualistic tendency of the development paradigm which looks at people as beings that are striving to out do each other by rationally choosing to seek “subjective satisfaction, utility, or happiness through alternative means” at the detriment of others in the community.⁴⁷ The existential value of an individual is not so much about what *they have*; it is about what *they are* and what they *do* as part of a community in which that individual lives.

Being community beings, we are bound therefore to communicate to each other through language. Paulo Freire says that what makes us humans is the fact that we have a word which enables us to share not only our thoughts and ideas but also our plans and actions. We are able to build on our communities, evolve cultures and develop various opportunities for ourselves because we talk and we engage in dialogue⁴⁸. To be human is to be a communicating creature that is created in the image of God capable of acting. We are people with potential. For the state of *shalom* to flourish there is absolutely a need to appreciate that humanity as a whole has its importance embedded in their *being-children-of-God* and in their *doing to prolong*

⁴⁷ Dan Pantoja, “A critique of Globalisation based on Biblical *Shalom*” pg 14

⁴⁸ Paulo Freire. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. (London: Penguin Books 1993) Pg 69

goodness. Denying a person this fundamental position is dehumanising them and depriving them of their humanness. People should therefore be regarded as not passive individuals who are trying to survive by themselves but should be understood as beings of praxis who act in togetherness to sustain life. That is what *shalom* means.

2.2.4 Justice

The third fundamental element for *shalom* to thrive is Justice. In its purest sense justice is understood as a process of granting humans a condition of being equal and being fulfilled. Justice is substantive in nature in the sense that its primary aim is to have a just and “okay state” for all⁴⁹. In that sense, justice is based on relational-co-existence of beings (both human and non-human). It proceeds from the realisation that all that *is* in creation should subject itself “to the divine orders according to which everything in nature and history is created and moves”.⁵⁰ Since the order, purpose and relational-co-existence of all beings come from God, it follows therefore that justice is intrinsically located in God’s essence. His *being* resonates justice as a basic fundamental ingredient upon which all relations between him and the earth and all there is in it depend. God is the God of justice because he ensures that all that he created has some space for its own survival, maintenance and fulfilment.

In God’s eyes all humans are his children, born equal and deserve their own worth as human beings. God is therefore not pleased when, individuals who function in the community, take advantage of their enterprising vocations to dominate and mistreat, despise and enslave others. In the Bible, particularly in Isaiah 10:1-2 and 3:13-15, God is always unhappy when people who are in privileged positions of power in the community denigrate others and subject them to unjust distribution of wealth, unjust legal judgements and an unjust process of organising themselves as a community⁵¹. He prefers to act in favour of the oppressed and by so doing aims at correcting the oppressor since both of them lose the value of being human in the process of oppressing and being oppressed. “It is against [God’s] will that there be a society in which some are poor... It is even more against his will that there be a society in which some are poor *while others are rich*. When that happens, then he is on the side of the

⁴⁹ Perry Yoder, *Shalom* (London: Faith and Life Press, 1989) Pg 83

⁵⁰ Paul Tillich, *Love, Power, and Justice: Ontological Analysis and Ethical Implications*. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1990) Pg 66

⁵¹ Perry Yoder, *Shalom*, Pg 45 – 46.

poor, for it is they, he says, who are being wronged.”⁵² God sides with the poor not only to set them free from the yoke of oppression but also aims at restoring their respect and dignity. The restoration of respect and dignity underscores the necessity of justice as one dimension of *shalom* which humanity ought to abide by. He looks forward to ensuring that inequality is curbed. To curb unequal tendency of social stratification and communal leadership dispensation, justice should be embraced as “the uniting function in the individual man (sic) and in the social group”⁵³ which ensures that human interaction and relationships that bring about dignity, welfare and well-being of persons are promoted rather than suppressed.

To elaborate the fact that justice is necessary for *shalom* let us explore some biblical insights of God’s demonstration of justice. We begin with the story of the People of Israel.

The people that have come to be known as Israel in the Bible today did not begin as a single tribe but they formed part of a group of people who wandered on the “fringes of the settled cultures of Mesopotamia, Palestine and Egypt”⁵⁴. They were called Hebrews (Apiru) because they were unstable with inferior rights and little economic power. Egypt was at that time one of the settled cultures ruled by kings known as pharaohs. From 1290 – 1224 B.C, it was ruled by a Pharaoh called Rameses II, whose construction projects had placed an intolerable burden on Hebrews.⁵⁵ Because they were on the fringes of society the Hebrews were used as slaves to provide labour for constructing pyramids and fortifications to resist the invading Hittites (Exodus 1: 8 - 14). As slaves they had no opportunity to enjoy the fruits of their labour neither could they be properly paid for their work. In Exodus 2:11-22, the oppression of the people is further illustrated through a story of Moses who one day “...visited his kinsmen and witnessed their forced labour.” Moses then “saw an Egyptian striking a Hebrew” an act that angered him so much so that he killed the Egyptian and fled to the land of Midian in fear of being killed by the king. It was during his stay in Midian when God heard the cries of the Hebrews who were subjected to dehumanising conditions that

⁵² Nicholas Walterstorff, *Until Justice and Peace Embrace* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983) Pg 76

⁵³ Paul Tillich, *Love, Power, and Justice* Pg 55

⁵⁴ Ulrich and Gerhard Liedke, *Shalom: Biblical Perspectives on Creation, Justice and Peace*, Pg 76.

⁵⁵ George V. Pixley, “A Latin American perspective: the option for the poor in the Old Testament”, in Gottwald, N.K and Horsley, R.A (Eds), *Voices from the Margins: Interpreting the Bible in the Third World* (Orbis, Maryknoll, NY, 1991) Pg 234

stripped them off their dignity of being human. Not pleased with such oppressive conditions, God decided to liberate them by giving them land that he had promised to their forefathers in Palestine. In this act God revealed himself as one who hears the cries of the oppressed and administers justice to them by setting them free. This point is also illustrated in Psalm 146 when the psalmist speaks of God saying “[he] who executes justice for the oppressed; who gives food to the hungry; Yahweh lifts up those who are bowed down...” In other words God disapproves oppression and organisational systems that do not dignify humanity.

After the Israelites were liberated from Egypt they wandered in the desert for 40 years then they settled in the Promised Land. They decided not to have a centralised government ruled by a king, as was the case in Egypt and Philistine. They opted to create an egalitarian society in which

land was to be held continuously within extended families and never sold for speculation. It was obligatory to extend aid to other Israelites in need and no interest was permitted on such emergency loans...special provisions for the socially vulnerable (widows, orphans, strangers) were insisted on.⁵⁶

If they needed leadership to respond to a particular issue, such as war, they elected someone there and then for the duration of such a problem.⁵⁷ Unfortunately the egalitarian state of the people of Israel did not continue. Due to pressure by the organised states that brought war on Israel such as the Philistines who constantly attacked them, they decided to create a monarchy⁵⁸. They went to see the prophet Samuel so that he could authenticate this new idea. In 1 Samuel 8, the prophet discouraged people and warned them of the consequences of such a manner of organising society. In spite of this warning Israel went ahead and instituted the king starting with Saul then David and more rigorously with Solomon who engaged, like the Pharaohs of Egypt, on huge construction projects. He built palaces for himself and the temple for Israel’s worship (see 1 Kings 6: 1 – 36 and 7: 1 – 51). According to Perry Yoder we can trace three consequences for the creation of a monarchy in Israel namely the movement toward urbanisation which divided people between peasants

⁵⁶ Gerald O. West. “Debt and Jubilee: Systems of Enslavement and Strategies for Liberation” in *The Bulletin of Contextual Theology* Vol 6, 1999 Pg 15

⁵⁷ This kind of organisation is explained in the book of Judges in the Bible. For further reading on this issue see Perry Yoder, *Shalom* (London: Faith and Life Press, 1989), Pg 85 ff

⁵⁸ West. “Debt and Jubilee” Pg 15 see also Yoder, *Shalom* Pg 85 ff

and urban dwellers making peasants growers of food that should reach surplus levels to feed the urban dwellers. Secondly a centralised government with people to support the government systems emerged. Among the government officials were people at the king's court and the standing army whose duty was to defend Israel from its enemies. Thirdly "the need to accrue and concentrate a surplus in order to support the central government and the forces upon which it depends" grew bigger and bigger.⁵⁹ All of these led to taxation of peasants (1 Kings 4: 7 – 19 and 5:6-8) and land was redistributed. Instead of it belonging to families and their lineage as it used to be, it now "concentrated in the hands of the ruling and urban elite".⁶⁰ Land became a commodity that could be worked on by people who did not benefit from it but gave its produce to the owner of the land (2 Samuel, 16:4). Poor people who were in debt could give up their land if they failed to pay the debt back hence making them even poorer and susceptible to working for the landlords. The transforming of Israel into a monarchy led to a

...tremendous shift in the structure and function of Israelite society from...a ranking society, where everyone had equal access to basic resources...to a stratified one, where the urban elite in Jerusalem and perhaps in other cities enjoyed a way of life far beyond that possible for the people working the land in their rural villages. Thus emerged the possibility and actuality of poverty and affluence existing side by side.⁶¹

This new state of affairs did not please God. He sent various prophets such as Amos, Isaiah, Jeremiah, to condemn the systems and call for what pleases God, which is justice for all, and respect for the poor. As prophets of God, their emphasis was on making it clear that God is the God of justice. He rules with fairness and never forgets the oppressed. In Amos 2: 6 – 8 for example the prophet clearly describes the oppressiveness of the systems that Israel was engaged in, and condemns it when he says "...they sell the just man for silver, and the poor man for a pair of sandals. They trample the heads of the weak into the dust of the earth and force the lowly out of the way...Beware, I will crush you into the ground...says the Lord." In Isaiah God condemns injustices when he says, "learn to do good; seek justice, correct oppression; defend the fatherless, plead for the widow" (1:17).

⁵⁹ Perry Yoder, *Shalom* (London: Faith and Life Press, 1989), Pg 90

⁶⁰ Yoder, *Shalom*, Pg 90

⁶¹ Yoder, *Shalom* Pg 100

The poor and the weak are at the centre of the justice that God would like to administer. He is not pleased when the wealthy elite reside in luxurious houses (Amos 3:15 and 6:11) and indulge in clamorous feasting, with all imaginable gratification at the expense of the exploited classes (Amos 4: 1). God through the prophets insists that if land is being distributed it should be given not only to the rich to enrich them further but also to the deprived (Micah 2: 2f). In Leviticus the Jubilee law demonstrates equity when it brings issues of restoration of land. In the fiftieth year a family whose land was grabbed because they did not have money to pay their debt had their debt cancelled and their land restored in order that no one should be deprived of the essence of their being human. In other words no one is to be poor. We all must have access to the means of production.

Justice is also central to Jesus' vision of the kingdom of God. When he opened the scroll to announce his mission on earth the first thing he said was to proclaim that his mission is about bringing good news to the poor, ensuring that those that are oppressed by burdensome systems are freed. He emphasises this point when in the beatitudes (Matthew 5:3 – 10) he proclaims “blessed are the poor for theirs is the kingdom of God” and “blessed are the righteous..”, in other words those that pursue justice and live according to God's orders of how things ought to be, for they will be satisfied. In his actions and teaching, Jesus challenged social inequality between men and women and condemned self righteousness which characterised the leadership system of his time as is shown in John 8:1-11. In this passage the Pharisees brought to Jesus a prostitute caught in adultery and wanted to stone her for her sins. Then Jesus reminds everyone of their sins and instead of condemning the woman forgives her of her sins. The similar segregative attitude of the followers of Christ is given in Matthew 18:1-10 and 19:13-15 when the disciples wanted Jesus to send away the children on account of them being not counted as worthy of anything in society. But Jesus refuses and tells the disciples that the kingdom of God belongs to people like little children. By so doing Jesus demonstrates that people are equal before God and we all deserve God's mercy and justice to prevail.

Jesus called for effective leadership based on justice and not on biased laws that do not protect the weak and the poor. He condemned the Pharisees' emphasis on observing the law especially that which related to tithing and offering since it was just

used to oppress poor people. On a number of occasions Jesus rebukes Pharisees for being hypocrites who are not looking after the poor. The story of the rich fool in Luke 12:16-21 is a good example of Jesus' concern for the poor. In the passage, Jesus enters into dialogue with a wealthy young man who seems to have understood what he ought to do in order to inherit the kingdom of God and that is by obeying the commandments of God. However, Jesus points out to him that there is one important thing he has not mentioned and he has yet to do, which is to ensure he shares what he has with the poor. The story ends with a disappointing reaction from the rich young man – who went away sad.

The foregoing reflection on justice shows that God clearly is in favour of the poor and the oppressed. He delights in respect of humans for what they are and not viewed from the perspective of their subjectivity to material things. Does that mean that Jesus is against wealth and wealthy people? In the Bible, God is not against wealth neither is he against wealthy individuals; however he is against the use of wealth to enslave or dehumanise others. Jesus rebuke of the rich fool (Matthew 19:16 – 22) or his calling of disciples to abandon everything in order to follow him (Luke 10:1-6) does not in any way glorify poverty as the normal state of being. His thinking on wealth is well illustrated in Luke 12:13 when he instructs his faithful to seek first the kingdom of God and all other things will be added as well. The priority in our existence as humans is not accumulation of wealth but the Kingdom of God. It is our respectful harmonious relationships with creation, nature and our just approach to things that should be our priority. Righteousness is about being blameless, ensuring that the relationships between and amongst God, creation and people is not severed. Good life which proceeds from righteousness is being in synchronisation with God's reality and being there for each other as relational individuals who live in the community. Jesus' caution to people not to invite friends, brothers and relatives to a party in anticipation of being invited in turn, and rather to invite the poor and the oppressed (Luke 14: 8ff), is testimony to his commitment for a just distribution of what we have to those that may not have. He is concerned that we ought to invite the vulnerable people because of their situation in order to make them feel part of humanity. In that sense, Jesus sees riches not as ends in themselves but as means to achieving well-being for all.

Humans should not therefore turn riches into ends that have the ability to imprison them and make them blind to the beauty of being a child of God and a co-creator. That is what Paul's letter to Timothy (1Tim 6: 17ff) illustrates. In this letter "Paul does not reject earthly riches, but he warns the rich against putting their confidence in riches which are temporal, and are summoned instead to become rich in good works by a right use of their riches"⁶²

Summary

In this chapter we have rejected the way development has often been practiced in the past and have proposed an alternative called *shalom*. We have stated that development viewed as economic growth only has destroyed the environment, has promoted the accumulation of funds in a few hands, depriving the majority access to resources which has led to increased poverty. There is need therefore to develop an alternative vision which will shape the agenda aimed at bringing about desirable lives that are dignified and honourable to the people of the Copperbelt. This theory is based on biblical vision of development, called *shalom*. *Shalom* recognises creation as God's initiative and therefore to be protected from destruction. We have elaborated that *shalom* views humans as created in the image of God and therefore their individual and communal intrinsic value is to be respected and cherished by all. Humans are subjects who think and act in order to participate in the prolongation of goodness on earth. They can therefore not be objectified. We have also demonstrated that in order for human interaction to be based on equality there is need to follow God's example and uphold justice as a unifying factor in the individual and in the community.

In that sense *shalom* comes as an authentic alternative vision for the diversification of the Copperbelt's economy. It has the necessary building blocks required to ensure that the dignity and the well-being of people on the Copperbelt is promoted and ensured. In order to advance *shalom* as the alternative development programme we will now turn to looking at the history of the Copperbelt Province in order to foreground our argument for a brief evaluation of the current economic diversification programme from which we will interface the vision of *shalom* with the sustaining of life as a people's agenda on the Copperbelt Province to which we will turn in chapter five.

⁶² Evaristo M. Mambwe M. *The Challenge of Poverty for the Church in Zambia*: Pg 54

Chapter Three

A Historical Analysis of the Copperbelt's Economy: Successes and Failures

3.0 Introduction

In this section we will conduct a brief historical analysis of the economic development efforts that have so far been carried out in order to improve the Copperbelt's economy. I am aware that I cannot cover the entire development history of the region in these few pages, so what I will do is to focus on key points relating to three economic periods that have dominated the Copperbelt Province. These are the colonial era (1901 – 1964) during which production and profits were owned by the British colonists to build their empire instead of improving people's lives on the Copperbelt, then the State Socialism period (1964 – 1990) in which dependence on copper and socialist policies dominated the economy, then the free market capitalism period (1990 – 2003) under which private driven enterprise was the key policy which eventually led to thousands of job loses and company closures. The conclusion following the historical analysis will be that economic development programmes that have been practiced on the Copperbelt were not *shalom* focused; they were not driven by the people of the Copperbelt to an extent that people's lives have been left in jeopardy and poverty. In order to improve people's lives it will take more than simply diversifying the economy; it will require a focused approach aimed at sustaining life from a broad based and people-centred development praxis.

3.1 The Colonial Era (1901 – 1964)

The Copperbelt Province as the name suggests is rich in various mineral deposits especially copper, cobalt and emeralds. Now with ten districts it is situated at longitude 28° 15' and latitude 12° 40', close to Zambia's northern border with the Democratic Republic of Congo and has an estimated population of 2 million. Demographically the province is inhabited by people from all parts of Zambia and other countries who came to earn a living in the mining sector and other related industries. With the initiation of large scale commercialised mining by the British South African Company in 1901, the economy of the Copperbelt Province drastically

changed from a predominantly agricultural based economy to an industrialised one. Due to the high demand of copper at that time the Copperbelt became an industrialised centre with job opportunities. The mining industry generated resources that attracted people not only from England but from rural areas of Zambia too. James Ferguson says that “within a few short years following the development of commercial copper mining, mining towns sprang up all along the Copperbelt. European colonists settled the new towns in numbers, while “natives” came by the thousands to seek work in the mines and other new industries.”⁶³ Thus the Copperbelt as we know it today was born.

Although the mines became symbols of richness and modernity, and although both Africans and Europeans who settled on the Copperbelt saw a promise of a new world, the life of indigenous people could not be immediately improved due to the colonial segregation policies. Black indigenous people were treated as mere labourers and not full humans with creativity and a sense of purpose. They were reduced to labour units, good only to provide power for production. In order for the mine owners to increase their income to run the mines they decided to further exploit the black African labourer by imposing the

Hut Tax (payable in cash) on all African males who had reached puberty. Tax revolts were suppressed with bullets; defaulters had their houses burned down and were imprisoned if caught. Forced labour at a pittance by men trying to forestall these penalties became the order of the day - tens of thousands were sent to work in the South African or Southern Rhodesian mines: the railway between the Victoria Falls and Katanga (Zaire) was financed from the Hut Tax - which consistently turned a profit⁶⁴.

The rural people who migrated to the urban areas in search of employment worked in slave-like conditions and could not see the benefits of their labour such that in 1935, they staged a strike against unfair taxes and went on strike again 1940 this time protesting against poor wages that they were being paid. The strike was violent and 13 miners were killed. In the mines the colour bar legislated that all managerial positions were to be held by the whites only especially whites from South Africa. In 1948, the miners decided to form the first African Mineworkers Union. The union called a strike which demanded better pay and senior positions for blacks in the mines. The

⁶³ James Ferguson, *Expectations of Modernity: Myths and Meanings of Urban Life on the Zambian Copperbelt* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999) Pg 2

⁶⁴ Tim Holmes, “The History of Zambia” at <http://www.thezambian.com/history> (January 2004)

strike took place in 1955 and it was a total work stoppage for 58 days. The strike ended with some victory to the miners in the sense that "...the mining companies now started seriously, but slowly, to move Africans into management" and to pay them a reasonable wage.⁶⁵

The establishment of the mining industry on the Copperbelt had created this dual system of urban and rural life such that people ended up being nomads staying for some time working on the mines in the urban areas and then going back to the rural areas to continue with their rural life, a situation which has led James Ferguson to argue that the urbanisation of the Zambian miner failed lamentably. The failure of consistency in people's urban living has had serious implications for people's livelihoods. After working for the mines for a period of time they did not make sufficient savings that could enable them to start an investment where they would like to go. Given also the fact that the employing agents at that time were not interested in ensuring that people had skills to manage things by themselves, many miners who migrated back and forth did not know what to do with their money except to use it on buying consumables from the colonial masters' shops. To make matters worse the rural-urban-rural migration also had a deracinating and alienating effect on people. Coming to the Copperbelt was a symbol of modernity and people seemed to have a cultural shock confrontation.

With the propagation of Christianity both indigenous religions and traditions came under attack, something that undermined the people's confidence to live a life they would like to choose. They were not only physically colonised but mentally and socially too.

In 1953, Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) became part of a Federation with Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and Nyasaland (Malawi). Salisbury (now Harare) was the capital of the Federation through which the resources to the broad development of the British Empire were channelled from the Copperbelt region. Klaus Nürnberger demonstrates that the world's economy at the time of colonialism was structured in an imbalanced system of centre-periphery relationship where the centre siphons wealth

⁶⁵ Holmes, "The History of Zambia"

from the periphery thereby creating both an economic and power imbalance between the two⁶⁶. In the Federation, the Copperbelt region became the periphery from which a lot of money and other economic products were being generated to benefit the centres, in this case Harare and eventually the United Kingdom. The money that the mines generated during the colonial era was not invested in any proactive development systems on the Copperbelt. Apart from paying salaries, the owners of the mines did not have an empowering approach to development of the indigenous people. The introduction of schools was not necessarily to train people to become entrepreneurs but a process of indoctrination so that people could buy into what was presented to them as modernity. "The main purpose of the colonial system" says Walter Rodney, "was to train Africans to help man the local administration at the lowest ranks and to staff the private capitalist firms owned by Europeans. In effect, that meant selecting a few Africans to participate in the domination and exploitation of the continent as a whole."⁶⁷

The centre-periphery phenomenon led to the marginalisation of the rural areas altogether. As the Copperbelt cities grew and the Zambian people continued migrating to the urban areas for employment, the rural areas were completely ignored in terms of infrastructural development.⁶⁸ The colonial domination led to an era where

land tenure system based on racial grounds was instituted in favour of white settlers. The economy was structured to produce copper and other core metals and nothing else...[and] the migration of the African labour force resulted in positive development in areas earmarked for European settlements and negative development in rural areas, which provided the labour force.⁶⁹

Colonialism although it introduced industrialisation on the Copperbelt, which in some aspects has improved people's living conditions, failed however to bring about sustainability of life in the Copperbelt region and in the country as a whole. The domination and racism of the British settlers became unbearable and Zambians decided to liberate themselves from such manacles of oppression.

⁶⁶ Nürnberger, *Prosperity, Poverty and Pollution*, pgs 39 - 49

⁶⁷ Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. (Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers, 1989) pg 264

⁶⁸ Martin Adam's Report, *Land Tenure Policy and Practice in Zambia: Issues relating to the development of the Agricultural Sector*. (Oxford, 2003) Pg 5 - 6

⁶⁹ Mambwe, *The Challenge of Poverty for the Church in Zambia*. Pg 6

3.2 State Socialism Era (1964 – 1990)

Zambia became independent on the 24th of October 1964. At independence the country was acknowledged as one of the most progressive in the southern African region. In 1969 Zambia had an estimated population of 4 million.⁷⁰ Due to copper mining by the end of 1969 Zambia had an “urban population of over 1 million (nearly 30 percent of the population), with total waged employment of over 750,000 (of a total population of just over 4 million) and a vibrant industrial economy that made it one of the richest and most promising of the new African States.”⁷¹ The decade between 1964 and 1974 is said to be the greatest in copper mining and revenue. As much as 750,000 tonnes of copper in a year⁷² were being produced enabling the Copperbelt to contribute up to 80% of the country’s GDP. Zambia’s economic growth at that time was comparable to up-and-coming countries around the world. For instance with the rising

per capita GDP of \$431, it did not seem unreasonable to suppose that Zambia might soon reach the ranks of at least the poorer European nations such as Portugal, with a 1969 per capita GDP of just \$568, or Spain, with \$867. Even as late as 1979, Zambia was still being reckoned a “middle-income country,” whose GNP justified ranking above such countries as the Philippines, Thailand, or Egypt.⁷³

At independence the Zambian economy was largely private sector driven. The copper mines on the Copperbelt were in private hands run by two major companies namely the Anglo American Corporation and Roan Selection Trust. Between 1966 and 1970 the government embarked on their First National Development Plan⁷⁴. In the plan they decided to reform the economy and introduced a nationalisation policy which was consistent with socialist ideologies under the philosophy of humanism. In 1969 the two mining companies were restructured and renamed as Nchanga Consolidated Copper Mines and Roan Consolidated Copper Mines respectively. Government then

⁷⁰ Ferguson, *Expectations of Modernity*. pg 1

⁷¹ Ferguson, *Expectations of Modernity*. pg 1

⁷² The Environmental Council of Zambia, *State of Environment in Zambia 2000*, Pg 84

⁷³ Ferguson, *Expectations of Modernity*. Pg 6

⁷⁴ Since 1964 to 1991 there were four National Development plans which tried to redress the poverty situation of Zambia with limited sustainable success. For further reading on National Plans see Kalapula, ES, “Approaches to subnational planning and the changing planning environment in Zambia, in AHJ & Wekwete, KH (Eds) *Subnational Planning Southern and Eastern Africa Approaches. Finance and Education* (Aldershot, Avebury 1990) and Mambwe Evaristo *The Challenge of Poverty for the Church in Zambia: A response to the effects of Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP)* (MTh Thesis presented to the University of Natal – 2002) Pg 8. You can also read the national plans themselves produced in 1966, 1971, 1979 and 1976 by the Government of Zambia Lusaka, available at the national commission for development.

became the major shareholder owning 51% shares which later in 1979 was increased to 60.3%⁷⁵. In 1982 the government merged the two companies into one giant company called Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines (ZCCM) which was a fully fledged parastatal company. During the time of ZCCM, besides mining copper, the company also provided the most effective and efficient social amenities such as hospitals, schools and recreation clubs, which had the most qualified professionals Zambia had at that time. Employees under ZCCM were well looked after. They had high salaries and other interesting conditions of service. For example, miners never bought electricity bulbs in their homes. If a bulb expired they went to mines stores and replaced it. They never paid for water and electricity in economic terms. Their payroll included a very small amount of money deducted for both water and electricity, which the miner did not even notice. If the wife of the miner gave birth, the company bought nappies and other needs for the baby. In addition the mining company sponsored all sorts of sport ranging from football, squash and golf to chess and swimming. The investment in the social infrastructure was extremely high and the best in the country such that the most famous sports persons in the country came from the Copperbelt sponsored by the mining sports teams. In essence ZCCM was a parallel government. It owned everything else that government also owned such as a police service, schools, hospitals and an airline.⁷⁶

Although such a degree of social responsibility by a company is welcome it however indicates a major weakness in the way the mines were run. Miners became utterly dependent on the company and as a result the cost of running the mines increasingly became higher and higher due to such high expenditure. Capital reinvestment in the viability and continuity of the mines became skewed.

During the First National Development Plan focus was also on the development of rural areas. It was decided that transport and communication between provinces and districts be improved and that industries be taken to rural areas in order to provide employment to rural communities. Major roads were constructed and manufacturing companies such as the Kapiri Glass Factory in Kapiri Mponshi, The Mwinilunga

⁷⁵ The Environmental Council of Zambia, *State of Environment in Zambia 2000* Pg 83

⁷⁶ Sam Kangwa, "Report on the Privatisation of Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines, July 2001" At http://www.iied.org/mssd/mssd_pdfs/SthAfrica_word_PPT/07_ThePrivatisationofZambiaConsolidatedCopperMines.doc Pg 16 accessed on 10th March 2004

Pineapple Cannery, the Chipata bicycle assembly and Mansa Batteries were opened right in rural provincial capitals. The companies provided employment and income to people in those communities. The other important aspect of the first national development plan was its focus on the provision of social services to people. For example the government decided to provide free education to every eligible child. The numbers of schools were increased such that "the number of secondary school leavers with certificates increased from 1,200 to 6,000 while prospects to increase the number of graduates from 100 in 1964 increased in 1966 with the initial enrolment of 1,200 students at the newly opened University"⁷⁷.

Unfortunately this successful period was short lived. "Zambia entered the 1980s in economic crisis."⁷⁸ Poverty in urban areas had grown from 4% in 1975 to just under 50% in 1994. The per capita income dropped by more than 50 percent from 1974 to 1994 and GNP per capita shrunk by an average of 3.1 percent per year from 1980 to 1983.⁷⁹ The high inflation rate pushed up the cost of basic needs, putting the people in precarious conditions. The causes for this serious drop in economic growth can be attributed to many factors. The most prominent ones being that in 1973 there was an oil shock which sent the world's economy into recession, and then in 1974 the copper prices started declining. As the price declined so did the production of copper. Production plummeted "from 755,000 metric tons in 1969...to 585,000 tons in 1970 and still further thereafter."⁸⁰

The other fundamental reason for the decline in the economic development of Zambia and the Copperbelt Province in particular is the fact that the southern African region was at that time embroiled in colonial and liberation conflicts. There were wars in Mozambique and Angola and the liberation struggle against Apartheid in South Africa and Zimbabwe reached its peak. The Zambian government offered to provide material and financial support to such kinds of conflicts. While the Mozambican and Angolan wars deprived Zambia of a short route to the sea, the involvement of Zambia

⁷⁷ Mambwe, *The Challenge of Poverty for the Church in Zambia*, Pg 8

⁷⁸ Venkatesh Seshamani, "The Economic Policies of Zambia in the 1980s: Towards Structural Transformation with a Human Focus" in Giovanni Andrea Corni, Rolph van der Hoeven and Thandika Mkandawire (Eds), *Africa's Recovery in the 1990s: From Stagnation and Adjustment to Human Development* (London, The Macmillan Press Ltd, 1992) Pg 116.

⁷⁹ Ferguson, *Expectations of Modernity*, Pg 6 - 7

⁸⁰ Seshamani, "The Economic Policies of Zambia in the 1980s..." Pg 116

in Zimbabwean and South African liberation came at a huge cost. It also paid a serious price when Ian Smith of Zimbabwe and his army bombed bridges and buildings in Zambia. The economic sanctions imposed on South Africa deprived Zambia of business opportunities with that country.

The decline in copper production and prices, and the involvement in the liberation struggle led to the decline in government revenue which consequently led to the increase in the budget deficit. The budget deficit was financed by borrowing both internally and externally. "Consequently, debt servicing, which had represented only 7.3 percent of export earnings in 1974, rose to 18.7 per cent in 1977 and 47.6 per cent in 1982."⁸¹ By the end of 2000 Zambia owed the international community \$6.3 billion⁸². Debt repayment became another drain of the financial resources that Zambia needed in order to develop the country. As it has been noticed by Susan George, debt repayment has contributed to the acceleration of poverty in indebted countries around the world⁸³.

Poverty increased in Zambia in general and in the Copperbelt Province in particular. In the late 1980s due to the high inflation rate, shortages of essential commodities and the sudden increase in the price of maize meal, the staple food, riots erupted on the Copperbelt. About 15 people died. In 1990 Mwamba Luchembe an army captain staged an unsuccessful coup attempt which became so popular amongst Zambians that it sent a signal to the ruling government at the time that people needed change. Dr. Kenneth Kaunda on the 17th of December 1990 announced that Zambia would be under a multi-party system. The Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD) surfaced as the main opposition party. In the elections of October 1991, the MMD defeated the UNIP government in the general elections. A new government was therefore ushered in with the leadership of Dr. Frederick Chiluba.

⁸¹ Seshamani, "The Economic Policies of Zambia in the 1980s..." Pg 117

⁸² Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) report entitled "Zambia" at <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/13/36/2497663.pdf> Pg 344

⁸³ In her work entitled "How the Poor develop the Rich" in Rahnama M and Bawtree V. *The Post Development Reader*. (London: Zed Books, 1997) Pg 208, Susan George clearly explains that "from the onset of the debt crisis in 1982 through to 1990 each and every month, for 108 months, debtor countries of the South remitted to their creditors in the North an average US\$ 6.5 billion in interest payments alone. If payments of principal are included in the tally, then each of the 108 months from January 1982 through December 1990 witnessed payments from debtors to creditors of, on average, \$ 12.45 billion." For more information on the Zambian debt visit The Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection debt relief campaign on their website www.jctr.org.zm

3.3 Free Market Capitalism Era (1991 – 2003)

During the free market capitalism era there are four reasons why the economy of the Copperbelt Province has not turned round for the better, these are free market economic system, drought, corruption and mono economy. I will briefly look at each one of these reasons in order to elaborate how each one of them has played a role in the economic stagnation that has been experienced on the Copperbelt.

a) Free Market Economy

Although free market capitalism policies were accelerated by the Frederick Chiluba government after 1991, the actual economic reform process using the World Bank and IMF concepts of liberalisation and free market driven economies were started as early as 1983 by the Kaunda government. The thrust of the early efforts was movement away from the controlled regime which had prevailed until the end of 1982. To achieve this the government embarked on reforms aimed at transforming the economy from one based primarily on administrative controls to one which would rely more on free market forces and price mechanisms. The results were devastating such that the government kept oscillating between socialist oriented policies and capitalist tendencies. Vekantesh Seshamani says that

the period of economic liberalisation [under Kaunda] seems to have yielded few benefits. Economic growth was very limited. Industrial capacity utilisation rates remained low. Output was falling, most notably in the industrial and mining sectors. Although agriculture had been accorded the highest priority, positive results were rare. Export diversification was unsatisfactory, and the share of copper in total exports remained high. Small enterprises, generally noted for labour intensity and an ability to generate jobs, appeared to be suffering. Formal sector employment dropped. Inflation accelerated. Current balance-of-payment account deficits were high, and the debt burden was increasing rapidly⁸⁴.

When Chiluba came to power he inherited an ailing economic system with poverty already high. In spite of the fact that liberal economic systems under Kaunda did not help to turn the economy around, Chiluba's government decided to implement them fully. The irony is that such policies which proved so unpopular for the previous administration became the backbone of the reforms under Chiluba and there were no

⁸⁴ Seshamani, "The Economic Policies of Zambia in the 1980s..." Pg 120

riots and no outcries. The 1991 MMD manifesto made it clear that “the government restricts itself to rehabilitate and build socio-economic infrastructure with a small public sector in the midst of a basically private enterprise economy.”⁸⁵ In order to achieve this, the MMD government had the following objectives;

- To restore macroeconomic stability
- To facilitate private sector growth through reducing the role of the state from controlling prices, foreign trade restrictions and foreign currency transactions.
- To privatise and deregulate agricultural and industrial output.⁸⁶

Within a short time after acceding to power the government started implementing their policy. They embarked on public sector restructuring and the privatisation of parastatal companies⁸⁷. By 31st October 2003 a total of 258 government owned companies were successfully privatised⁸⁸. Unfortunately no sooner were the companies privatised than some of them started experiencing difficulties which eventually led to their closure. The companies that were sold to the investors started scaling down on human resources by retrenching workers, a situation that has led to a lot of poverty on the Copperbelt Province. According to John Kangwa

In the run up to the final sale of ZCCM, a total of 8,329 employees were made redundant as of 31st December 1999.... If it is assumed that each employee affected was responsible for the livelihoods of at least five other family members, this represents a total of 41,645 people that have been impacted by the retrenchments. This figure is roughly equivalent to the population of Kitwe, the largest town on the Copperbelt⁸⁹

Besides the retrenchment of workers some of the investors started to withdraw. Binani Group of Companies which owned Luanshya mines stopped its operations at the end of 2000 leaving thousands of workers for almost three years without steady income and jobs. In December 2003, government announced that part of Luanshya mine was to be resold to another company called JW at the price of US\$7.5 million. Dean Mung’omba one of the prominent opposition party leaders has called the sale of the

⁸⁵ <http://www.bized.ac.uk/virtual/dc/back/econ.htm> 2 November 2003

⁸⁶ See <http://www.bized.ac.uk/virtual/dc/back/econ.htm>, 2 November 2003

⁸⁷ For a more comprehensive analysis of how each of the key companies were privatised read the report by Pangaea Partners Limited, *Zambia: Moving Onward... and Upward?* 9 December 2000

⁸⁸ Zambia Privatisation Agency, *The Zambia Privatisation Agency Status Report as at 31st October 2003* (ZPA, Lusaka, 2003) Pg 1

⁸⁹ Kangwa, *Mining and Society: Privatisation and Social Management*, Pg 23

mine at that price a “rotten and criminal deal.”⁹⁰ Mung’omba was reported by the *Post News* paper saying “it was inconceivable that a mine with copper and cobalt deposits exceeding US\$500 million in value could be given away at a paltry US\$7.5 million.”⁹¹

Another company that withdrew from the mining industry was the Anglo American Corporation who bought Nkonkola copper mines in Chingola and Chililabombwe, both border towns with the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The withdrawal of Anglo American has obliged government to find money to keep the mine running in order to evade the loss of jobs. Other companies that have pulled out of the Copperbelt after taking advantage of the lucrative tax incentives that the government gave to external investors include South African chain stores such as Ackermans, Supreme Furnishers and Steers Restaurants. Other companies have failed to compete and have simply been closed leaving a lot of people unemployed; such as the Kapiri Glass Factory, the Mwinilunga Pineapple Cannery, the Mansa Batteries and the Zambian Airways.

The other important element in the privatisation policy was the restructuring of the agricultural sector. During the state socialism era, agriculture was controlled through government mechanisms. The government had put in place various systems such as the National Marketing Board which helped rural farmers to sell their produce through a centralised system. When the Chiluba government came into power they decided that both agricultural inputs and outputs would be led by the private sector and would be determined by the market forces⁹². People had to find their own way of marketing their produce to the competing buyers. Although such a move seems to have encouraged many people to start considering farming as a viable livelihood option, the results of its implementation have been devastating to peasant farmers who form the majority of the farming community in Zambia. They could not sell their produce because local agricultural traders could not reach their villages due to poor road infrastructure and high transport costs. Some of the poor people who worked

⁹⁰ Dean Mung’omba, “Baluba mine deal is rotten, criminal” in the *Post* Newspaper of Monday, December 22, 2003, No 2622, Pg 2

⁹¹ Dean Mung’omba, “Baluba mine deal is rotten, Criminal” Pg 2

⁹² James G. Copestake. *Agricultural Services Reform in Southern Africa: Encouraging Sustainable Small Holder Agriculture in Zambia* (Hillside, Centre for Development Studies, University of Bath, 1997) Pg 18 - 21

hard did not make as much profit due to business men and women who capitalised on the rural poor people's desperation for a market. The poor ended up selling their produce at ridiculously low prices. Some farmers ended up exchanging a 50kg bag of mealie meal for a few second hand clothes whose price was no where near the price of a bag of maize⁹³. A combination of both the liberalisation of the economy and the drought led to serious hunger in many rural areas of Zambia and to high costs in food items such that people with low income such as teachers and police officers had trouble to both feed their children and send them to school.

b) Drought

From 1999 to 2002, Zambia experienced a drought. In spite of the fact that the country is endowed with many water bodies in the form of lakes, rivers and streams, the agricultural activities in Zambia are largely dependent on rainfall. Absence of rain therefore directly affects the production of food for consumption and exporting. During the drought period for example,

the national production of maize, which is the main food crop, decreased by about 30 per cent compared to the 1999/2000 crop season (from 1 053 000 to 802 000 metric tonnes). The situation deteriorated even further in the following crop season since drought in early 2002 led to a maize shortage of 635 000 metric tonnes.⁹⁴

The decrease in the staple food was getting worse such that in May 2002, as a consequence of massive drought, the Zambian government declared a national disaster with regard to food insecurity and water shortage in the southern province and asked for urgent donor assistance. The World Food Programme and other donors offered to assist Zambia with support to alleviate the hunger that hit the country. However, government was reluctant to import genetically modified grain that was offered by the World Food Programme. As a result the responsibility of importing food was left to government and the private sector a situation that further complicated government's ability to spend on other programmes.⁹⁵

⁹³ Musonda Mwansa, member of Kamakonde Community Development Committee, interviewed on the 15th of December, 2003

⁹⁴ Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) report entitled "Zambia", Pg 340

⁹⁵ OECD report entitled "Zambia" Pg 340

c) Corruption

According to Transparency International, corruption is “the abuse of public office for private gain”. Corruption is retrogressive because it takes away the necessary resources that could be invested in development programmes and benefits only the few who participate in the act of corruption. In Zambia, corruption has been reported to be high especially during the free market capitalism era. In their perception index of 2003, Transparency International ranked Zambia number 35 amongst the most corrupt countries out of 133 countries that they surveyed around the world⁹⁶. The MMD government has been reported to have been involved in various corrupt practices. Evaristo Mambwe making reference to an audit by a Mauritian chartered accounting firm, De Chazal Du Mee, says that the auditors revealed the scandals relating to the cobalt and copper which went missing during the privatisation of ZCCM. The scandal amounted to US\$80 million for copper and US\$160 million for cobalt. State house was also implicated in the diversion of petroleum products worth more than K61 billion in 763 Tankers travelling from South Africa. Government however denied all these allegations⁹⁷.

Christine Munalula in her article in the Global Corruption Report by Amnesty International, demonstrates that during the 2001 election campaigns both opposition and ruling party indulged in corrupt practices but more so the ruling party since they have almost unlimited access to national financial resources and public media. In a survey by Transparency International, political party representatives said that “it was impossible to win an election without corruption unless major changes were made to the electoral laws and the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) became more effective in rooting out corruption.”⁹⁸ The allegations of corruption during the 2001 elections have been authenticated by the number of members of parliament that have lost their cases in courts after having been found guilty of misusing public resources and bribing the electorate. Due to the nullification of parliamentary elections the country has lost a lot of money to run the by-elections.

⁹⁶ Transparency International Corruption Perception Index of 2003 at <http://www.transparency.org> 31st December 2003.

⁹⁷ Mambwe. *The Challenge of Poverty for the Church in Zambia...*, Pg 27

⁹⁸ Transparency International, “Global Corruption Report” Pg 254

The opposition parties have petitioned the presidential elections of 2001 citing fraudulent and corrupt behaviour of the ruling party. At the time of writing this thesis the case is still being heard in the courts of law. The other case that is in the courts of law relating to corruption is the one in which the former president of Zambia, Dr. Frederick Chiluba has been accused of misappropriating billions of Kwacha to benefit his own family and friends. It is alleged that the former president used an intelligence bank account code named ZAMTROP to dubiously pay off some government officials and family members. Some of the officials and family members included former "information minister Vernon Mwaanga who got \$360,000, former Foreign Affairs Minister Katele Kalumba (\$8,000), Attorney General Bonaventure Mutale (\$7,000), former Chief Justice Matthew Ngulube (\$168,000), Chiluba's daughter Helen (\$ 90,000), Fred Chiluba jr. (\$10,000)"⁹⁹ and others. It is alleged that the payment to the chief justice is in relation to the case in which Chiluba's citizenship was under contention to which the chief justice ruled in his favour. In 2000, the chief justice resigned his position. Mr. Levy Mwanawasa soon after taking reigns of government in 2001 as the successor of Chiluba went to parliament and recommended that the immunity of Chiluba, former president, be lifted so that he could be prosecuted for allegedly misappropriating public funds for person gain. Chiluba's immunity was lifted and he and his other colleagues are in court responding to over 60 charges of theft by public servant and abuse of office.

Corruption has contributed to Zambia's failure to turn round the economy because as an evil and inconsiderate practice "it makes societies uneconomic. It deprives the government of revenues, it is costly, it retards economic policies and investment; it is an unfair way of amassing wealth at the expense of the poor, making them angry"¹⁰⁰

d) The Mono-economy

Historically the Zambian economy has largely depended on copper mining and maize growing as the key sources of income to finance the Zambian budget, a fact that has not significantly changed in the last 40 years of the country's independence. The mining sector alone contributed up to 80% to GDP till the late 1980s. But due to difficulties that the mining sector experienced (see 3.2 above) the mining sector's contribution to the GDP has plummeted to only 4% in 2001 while the contribution of

⁹⁹ <http://www.geocities.com/maidie/zamtropjuly14.html> on 3rd March 2004

¹⁰⁰ Mambwe. *The Challenge of Poverty for the Church in Zambia*, Pg 27

the agricultural sector continues to be between 15 per cent and 20 per cent.¹⁰¹ In the agricultural sector maize has been the predominant crop. In the 1989/1990 farming season for example, “52 % of the total cultivated area of 606,606 hectares was planted to maize, followed in importance by cassava, groundnut and millet (with 15%, 8% and 6% respectively). Four-fifths of small-scale farmers produced at least some maize, and together they were responsible for 60% of total maize output”¹⁰². Unfortunately maize, unlike millet and sorghum, is not a drought resistant crop. Any failure in rainfall makes the crop fail which leads to starvation in many communities depriving people of the physical well-being.

The decline in copper prices and the vulnerability of maize to increasingly dry weather has contributed significantly to the stagnation of the Copperbelt’s economy. It has made people’s lives to be vulnerable in terms of financial capital and food security.

A combination of free market policies, corruption, drought and the mono economy have left both the Copperbelt Province and Zambia in general one of the poorest countries in the world. According to the 1999 United Nations report, Zambia ranks number 156 out of 174 countries as one of the poorest countries in the world.

3.4 Key Lessons from the foregoing historical analysis

The foregoing historical perspective brings home two fundamental key lessons which should be part of the core premises for reflecting on how to turn the Copperbelt region around.

a) The people of the Copperbelt Province have not been key players in the design and evolution of ideas that should sustain their lives. During the colonial era people were used not as important elements for development but simply units of labour to help produce copper that would generate money to sustain the British Empire. During the era of state socialism the government introduced policies that forced people to be utterly dependent on government and Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines. The

¹⁰¹ OECD report entitled “Zambia” Pg 339 see also Copestake, *Agricultural Services Reform in Southern Africa*, Pg 18 - 21

¹⁰² Copestake, *Agricultural Services Reform in Southern Africa*: Pg 18 - 21

dependency attitude not only alienated people's freedom to take part in the processes that brings about better lives but it also allowed resources that could have been invested in the country to be externalised and invested elsewhere other than Zambia and the Copperbelt itself. During the free market capitalism era, people were given a chance to run their own businesses by the government, but once again market competition, poor infrastructure, debt burden and rules of international trade would not allow a situation that enabled people to effectively take part in the economic programmes. Instead of creating more jobs to enable more people to participate directly in wealth creation activities, they lost their jobs through retrenchments and company closures. During the privatisation process people were not fully consulted on how the policy of privatisation should be shaped, nor was consideration given to what would happen to them once companies were privatised or liquidated.

b) The second lesson is the fact that given the magnitude of the economic problems from the historical perspective, people of the Copperbelt can no longer depend on copper, neither can they rely on the policies and economic approaches that have been used so far. The economy must be diversified and policies redefined based on a new paradigm. We have also learnt from the historical analysis that policies in Zambia have been changing so rapidly trying to respond not only to donor driven programmes but also to the changing environment within the country. There seems to have been no clear assessment of what is going wrong with the policy itself before changing it. Instead government listened to the ideas advanced by the World Bank and the IMF and decided to implement them without a clear understanding or projection of the consequences such policies would bring to local Zambians. Government implemented the Structural Adjustment Programme with no cushioning plan for those that the programme would affect such as those that would lose employment, farmers who would lose their grain marketing mechanisms and the sick that would now start paying for health care. It seems government was trying to respond to the challenge of poverty by coming up with a solution that further put people in more poverty than it was anticipated. We can only agree with McDonnell Moore when he says that "policy

measures designed to provide a quick fix not only don't work, but frequently have perverse effects."¹⁰³

In order to sustain life on the Copperbelt a radical change in the way we think and do things must take effect. To live and live long cannot be achieved exclusively by the market driven economic growth approach with its trickle down effect theory. It can only be achieved if we adopt a broad based life-sustaining programme that sees creation as valuable, people as indispensable and social justice as the foundation on which human interaction and business conduct should be based. Diversifying the economic activities on the Copperbelt based on the vision of *shalom* is part of this broad based approach. In the next chapter we therefore turn to examining the diversification programme that has been put in place. We evaluate it from the perspective of *shalom* and the economic history that we have just looked at in this chapter.

¹⁰³ Moore McDonell, "Ireland as a Developing and Diversifying economy: What can be learned by others from our experience?" A Paper presented at the "Workshop on deepening economic Diversification in Zambia; Towards the Transformation of the Copperbelt (Kitwe, 2002) pg 2

Chapter Four

Economic Diversification Programme: Evolution and Progression

4.0 Introduction.

In the previous chapter we have looked at the historical perspective of the Copperbelt's economy. We have established that in the three periods, namely the colonial, state socialism and free market capitalism periods, the Copperbelt economy has not been sustained to levels that can improve people's lives. In spite of the short lived success of the mining industry, we have concluded that dependence on copper and maize as mono economies is not sustainable and is deficient. Therefore, economic diversification is not only desirable but also necessary as a contributing factor to the well-being of people on the Copperbelt. In this chapter we turn our attention to the current diversification programme looking at the evolution and the progression of the idea of diversification. We will point out that in spite of the excellent case studies that were presented at the workshop in June 2002, the way the programme is running is "business as usual", ignoring the people of the Copperbelt and focusing more on market driven principles without equity and freedom of participation by the people themselves. We will argue that the diversification programme falls short of bringing about *shalom* for the people of the Copperbelt and should therefore be reoriented by looking at policies that are based on respect for the integrity of creation, the importance of people and social justice.

4.1 The Origins of Economic Diversification Programme

The idea of diversifying the Copperbelt's economy in particular and the economy of Zambia in general have been on people's minds for a long time now. The second National Development Plan under the Kaunda government was aimed at "...the acceleration of economic diversification and growth"¹⁰⁴ through consolidation of the major infrastructure which was commenced in the first national plan. But as things turned out, the ideas of successful diversification did not bring about significant

¹⁰⁴ Mambwe. "The Challenge of Poverty for the Church in Zambia", Pg 8

change for the majority of the Zambian people's lives such that, according to OECD, 83% of rural and 53% of urban populations live in abject poverty.¹⁰⁵ With the increase in the HIV/AIDS epidemic, life expectancy has dropped to only 45 years. Dependence on copper in the mining sector and maize in the agricultural sector continued and even deepened further. According to a civil society position paper presented at the Consultative Group Meeting held on the 7th of July 2002 at Mulungushi International Conference Centre in Lusaka, "there are seven major themes of economic diversification that have been sought to be pursued over the decades with comparatively little achievement"¹⁰⁶ these are

1. **Sector diversification**: This entails reducing the dominance of the copper mining sector;
2. **Export diversification**: This implies promotion of a variety of non-traditional exports;
3. **Resource use diversification**: This involves the use of local raw materials in the production of goods;
4. **Technological diversification**: This implies movement from capital-intensive production technologies to appropriate labour-intensive technologies;
5. **Scale diversification**: This means reducing the dominance of large-scale production by enhancing the role of medium- and small-scale production activity;
6. **Structural diversification**: This entails strengthening the production structure by promoting activities with high degrees of internal backward and forward linkages; and
7. **Regional diversification**: This requires tapping the comparative advantages of the different regions in the country with the aim of uplifting the living standards of all the inhabitants and bringing about balanced regional growth and development.

¹⁰⁵ OECD report entitled "Zambia", Pg 349

¹⁰⁶ Zambia Civil Society, "Major Concerns Relating to the Zambian Economy; A civil society perspective." Paper presented at the Consultative group meeting held on the 7th July 2002. Pg 12

The challenge in the past has been to decide which of the seven approaches should be given priority and how it should be done. Clearly there have been no successful attempts to either isolate or integrate all of the ideas that have been postulated in the last 40 years of Zambia's independence. As poverty increases and the looming crisis in the mining sector becomes a reality with the closure of Luanshya mine, Kabwe mine, and the withdrawal of Anglo American Cooperation from the Konkola deep mining project, it has become clearer than ever that something must be done in order to break the dependency. As a result, different people in government, the private sector and civil society started thinking of how to make diversification a reality on the Copperbelt. In order to kick start the diversification programme an international conference sponsored by the World Bank was held at Hotel Edinburgh in Kitwe from the 3rd to the 5th of June 2002 and was officially opened by the President of Zambia Mr. Levy Patrick Mwanawasa. The workshop attracted people from as far as Malaysia and Ireland and as near as Kitwe itself. One of the surprising characteristics of this conference, which goes to endorse the attitude of development practitioners on the Copperbelt, was that they excluded civil society from participating in the conference citing the reason that the conference was of a business nature. If the people who are outside the business realm wanted to say something they could make submissions that could be considered for tabling in the meeting.¹⁰⁷

During the workshop, examples of economic diversification from Malaysia, Kenya, Ireland, Botswana, South Africa and Zambia itself were given as case studies by various speakers. Different ideas such as the ones focusing on the implementation of the export processing zones, which contributed to the improvement of the quality of life for the people of Mauritius,¹⁰⁸ were shared and have been documented in a report. During the conference it was recommended that in order "to prevent All-Talk-No-Action, an "Interim Diversification Task force" should be immediately established to refine strategies, perhaps as a precursor to the CDO."¹⁰⁹ The key task of the task force is to refine strategies and to ensure that the programme of diversification comes up with a direction that is focused and oriented, aimed to succeed and not to fail. Six

¹⁰⁷ <http://www.amsterdamnews.org/news/articles.html> 26th December 2003

¹⁰⁸ Treebhoohun Nikhil, "The Mauritian Experience" Paper presented at the workshop on deepening economic diversification in Zambia; towards the transformation of the Copperbelt (Kitwe, 2002)

¹⁰⁹ ICC "Workshop on Deepening Economic Diversification in Zambia: Towards the transformation of the Copperbelt" (Kitwe June 2002) Pg 13

working groups namely Manufacturing, Tourism, Agriculture, Financial, Policy Framework and Forestry were formed to make recommendations that looked at both the constraints and how to deal with each of the constraints that were identified. It is not in the scope of this paper to go into each individualised working groups to analyse what they recommended but it is worth mentioning that overall the key recommendations can be summarised as follows;

1. Establishment of a Copperbelt Diversification Authority;
2. Focus on value adding production of goods and services;
3. Concentration on sectors with high growth potential in the short and medium term;
4. Optimizing Zambia's participation in and benefits from the global market and regional/international trade agreements;
5. Appointing a task force to spearhead detailed studies on feasibility and prioritization of development sectors/sub-sectors in the Copperbelt;
6. Develop a cluster approach to sector/sub-sector development;
7. Decentralized implementation of economic diversification;
8. Concurrent harmonized selective implementation of export processing zones (EPZs) and tax free zones, based on a model that does not comparatively disadvantage local suppliers of the EPZ.¹¹⁰

4.2 The Strengths of the Diversification Programme.

Let me begin looking at the strengths by quoting Bill Osborn one of the persons who was involved in the initial stages of the programme saying "there is not much strength yet. I think the programme is a long term programme but the enthusiasm seems to be fizzling out slowly."¹¹¹ The strengths of the diversification programme should be looked at by focusing on what is inherent, practical and *shalom* oriented. I have identified two strengths. First, the potential of being a Zambian people's agenda and

¹¹⁰ Zambia Civil Society, "Major Concerns Relating to the Zambian Economy;" Pg 10

¹¹¹ Bill Osborne: I interviewed him in his office on 13th of January 2004. Bill Osborne is Managing Director for Blackhood Hodge one of the earth moving equipment companies working with the mines. He is also the chairperson for the Agricultural Show Society and a representative of the British High Commissioner to Zambia in the Copperbelt Province.

second, the possibility of providing people of the Copperbelt a chance to explore the natural resources that are available on the Copperbelt. Let us now examine each one of these two strengths.

a) It has great potential to be a Zambian Agenda: Unlike the Structural Adjustment Programme and the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers which were advanced by the IMF and World Bank as conditionalities for financial support, the economic diversification programme comes with great potential for it to be a Zambian people's agenda. At face value, the programme is emerging from the fact that the Zambian people themselves are concerned about ensuring that sustainable programmes are put in place that can improve people's lives in the Copperbelt Province. Given the economic situation that we have analysed above, people were provoked into a discussion on how to diversify the economy which culminated in a consultative workshop. Although it was funded almost exclusively by external funding, it is built on the general consensus amongst people that are involved in reflecting and designing development strategies of the Copperbelt region that we cannot continue relying on copper alone as the means to turn round the economy and look after people in a more proactive and productive way. Depending on copper has not brought about well-being for the majority of the people on the Copperbelt and cannot therefore be allowed to continue being relied on as a key economic driving force. New methods and ways of doing things must be sought and deployed as soon as possible in order that people can be set free from the *unfreedoms* of deprivation that characterises the Copperbelt Province. That is a positive strength in the sense that the people of Zambia themselves are trying to define and find possible diversification possibilities that are available on the Copperbelt and elsewhere in the country. However one of the challenges to which we will turn a little later is to reflect on how communities are being involved in the programme in order to ensure ownership and participation.

b) Exploring natural resources that can be tapped: The other strength of the economic diversification programme is that it gives an opportunity for development practitioners and government planners to start mapping out the possibilities for investment and wealth creation around the country based on the natural resources that Zambia is endowed with. Zambia is blessed with many resources, the most important of which is the people of Zambia themselves. Besides people as a key resource, there

are many natural resources at the disposal of the people that could be utilised in order to bring about well-being on the Copperbelt. For example according to Chipungu and Kunda, out of the total land mass of 750,000 Square Kilometres that Zambia has, “approximately 400,000 square Kilometres have some agricultural potential. Unfortunately only 22.5% (9 million hectares) is classified as having medium to good potential out of which only 1.5million hectares have crops on it each year”.¹¹² With plenty of rivers and lakes Zambia according to the 1987 estimates has a “maximum irrigation potential...estimated at 423,000 hectors, but less than 50,000 hectares are currently developed.”¹¹³ The Copperbelt Province in particular has “3,238,829 hectares of which 1,577,000 hectares is agricultural land. Of this only 307,000 hectares are currently under cultivation while the rest is unutilised.”¹¹⁴ Apart from land the province is also blessed with many other resources such as forests, precious stones (especially emeralds), and tourism potential which includes the Dag Hammarskjöld crash site, the sunken lake and Kalulushi bird sanctuary all of which have not been developed to their full potential.

The diversification programme has the potential to encourage development practitioners and policy makers to reflect on how to utilise the abundant resources that the country has and how they can be utilised in a sustainable way to bring about well-being to the people on the Copperbelt. In a province that has known little else apart from mining; we ought to ask the question as to what else there is on the Copperbelt that we can utilise to ensure that poverty is defeated? This question is fundamental and is the starting point for all activities that should be carried out in the diversification programme. By employing a multi-pronged approach to resources utilisation, the Copperbelt can bring to the fore innumerable possibilities that do exist in mining, manufacturing, tourism and agriculture¹¹⁵. Explorations into the jewellery industry and food processing factories stand out as some of the key elements that come as inherent strengths of the diversification programme. The strength of the

¹¹² Chipungu P.M and Kunda D.M, *State of the Environment Report 1994* (Lusaka, The Environmental Council of Zambia) Pg 12

¹¹³ Copestake. *Agricultural Services Reform in Southern Africa*: Pg 8

¹¹⁴ Godfrey Mukala, “Comments on the paper by the Economics Association of Zambia” (Paper presented at the workshop on deepening economic diversification in Zambia; towards the transformation of the Copperbelt, Kitwe 2002

¹¹⁵ Prof. John Lungu, “Report Of The Workshops On The Economic Diversification Strategy Held Between 8th September and 3rd October 2003” (October 2003) Pg 10

diversification programme will mainly be in creating linkages between sectors and identifying which sectors feed into each other in order to have a mutually beneficial reciprocity.

4.3 The weaknesses of the Diversification programme

The diversification programme has a number of weaknesses that should be addressed from the perspective of *shalom*. I have identified five major weaknesses of the programme these are

- **Elitist approach:** which means the programme is obscure to the general public and is being implemented by only a certain section of people,
- **Unclear Implementation Mechanisms:** mechanisms of how to implement specific programmes that will be developed under the diversification have not been clearly articulated for the general public to prepare themselves for participation.
- **Research Needs versus People's Needs:** current indications show that the research agenda is not incorporating local people's wisdom in research work.
- **Overlooking of local development structures:** the programme has so far sidelined the existing local development mechanisms as research institutions and implementing organs for the diversification programme.
- **HIV/AIDS epidemic:** the programme has not elaborated how it will deal with the issue of HIV/AIDS.

Let us now look at each of these weaknesses in order to understand them better.

a) Elitist approach

The first weakness of the diversification programme is that it has not fully integrated the people of the Copperbelt in the deliberations and the design of how the programme will be implemented. Right from the beginning, the programme was designed to be an 'economist's' programme to be managed and decided by the people who are in the 'economics' world focusing on private sector. For these reasons local civil society and the church were excluded from the initial workshop that was held in June 2000. Most participants who attended the workshop came from Lusaka and from abroad and not from the Copperbelt where the programme is supposed to be

implemented.¹¹⁶ After the programme was launched and a task force formed, people still do not yet know what the diversification programme is all about. At the offices of the diversification programme which are in Kabinga Avenue in Ndola there is not even a sign to show that this is the task force's office. Due to these reasons Oxfam Zambia and the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace decided to commission a series of sensitisation workshops to make the programme known to the people of the Copperbelt. During the sensitisation workshops it was

discovered that out of the 535 participants only two (2) people had attended the original workshop at Hotel Edinburgh in Kitwe. Those who attended have also not taken the programme to the communities. This is a serious matter. The implications are that people may not be aware of the existence of the diversification programme and so they will not participate in it.¹¹⁷

It is unfortunate that people who should know about the programme such as the small scale entrepreneurs and peasant farmers have no clue of what is going on. For example, asked what she thinks about the diversification programme, Nakazwe Musungaila a professional accountant but also a person who rears chicken to supplement her family income said "Does it exist? I have heard about it in passing but I can't see anything practical."¹¹⁸ Nakazwe's view does not come as a surprise at all. There is an apparent silence on what is going on. Joshua Mutisa the District Administrator for Kitwe district, a district that has been known as the Hub of the Copperbelt, echoed the same sentiments when he said "when the programme started it came as a reason for hope for us on the Copperbelt. But it is taking too long without tangible outcomes."¹¹⁹ And the coordinator of the Youth Forum Zambia, Mwamba Lubemba said "it seems it is working for some and not for others. We have no idea on how we can participate in it."¹²⁰

The initial idea of the economic diversification programme was restricted to the diversifying of the Copperbelt Province's economy. But in a very short time frame the programme has shifted its attention to be a nation wide programme. The nationalising of the programme may contribute to hindering further exploration of how people of the Copperbelt can be involved in the programme. For example when I called Dr.

¹¹⁶ Lungu, "Report Of The Workshops On The Economic Diversification", Pg 10

¹¹⁷ Lungu, "Report Of The Workshops On The Economic Diversification" Pg 10

¹¹⁸ Nakazwe Musungaila in an interview that I had with her in November 2003

¹¹⁹ Joshua Mutisa, in an interview I had with him in January 2004

¹²⁰ Mwamba Lubemba, in an interview I had with her in January 2004.

Sixtus Mulenga, the chairperson of the task force for information, he referred me to the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Finance and Economic Development saying “since you are doing research, this is government information and government information has restrictions on how it can be released so I suggest you see the permanent secretary at the ministry of finance.”¹²¹ As is evidenced by the recommendation by Dr. Mulenga, the programme has become even more obscure and more distant from the local people on the Copperbelt. By the very fact that the programme has become a country-wide programme it will ignore its historical perspective leaving the people of the Copperbelt to wonder what is happening. It will also mean that the resources of the programme will be thinly spread and may achieve very minimal results.

The top-down know-it-all attitude that separates peoples of the nation not only into haves and the have-nots but also into the knowledgeable and the ignorant cannot turn things round at all. *Shalom* recognises the importance of people and their role in creation as beings of praxis, who are born as individuals but live in the community free to participate in creating their destiny. People are supposed to communicate and share information with each other in order to perpetuate goodness. Indeed information is an absolute necessity for the success of any programme that is aimed at improving people’s well-being. The lack of it makes the development programme too elitist to the point that it becomes meaningless even if it has good and noble intentions. If the diversification of the Copperbelt’s economy is to succeed there is a need to anchor it in the elements of *shalom*. How to do that will be our focus in the next chapter.

b) Implementation Mechanism

The second observable weakness in the current diversification programme is the fact that the implementation structure of the programme has not come out clearly. The current task force is biased toward establishing actual programmes that can be implemented on the Copperbelt and the route they are taking is to hire people to do feasibility studies without a clear practical implementation mechanism. While feasibility studies are a welcome idea, there is always a need to have a clear

¹²¹ Dr. Sixtus Mulenga, on the phone in January 2004

implementation structure that can carry out the results of such research recommendations. The Copperbelt Province is no stranger to feasibility studies which have led to no results that can improve people's lives. For example in 1995 research into diversifying the usage of "gum naval stores" which refers to products of pine gum especially Turpentine and Rosin was conducted. "The Coppen study...concluded that - at that time - the standing resources were sufficient to establish a viable commercial operation with an annual turnover of some \$450,000. Sales opportunities for the turpentine and Rosin were identified within Zambia (as import substitute) and in South Africa."¹²² Turpentine and Rosin are used in various chemical processes such as paper sizing, ingredients of paints and as starting material for chemical synthesis. The process of tapping gum naval from pine trees is labour intensive, which means not only was the project going to bring money to the country but would have also been a large employer. To date, in spite of the fact that the Copperbelt has a lot of pine trees in its plantations, nothing of that sort has happened; the trees are simply being used for timber which is far from the concept of diversification. This successful research which clearly looked at the resource that is available in Zambia and made concrete and practical economic sense has just gone to waste. So the diversification programme should be focusing on research that has viable feasibility with implementation plans of how the results of such studies will be immediately utilised in order to improve people's lives.

c) Research needs verses People's needs

Research costs money, especially if it is to be done by the consultants who are certified by the World Bank. I must point out here that sometimes, and this may be the case in the diversification programme, the money that will be spent in research and workshops to talk about alternatives may end up being more than the actual money that will actually go to the peasant farmer who would like to be helped in order to increase his or her production of whatever they grow. While workshops and research are important in order to sharpen ideas and seek alternatives, there is need to streamline the methodologies and systems that can strike a balance between the

¹²² Green G.C, "Opportunities with Spices, Essential Oils and Gum Naval Stores" Paper presented at the workshop on deepening economic diversification in Zambia; towards the transformation of the Copperbelt (Kitwe, 2002)

researchers' needs and the researched perspectives so that clear cut operational programmes that do not only end up in paper presentations which in turn end up in university, ministerial and donors' shelves gathering dust are developed. The diversification programme's research agenda should incorporate indigenous people's individual and collective wisdom. It should focus on modern research methodologies such as appreciative inquiry and participatory learning and action¹²³ which focus on enhancing people's strengths and creativity rather than simply repeating to them the problems and dilemmas that they experience on a daily basis. Such a research agenda is aimed at ensuring that people's participation is not only viewed from the researchers' point of view but it is seen as an integral part of the process of consolidating past tested solutions and integrating new ideas in issues that affect the community.

d) Overlooking local development structures

The fourth shortcoming of the current diversification programme is that it has turned a blind eye to the already existing development systems on the Copperbelt and in Zambia as whole. All over the country at provincial, district and community levels, there are development mechanisms called Development Coordinating Committees. The coordinating committees at provincial level for instance incorporate civil society, the private sector and government. They meet on a regular basis to share what they are contributing to bringing about better conditions of life and also to brainstorm together on what else can be done in various communities that they work with that can bring about sustainable lives. At a community level, the resident development coordinating committee (RDCs) actually deal with practical ideas of how to overcome local poverty through the introduction of viable projects that can help the local people. In 2001 for example, the Kamakonde resident development committee worked very closely with the Copperbelt Health Education Project a non-governmental organisation dedicated to fighting HIV/AIDS, to build the only school for the children in the compound. The compound which was founded in the early 1960s existed without a school, a clinic or any other social infrastructure. The nearest school and

¹²³ For Further Reading on these approaches see Charles Elliot, *Locating the Energy for Change: An Introduction to Appreciative Inquiry* (Winnipeg: ISSD, 1999) and Wetmore, Stephen and Theron Francois. "Participatory Learning and Action: Methodology for the New Development Vision" in S. Liebenberg and P. Stewart (eds) *Participatory Development Management and the RDP* (Cape Town: JUTA, 1997)

clinic are about 5 kilometres away. Through interactive discussions and focusing on what is possible in the community the development committee managed to mobilise resources, build the school and recruit volunteer teachers. Now the school has a total of 450 children who otherwise could have been out of school had it not been for the initiative taken by the people themselves¹²⁴.

The unfortunate thing is that in the diversification programme these committees were left out of the process of consultation and they currently are not part of the progression of the programme. Alick Lungu who works as an economist at the Catholic Commission for Justice, Development and Peace says that one of the biggest weaknesses in the current programme is that “there is no link between the top ranks of society and the grassroots. While the idea of diversifying the economy is such a brilliant idea, it may not succeed if the grassroots people are continuously ignored.”¹²⁵

Utilising the development coordinating committees is one of the best mechanisms to start from, instead of starting from the higher echelons of society. In my view the diversification programme should be researched, implemented and owned by these local mechanisms that deal with the people directly rather than relying on expertise to both kick start and then implement the programme on behalf of the people. The diversification programme should be owned by the people of the Copperbelt themselves. They should participate in the design and implementation processes necessary to bring about well-being.

e) The Dual Epidemic of HIV/AIDS and TB in the Diversification Programme

The HIV/AIDS epidemic is the one single largest developmental problem that Zambia as a whole and the Copperbelt region in particular are facing. It is estimated that the incidence rate amongst the adult population (aged between 16 and 49 yrs) has dropped from 20% to 16% country wide, with the Copperbelt being second after Lusaka province. As the disease claims the lives of able bodied and productive age groups it undoubtedly has the potential of reversing every successful effort that the Zambian people have so far attained. Tuberculosis (TB) is one of the most common

¹²⁴ Copperbelt Health Education Project, “Narrative and Financial Report for the Period January to December 2002”

¹²⁵ Alick Lungu in an interview I had with him in January 2004.

opportunistic infections provoked by the depletion of the immune system by the HIV virus and as such, in Zambia, TB has become one of the major causes of morbidity and mortality amongst adults and children.

Between 1964 and 1984 the prevalence of TB in Zambia was roughly stable; in 1984 a total of 7,000 new cases of active TB were reported to the Ministry of Health. By the mid-1990s, however, the situation had changed dramatically, and 40,000 new cases were reported in 1995. Without the HIV epidemic, about 10,000 new cases of TB a year would have been expected in 1995 – the 30,000 additional cases were almost entirely due to HIV. By the year 2005, the additional number of new TB cases due to the HIV epidemic is likely to reach 40,000 per year.¹²⁶

As a major killer of people in Zambia, TB may have caused over 400,000 deaths in 1998. It is projected that by 2010 over 1.8 million people will have died from TB in a country of about 12 million people¹²⁷.

During the diversification workshop of June 2002, working groups of manufacturing, tourism, agriculture, forestry and policy frameworks were formed to make recommendations for appropriate action in order that the diversification programme can take off correctly. Unfortunately, in spite of the figures showing the seriousness of the problem, there was no HIV/AIDS working group that was going to make recommendations on how the problem of HIV/AIDS will be addressed in the diversification programme. Addressing the problem of HIV/AIDS is an important step in contributing to the improvement of the Copperbelt's economy. AIDS kills people in their prime of life, people who are contributing to the economy in one way or the other. The rate at which teachers, engineers, peasant farmers and soldiers are dying makes the problem of AIDS one of the development challenges to be addressed.

It is imperative therefore that the epidemic is included in the diversification programme and that every design at every stage includes networking with the organisations that are fighting the epidemic in order that proper consultation to find workable solutions to the epidemic are identified and effective prevention and treatment programmes put in place.

¹²⁶ Glen Williams *et al.* *Under the Mupundu Tree* (London, Actionaid 1999) Pg 6

¹²⁷ Ministry of Health/Central Board of Health, *HIV/AIDS in Zambia: Background, Projections, Impacts, Interventions* (Lusaka, December 1997)

Summary

It is absolutely important that we diversify the economy. But as we have seen, the current programme has both strengths and weaknesses that must be addressed. We have said that the way the programme was started has the potential of it being the Zambian people's programme which can lead the people of Zambia and the people of the Copperbelt to explore their natural resources and start utilising and managing those resources in such a manner that they can sustain life. We have pointed out in the chapter that in order for the programme to be relevant and grounded in the actual realities of the Copperbelt Province, there is a need to ensure that it is not only an elitist programme but should have an all-inclusive approach which will facilitate the bringing on board of people from all walks of life on the Copperbelt to participate in it. We have also reflected on the challenge of how to implement the ideas and proposals that will be developed through various consultations as the programme progresses. We suggested that it could be better if local development mechanisms such as the resident development committees could be involved in designing and implementing development programmes.

We have also highlighted the fact that research programmes should incorporate the wisdom of the local people and should be results oriented. We argued that it is a waste of resources if research findings are not implemented but are only shelved in ministerial offices and university libraries. We said that it could be better to develop a proactive research agenda that is focused on what can be done rather than a mere intellectual curiosity agenda intending to do research for the sake of research.

Bringing about the state of *shalom* requires recognising people as key players in bringing about the life that they have reason to value in a manner that is respectful to the environment and based on social justice. There should be the building blocks upon which the diversification programme should be anchored.

In the next chapter we turn to developing a people's agenda that is aimed at ensuring that life is sustained - an agenda that will give impetus to the economic diversification programme. We do this by responding to the question, "Can *shalom* be translated into a socio-economic and political agenda?" We will respond to this question by focusing on current development discussions by various development thinkers.

Chapter Five

Sustaining Life: A People's Agenda

5.0 Introduction

In chapter two above we rejected the development paradigm that has been practiced in the last 40 years and proposed that the new development goal be *shalom*. In chapter three and four we have analysed both the economy of the Copperbelt Province in general and the diversification programme in particular. In both chapters we discovered no significant improvements have been made to the lives of the majority of the people on the Copperbelt. This was due to the fact that the country heavily depended on copper and in recent years, introduced the Structural Adjustment Programme. The dependency on copper and the Structural Adjustment Programme led to the sidelining of people's participation in the transforming of the Copperbelt's economy.

In this chapter, based on our theoretical framework elaborated in chapter two, we turn our attention to analysing how the vision of *shalom* can be translated into a socio-economic and political agenda on which we can sensibly rely to design a people-centred diversification programme on the Copperbelt. We postulate what I consider as the valid "mindsets" and theories that are focused on people, environment and justice, on which development practitioners and government policy developers should consider basing their planning and actions. In order to do that, we will rely on the works by Paulo Freire, Amartya Sen, David Korten and John McKnight and John Kretzmann some of the leading contemporary thinkers on development theory. We discuss the notion of people as free agents capable of evolving a life they value to live. Then we reflect on the fact that environmental protection and effective practice of justice are necessary for a programme that is focused on sustaining life.

I will then end the chapter by proposing three possible policies that can be explored further as practical ways to sustaining life namely, land in relation to agriculture,

evolving a Copperbelt Development Fund and promoting eco-tourism. We begin by exploring the idea that people are free agents.

5.1 People as Free Agents

In chapter 3 and 4 we have noted that both in the economic history of the Copperbelt and during the diversification programme itself, people have not been deemed central as key players in the economic programmes of the Copperbelt. They have in one way or another been sidelined by adopting an economic growth centred approach to development which claims that “the problem for the poor is that they do not come to the market with adequate education, skills and physical strength to attract employment on favourable terms.”¹²⁸ In other words it looks at people as lazy and merely not being competitive. This erroneous assumption which divides people between the rich and the poor and actors and beneficiaries came as a result of what Robert Chambers calls “biases of normal professionalism” which

start with things rather than people, the rich rather than the poor, the men rather than the women and numbers rather than qualities. They bear the imprint of interests that are urban, industrial and central in location rather than rural, agricultural and peripheral. Poor rural children, women and men have been treated as residual not primary, as terminal problems not starting points.”¹²⁹

In order to successfully diversify the Copperbelt’s economy based on the vision of *Shalom*, in which we clearly elaborated the importance of people as beings of action, we should begin by refuting this fallacious notion. We must reject an idea that poor people are poor because they are ignorant, powerless and they simply can’t help themselves out of the mess they find themselves in. We must reject the assumption that in order to make the poor rich, all we need to do is to make economies grow.¹³⁰ I concur with Steve de Gruchy when he says “it is simply wrong to make the assumption that poor people are ‘not able to do.’ Poor people are always engaged in strategies and struggles for survival, adaptation and freedom.”¹³¹ The poor are agents,

¹²⁸ Korten, *Getting to the 21st Century*, Pg 44

¹²⁹ Robert Chambers, “Sustainable Rural Livelihoods: A Key Strategy for People, Environment and Development” in C. Conroy and M.Litvinoff, *The Greening of Aid: Sustainable Livelihoods in Practice*. (London: Earthscan Publications 1988) Pg 1

¹³⁰ Steve de Gruchy, “Why Agency? Why Assets? Why Appreciation?” in a Report of the Pietermaritzburg Colloquium by the African Religious Health Assets Programme, August 2003, Pg 31

¹³¹ Steve de Gruchy, “Why Agency? Why Assets? Why Appreciation?” Pg 31.

meaning they engage in shaping and reshaping their own destiny using both their inherent and acquired capabilities. The problem is that the poor experience what Amartya Sen calls *unfreedom* which includes a whole range of things that deny millions of people the basic opportunity to survive and to increase their participation in order to bring about well-being. These *unfreedoms* include “famine...undernutrition...little access to health care, to sanitary arrangements or to clean water...inequality between men and women and premature death.”¹³² Other *unfreedoms* include systematic denial of political liberties and basic civil rights. To reaffirm the poor people’s efforts we must begin by unequivocally accepting that an individual is a subject, a citizen an actor with a *word*, capable of communicating, acting and reflecting on his or her acts in other words an individual is an agent.¹³³ What is needed is therefore the freedom to reverse the *unfreedoms* so that people can become *free agents* for their own development.

People as free agents freely participate in the activities that are aimed at bettering their lives and shaping their own destiny. Granting people freedom is the premise for a people’s agenda. This view resonates well with Amartya Sen’s affirmation that freedom is the principle *end* and the principle *means* of development. It is an end because to be free is a good thing in itself since it is anchored on authenticating the value of being human and it is a means because free people can contribute to the evolution of their destiny by being creative and dedicated.¹³⁴ Increased freedom is “a principle determinant of individual initiative and social effectiveness. Greater freedom enhances the ability of people to help themselves and also to influence the world...”¹³⁵ In that sense freedom guarantees “elementary capabilities like being able to avoid such deprivations as starvation, undernourishment, escapable morbidity and premature mortality as well as the freedoms that are associated with being literate and numerate, enjoying political participation and uncensored speech and so on.”¹³⁶

¹³² Sen, *Development as Freedom*, Pg 15

¹³³ Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, pg 14

¹³⁴ Sen, *Development as Freedom*, Pg 35 ff

¹³⁵ Sen, *Development as Freedom*, Pg 18

¹³⁶ Sen, *Development as Freedom*, Pg 18

To develop therefore is to ensure that people's freedoms are expanded in order that they can be able to create a life that they have reason to value; a fact that affirms and expands the agency aspect of the individual. Sen emphasises this point by saying that

with adequate social opportunities, individuals can effectively shape their own destiny and help each other. They need not be seen primarily as passive recipients of the benefits of cunning development programmes. There is indeed a strong rationale for recognising the positive role of free and sustainable agency – and even of constructive patience.¹³⁷

Reflecting on freedom as a means of development Sen speaks of the interrelatedness of what he calls “instrumental freedoms”. He says that “the effectiveness of freedom as an instrument lies in the fact that different kinds of freedom interrelate with one another, and freedom of one type may greatly help in advancing freedom of other types.”¹³⁸ According to Sen, there are five key instrumental freedoms that should function in harmony together in order to facilitate the increased human role in their participation in the development process as follows,

Political freedom: This is about giving people an opportunity to determine “who should govern them, and on what principles, and also include the possibility to scrutinise and criticise authorities, to have freedom of political expression and an uncensored press...”¹³⁹ Broadly speaking political freedom includes respect for civil rights which are the foundations of a democratic state. In a democracy there is an opportunity to hold leaders accountable so as to enable them implement people centred programmes.

Economic facilities: “refers to the opportunities individuals respectively enjoy to utilise economic resources for the purpose of consumption, or production or exchange.”¹⁴⁰ Economic facilities are about economic entitlements of individuals in relation to community or national entitlements. Since economic facilities are about wealth accumulation and distribution, serious consideration for justice comes into play and should be promoted by other instrumental freedoms in order to redress the imbalances that can occur.

¹³⁷ Sen, *Development as Freedom* Pg 11

¹³⁸ Sen, *Development as Freedom* Pg 37

¹³⁹ Sen, *Development as Freedom* Pg 38

¹⁴⁰ Sen, *Development as Freedom* Pg 38

Social opportunities: These are overall social amenities and arrangements that people make in order to make a person live better. They include services such as health care facilities, education and social welfare systems. The better the systems the better the granting of human capacities and the more *unfreedom* is being dismantled.

Transparency guarantees: this instrumental freedom “deals with the need for openness that people can expect: the freedom to deal with one another under guarantees of disclosure and lucidity.”¹⁴¹ Transparency promotes trust and confidence in the societal management systems, as it also guarantees delivery by those that are expected to carry out the specific tasks under the social contracts. It also plays a significant role in ensuring that corruption does not prevail in the society since checks and balances will have been put in place to hinder people’s abuse of office and power to benefit only themselves.

Protective security: Life’s lessons are such that we all do not have the same freedom and because we are different, some people will necessarily be unable to compete successfully in life. For example those that are handicapped and children cannot be expected to be involved in the same way as those that are physically fit and are adults in the production systems. It is therefore imperative that in society there are safety nets that ensure that people do not descend into abject poverty. Safety net may include ideas such as unemployment benefit or disability fund.

Increasing people’s freedom is consistent with *shalom*. It endorses the fundamental element of *being human* and the opportunity to do. The combination of human agency and freedom enhances people’s ability to choose and to act. It accelerates their ability to utilise opportunities that they have, given their personal and communal social circumstances. Development policy and practices should therefore be aimed at enforcing the fact that people as agents of their own development are free to create a life they deem worth living. Freedom is the foundation for human self expression and innovation. This needs to be taken seriously in the diversification programme.

¹⁴¹ Sen, *Development as Freedom* Pg 38

Dialogue as essential for human agency

Increased freedom affirms the fact that we are human and in our freedom as humans we use the words to communicate; we share our ideas, actions and reflections on those actions. In other words, we engage in dialogue. According to Freire, dialogue is what makes us human, it differentiates us from animals and other creatures of the universe. In speaking the *word* in freedom, people name and control the world; they create and recreate it thereby achieving significance as human beings.¹⁴² Dialogue has an inherent affirmation of a person as a free being. Through dialogue people encounter other people's ideas and reflections which then lead to further action in recreating the world toward *shalom*. Dialogue can therefore not be

reduced to the act of one person's "depositing" ideas in another, nor can it become a simple exchange of ideas to "be consumed" by the discussants...Because dialogue is an encounter among women and men who name the world, it must not be a situation where some name on behalf of others. It is an act of creation; it must not serve as a crafty instrument for the domination of one person by another.¹⁴³

Since "dialogue imposes itself as the way by which people achieve their significance as human beings, dialogue is thus an existential necessity."¹⁴⁴ Denying someone their ability to dialogue by denying them their word through censoring and refusing to communicate is an act of dehumanisation. It leads to treating people as things, as simply passengers for whom programmes must be designed and forced upon, treated not actors, but as spectators in the game of wealth creation and accumulation, which is adversative to *shalom*. Dialogue is an opportunity through which people's dialectical ability of reflecting and acting upon reality is interfaced and shared in order to bring about a desirable world. It is an existential necessity to be ignored only to the detriment of humanity.

The enhancement of freedom through dialogue necessarily requires a shift in the way education is carried out. Freire advocates for doing away with what he calls 'banking education' in order to pave way for dialogical education. In banking education, the teacher seems to know everything and he or she will deposit that into the students without the student's own contributions and reflection. Banking education objectifies people by making the teacher the subject who knows and teaches, while others do not

¹⁴² Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Pg 70

¹⁴³ Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Pg 70

¹⁴⁴ Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Pg 69

know they sit and are taught. That goes against the ontological reality that all humans are fundamentally beings of praxis. Dialogical education emphasises that people are not empty vessels to be filled, but are rather creative and operative individuals that have the ability to name the world and through their labour be able to bring about human conditions that promote well-being. Education as both an exercise and an experience of life should be bringing out that human element of discussion, of dialogue by presenting reality not as a given, already interpreted thing but as an open problematic realm through which humans can interact using the word to decode its mysteries and wonders.¹⁴⁵ Education that is based on dialogue brings about authentic thinking which cannot take place in ivory tower isolation, but only in communication with other people. "If it is true that thought has meaning only when generated by action upon the world, the subordination of students to teachers becomes impossible"¹⁴⁶ and should therefore be discarded for something that actually validates human experience toward *shalom*.

It is imperative therefore that the design of policies and development programmes for the diversification of the copperbelt's economy are based on people's participation through dialogue and not on monologue where government, donors and development agents decide on what should be done and then it is transferred to the people without consultations and gauging people's willingness to be involved in it. David Korten illustrates this point further when he advances his thesis that development should be people led and not government led when he says that development is a "people's movement more than...a foreign funded government project." In the past people have been "expected to put their faith and resources in the hands of government. In return governments have promised to bestow on the people the gift of development. This promise has proven to be a chimera born of false assessment of the capacity of government and of the nature of development itself"¹⁴⁷ and has yielded no good results for people on the Copperbelt Province. In order to bring about authentic development we should not look to governments and foreign aid but to local communities, to people's own voluntary engagement in the process of bringing up their own well-being. Korten says that if

¹⁴⁵ Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* Chapter 2 Pg 52ff

¹⁴⁶ Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* Pg 58

¹⁴⁷ Korten, *Getting to the 21st Century*, Pg 95

transformation is to come, it must come as a consequence of voluntary action, an act of human commitment to collective survival driven by a vision that transcends the behaviours conditioned by existing institutions and culture. We must look to people's movements as the key to transformational change in the current era¹⁴⁸.

A point he further illustrates in his affirmation that development goes through four generations starting with (1) relief and welfare; through (2) small-scale self-reliant local development; and (3) sustainable systems development; to (4) the fourth generation, namely *People's Movement*¹⁴⁹. Korten exalts the strategies of the fourth generation as the pinnacle for transforming society since strategies used in this generation are aimed at energising "the critical mass of independent decentralised initiatives in support of a social vision;"¹⁵⁰ a vision that is owned by people in their organisations. People's organisations which may include self-reliant cooperatives, landless associations, irrigators' associations, burial associations, credit clubs, labour unions, trade associations and political interest groups must play the central role in evolving a people's agenda that is aimed at transforming their lives for the better and should be the focus of the business of development. The diversification of the Copperbelt's economy should embrace this view and appreciate that people centred policies should,

favour human well-being and environment sustainability over additions to economic output, domestic over foreign markets, local financing and ownership over foreign borrowing and investment, and economic self-reliance over dependence on the international trading systems. It welcomes participation in the global community but from a position of independent strength – not external powers.¹⁵¹

In other words it is people's free agency that should count in the development process where people are not being subjected to economic and social conditions that make them poorer instead of enabling them to thrive and creating their own lives as they see fit.

The Importance of Assets

In order to enable people to thrive and create their own lives as they see fit, we need to re-think of our approach to reality by refocusing our programmes on those that do not promote a dependency syndrome between poor needy people with lots of

¹⁴⁸ Korten, *Getting to the 21st Century*; Pg 70

¹⁴⁹ See Steve De Gruchy, "Of Agency, Assets and Appreciation" pg 30

¹⁵⁰ Korten, *Getting to the 21st Century*; Pg 127

¹⁵¹ Korten, *Getting to the 21st Century*; Pg 70

problems, and non-poor providers of services with lots of solutions.¹⁵² We must avoid what John McKnight and John Kretzmann call a 'needs-driven dead end' and embrace what they call capacity based approach to development. The needs driven approach to bringing about development puts an emphasis on deficiencies, gaps, problems that are being experienced by individuals and communities while capacity focused approach focuses on capacities, talents and skills that individuals and communities possess. Focusing on problems obscures people's own vision of what they are capable of and repeatedly inculcates a paralysis attitude of "what can we do if we are that bad". Unlike the needs driven approach the capacity driven approach starts with a simple truth that one cannot build a community on what people do not have¹⁵³. "Successful community development grows out of policies and activities based on the capacities, skills and assets of poor people and their neighbourhoods."¹⁵⁴

We have already argued in chapter two that people as children of God are actors and have many talents and as beings that live in the community they bring the talents and resources that they have to the service of that community. Since the dawn of humanity, communities have always found means and ways of surviving all sorts of conditions and elements of life. This survival struggle is dependent on what assets, skills and capacities that they have. It is these capacities and skills that they utilise to deal with the challenges that they come in contact with in their existential reality on earth.

The asset-based approach has an inbuilt empowering process because it focuses on what is, rather than on what is not, it brings out possibilities rather than impossibilities. It says people and communities are not full of problems and limitations but have talents, various assets, and a variety of capacities that if well mapped and synchronised can be deployed to sustain life. This reminds me of my village in the 1970 and early 1980s. When a young man came of age and decided to marry, it was a condition that he must have a house. In order to build that house all the young men and women in the village went to help him mould bricks, bake them and

¹⁵² De Gruchy Steve, "Of Agency, Assets and Appreciation" pg 30

¹⁵³ Approach proposed by John Kretzmann and John McKnight in their landmark book entitled *Building Communities from the Inside out: A path Toward Finding and Mobilising a Community's Assets*, (Centre for Urban Affairs and policy Research, Evanston, Illinois, 1993)

¹⁵⁴ Steve de Gruchy, "Why Agency? Why Assets? Why Appreciation?" in a Report of the Pietermaritzburg Colloquium by the African Religious Health Assets Programme, August 2003, Pg 33

build a house. It was done with such immense community participation utilising various people's skills. For example brick layers offered free services of constructing the kiln and the house, charcoal burners helped cut the trees for firewood, skilled individuals helped to thatch the house, carpenters put in doors and so on. The livelihood of that individual was improved and his time to marry would be such a joyous moment. The bringing of different skills together not only enabled the person that has been helped to live better but also responded to the intrinsic need of the human person to be appreciated and recognised and it authenticated intrinsic human desire to do something that enables humans to "become citizens and producers." Each individual that took part in the construction felt fulfilled.

Looking at humans as free agents demands mental adjustment, which will bring about a paradigm shift in the way we look at humanity. It demands an effort to have a broader view of how we perceive individuals whether they be lame, old, young, adult or poor. It drives home the fact that regardless of who one is, individuals must be free to participate in creating their destiny. From their perspective each individual has the potential to be part of an evolving system in the community that takes care of how humanity will progress. It is prudent to accept and develop a 'mindset' which endorses a view that people are agents, wherever they are, they are engaged in creating their own destiny using their skills, capacities and resources available to them at any given time. It is however evident that the community assets may not be enough to accomplish the sustenance of life. External help may therefore be needed. But outside help should come not as an imposition of lifestyles. The help will be "much more effective if local people are themselves investing and mobilising their own resources, and are able to set the agenda for outside help on the basis of their strengths rather than weaknesses."¹⁵⁵ It is then not the job of the development agent or task forces to resolve poor people's issues but it is up to the people themselves to take part in their self liberating struggle by acting and reflecting on their actions. The agency of the people requires that the people who face the daily experiences, the ones who carry the load must be given an opportunity to dialogically iron out solutions that are based on their assets, capabilities and evolution. Focusing on people as free agents, capable of dialogue and appreciating that people are more important than development

¹⁵⁵ De Gruchy, "Of Agency, Assets and Appreciation...", Pg 30

programmes, forms the fountain through which development policy founded on the vision of *shalom* spring out.

5.2 Meaning of Wealth: Environmental Perspectives.

Every human being places some demand on the earth to provide "at least the minimal supply of oxygen, water, energy, food and waste disposal required to sustain life."¹⁵⁶

The higher the demand the higher the risk such that the ecosystem will eventually fail to accommodate our demands. Globally, using industries to produce food, cars and other human required utensils, leads to the emission of gases and other toxic waste that is contributing to global warming and species depletion hence harming the environment in which we live.

The Copperbelt Province is no exception to environmental degradation brought about by the focus on wealth accumulation. In order to appreciate the environmental concerns of the Copperbelt let us highlight some of the environment problems that the Copperbelt is facing and then we look at what we should be doing in order to ensure that we live in a cleaner and healthier environment.¹⁵⁷

The Copperbelt, being a mining province, has suffered environment pollution largely from the mining activities. As copper ore is extracted from underground it is taken to the smelters to be processed. During the melting of copper there is a gas known as sulphur dioxide (SO₂) emitted. In 1997 the total sulphur emissions for Nkana mine smelter operations were about 50,000 tones while Mufulira mine emits an estimated 60,000 tonnes per year, which are high quantities. According to statutory instrument number 141 of the Republic of Zambia, which specifies licensing and emissions standards, the current standard for emitting SO₂ is 125 µg/m³, slightly higher than the World Health Organisation standard of 80 µg/m³. It has been found that the smelter in Mufulira and occasionally in Kitwe does exceed this limit. In Kankoyo (Mufulira) emissions have sometimes reached as high as 1,300 µg/m³ of smellable SO₂¹⁵⁸. The emissions of sulphur affect the environment in many ways. When it is raining and

¹⁵⁶ Korten, *Getting to the 21st Century*. Pg 164

¹⁵⁷ In developing the following paragraphs we rely on the paper I presented to the University of Natal in partial fulfilment for my honours degree in theology and development entitled *The Role of the Church in Environmental Protection on the Copperbelt Province*.

¹⁵⁸ Kormex International Ltd. *Environmental Assessment of Copperbelt Environment Project* (Kormex International Ltd, February 2002) pg 90

there is SO₂ in the atmosphere, normal rain turns into acid rain which eventually affects the growth of plants and may affect some insects. Besides, the gas affects humans as one of the irritants when it is inhaled; worse still in 1999 for example emission levels of sulphur dioxide "...were sufficient to cause mild respiratory symptoms, coughing, eye and throat irritation, chest tightness, increased frequency of respiratory illnesses among children and, for at least a portion of the year, excess mortality among the elderly with pulmonary diseases."¹⁵⁹

Besides air pollution caused by smelters, studies that have been conducted on the Kafue River, a major river that passes right through the province, have revealed that the waters of the river are among the most polluted in the world such that the "concentration of heavy metals near its source near Kitwe ...is within the range of lethal concentration for most fish, invertebrates and plants"¹⁶⁰. The phosphates levels around the Mazabuka area were found to be as high as 0.71 mg/l (more than twice the internationally recommended value of 0.3 mg/l).¹⁶¹ Due to discharge from the mines, the Kafue River shows highly elevated values of dissolved copper within mine areas and upstream. Quoting the report from ZCCM the Environmental Council of Zambia (ECZ) says, "Cattle losses have been reported due to consuming copper-rich sediment stirred up at the time of drinking near the Mwambashi River".¹⁶² The Kafue carries Total Suspended Solids of between 2 to 100mg/l with the highest being along the mining areas. Most towns of the Copperbelt rely on the Kafue river for both industrial and domestic usage. Its pollution is therefore injurious to many people and other creatures that live along it.

The liberalisation of the economy that came with the implementation of the Structural Adjustment Programme saw the withdrawal of the mining companies from waste collection and sewer systems management while the municipal councils were deprived of capacities to collect garbage and maintain sanitation around the Copperbelt.¹⁶³ Due to the poor management of the sanitation systems the Copperbelt

¹⁵⁹ Kormex International Ltd. *Environmental Assessment of Copperbelt Environment Project* (Kormex International Ltd, February 2002) Pg 99

¹⁶⁰ <http://www.geocities.com/kantipo/water.htm>

¹⁶¹ ECZ. *State of the Environment in Zambia* pg 114

¹⁶² ECZ. *State of the Environment in Zambia* pg 114

¹⁶³ The Municipal and City councils used to own houses from which they were making money by renting them out to people. In 1991 the MMD government under the presidency of Dr. Chiluba decided

Province accounts for the highest number of Cholera cases in the country. Ndola, the provincial capital of the Copperbelt, has had more than half the total cases of diarrhoea with severe dehydration (presumed to be Cholera). “In 1999, (66%, 1245 cases), in 2000 (59%, 288 cases) and the 1st quarter of 2001 (77% or 162 cases)”.¹⁶⁴ Although somewhere in Zambia there is an outbreak of cholera every year, the worst-case scenario so far was in 1992 when out of the 1,595 people who got cholera 1,178 died. Other waterborne diseases such as dysentery, which has affected over 20,000 people countrywide, are not uncommon. The burden of disease related to the environmental issues are also compounded by the fact that water collects in blocked sewer pipes, in mining tailing dams and exploration holes which lead to stagnation of water. Stagnant water eventually becomes the breeding ground for mosquitoes. Mosquitoes spread malaria which is one of the major killer diseases on the Copperbelt, affecting especially children and pregnant women. In 1999 for example “168 out of every 1000 persons in Kitwe contracted malaria: seven out of every 100 cases proved fatal. Out of the 81,000 people affected, 5,700 died – 7 percent of the town’s population”.¹⁶⁵

Let me conclude this brief look at the environment by highlighting the fact that currently Zambia is losing its forests due to charcoal burning, mining and agriculture. According to the Copperbelt Provincial Forestry Action Programme cited in the Kormex International Report, an estimated 129,660 hectares of land is being cleared on an annual basis. The loss of trees has various consequences on water sources, rainfall control and soil fertility. As the trees are cut, the possibilities of soil erosion are raised and as a result the nutrients of the soil for crop growth are washed away leaving poor soil fertility. In order to compensate for the loss of soil fertility, people resort to utilising chemical fertilisers to add nutrients to the soil. The use of fertilisers has been proved to be harmful to the soil. In the report by the Government of the Republic of Zambia on the implementation of the convention on biological diversity it

to sell the houses to sitting tenants. Other revenue sources such as registration and licensing of vehicles were removed from the city council to the Road Traffic department hence depriving the councils of the needed revenue to manage sanitation facilities. The Central Government has an obligation to finance the local government on an annual basis but unfortunately the money does not consistently come such that most city councils around the country have failed to pay their workers salaries on time a situation which leads to poor service delivery due to strikes and lack of motivation.

¹⁶⁴ Kormex International Ltd. *Environmental Assessment of Copperbelt* pg 83

¹⁶⁵ Patricia Feeney, *The Limitations of Corporate Social Responsibility on Zambia’s Copperbelt. Konkola Copper Mines (KCM) Environmental Management Plan* (UK Oxfam: 2001)

is acknowledged that "... acidification due to fertiliser may account for the loss of up to 15% of arable land in Northern Province"¹⁶⁶

This kind of environmental decline of the Copperbelt came about mainly due to three main causes. Firstly the growth-oriented policy of production which looked at wealth creation as emanating from copper mining only without paying attention to the long term impact of the waste that the mines would be generating. Profit was the driving force rather than the well-being of nature and the people that lived around and near the mining facilities. Secondly there is a lack of viable earth-friendly technologies that can facilitate the disposal of industrial and domestic waste and that can enhance the proper use of the forestry and land resources by local people. Thirdly population increase. Due to rural urban migration and increased child birth, the Copperbelt is one of the most populated provinces of Zambia. As the number of people increased so did their demand on the resources required to survive.

In order to develop a programme that is environmentally friendly it is worthwhile to heed the advice of David Korten which I reproduce here below with modifications.

a) **Reduce Consumption and change of Life Styles:** The people who believe in over consumption of natural resources through incessant production must reduce the per capita demands their lifestyles place on the environment. In part this can be accomplished through economic incentives that encourage the application of more environmentally sound technologies. In part it may require changes in lifestyles and definition of the good life, with less emphasis on the material and greater emphasis on the social, intellectual and spiritual quality of life.¹⁶⁷ Wealth should be understood as means through which a reasonable life that is worth living is created. Reasonable life may include "...to be adequately nourished, to be comfortably clothed, to avoid escapable morbidity and preventable mortality, to lead a life without shame, to be able to visit and entertain one's friends, to keep track of what is going on and what others are talking about"¹⁶⁸ in other words to live as simply as possible. We cannot over consume the natural resources without regard for the continuity and sustainability of non-human creatures on which we

¹⁶⁶ Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources "*Preliminary First Draft National Report on the Implementation of the Convention on Biological Diversity*" (Lusaka, 1997)

¹⁶⁷ David Korten *Getting to the 21st Century*, pg 165

¹⁶⁸ Sen, *Development as Freedom* pg 18

all depend. As we said in chapter two, in nature everything else depends on everything else. We will end up destroying human life by destroying nature.

- b) **Developing sound technologies:** The local people should be assisted in mastering and applying environmentally sound technologies as the basis for future improvements in their well-being. Improvements in their well-being based on replicating the environmentally unsound technologies of the overconsumers would be both wasteful and self-destructive. In the end we may expect that the local people may have a great deal to teach the people that produce goods regarding environmentally appropriate technologies and the values of a less materialistic lifestyle.
- c) **Control Population growth:** although I have no space here to debate the population issue, I would like to acknowledge the complexity of taking a one sided approach to the question of population control in the *Zambian* context. Traditionally having many children is a sign of wealth. This is demonstrated in various proverbs in many *Zambian* languages. In *Bemba* and *Tonga* for example (*Tonga* and *Bemba* are some of the largest tribes in *Zambia*) there is a proverb which says that “*ubukulu bwa nkoko masako*” which means the respect and wealth of a family is in having many children. Indeed children on the *Copperbelt* are riches. For every child that is born “there may be one more mouth to feed now but two more hands to work in the fields later; one more child may have to be taken care of now but this means one more child will be there to take care of parents in their old age.”¹⁶⁹ From that perspective, one is justified to conclude that to ask poor families to have fewer children without addressing their poverty is to ask them to be poorer.¹⁷⁰ Notwithstanding such an argument, we ought however to realise and appreciate that viewing wealth in terms of population growth will end up putting pressure on the natural resources. It will also cause families to fail to provide the basic needs for their households a situation that will lead to malnutrition and increased child mortality. It is therefore prudent that population growth is “brought under control as rapidly as possible using the broadest range of

¹⁶⁹ Peter Henriot, “The Challenge of Poverty Eradication in Africa and its Relationship to Population and Development: The *Zambian* Case Study” at <http://www.jctr.org.zm/publications.htm> (June 2003)

¹⁷⁰ Peter Henriot, “The Challenge of Poverty Eradication...”

incentives, educational approaches and technologies consistent with basic principles of free choice.”¹⁷¹

We have already established in chapter two that creation in itself has value that we humans should be respecting and cherishing in order to sustain our lives properly. Development policy on the diversification of the Copperbelt must take into account the welfare of the non human creatures, it must protect the environment. Living within our means here means we should not assume that the resources on the Copperbelt are infinite and we can do whatever we want to, in order to respond to our needs. We cannot engage in production methodologies that simply ignore disposal systems of the waste that we will be creating in the process. In other words our development programme must be environmentally friendly based on ‘spaceship earth,’ an analogy used by David Korten. Living on earth is like being on a spaceship where there are no life boats. When something that is going on is wrong, when resources are getting depleted, the passengers of the spaceship can not simply jump out of it and look for another boat to keep living. On the contrary the passengers of the spaceship all perish. The design of the programmes relating to earth should therefore be cautious about the depleting resources and the ability of the earth to carry the demands of every individual on it. The well-being of the people of the Copperbelt partly depends on the well-being of the environment in which they live. This should be taken seriously in the diversification of the Copperbelt’s economy.

5.3 Equity Led Growth: the dimension of access-justice in development

There is no doubt in my mind that economic growth, understood as capability provision for people to create a life that grants their dignity, is important for the well-being of people. The question is on what should it be based? The dominant paradigm of bringing about economic growth puts an emphasis on the market and export led growth with an underlying assumption that once wealth is accumulated it will then be distributed afterwards to benefit the rest of the people. What needed to be fixed were the methodologies of how to distribute such wealth. Economic and social justice was perceived henceforth from the distribution perspective. Distributive justice holds that “people should be rewarded according to merit, according to what they deserve on the

¹⁷¹ Korten, *Getting to the 21st Century*. Pg 165 & 166

basis of what they have earned.”¹⁷² We have however pointed out that such a view has not turned life round for the majority of the poor people in the world including those of the Copperbelt Province. The failure has mainly been due to the fact that although it is true that people ought to reap the fruits of their labour, life as we know it is such that there are some who

sow and do not reap, while others who have not sown, do reap. Furthermore, not all can sow or reap because not all have access to means for producing a livelihood for themselves. That is, what we consider merit is not equally distributed. Some people have a better chance to gain the goods society has to offer than others.¹⁷³

Such situations are unjust and favour only sections of wealthy people leaving the poor disadvantaged. The justice that we need is access-justice, which will precede distributive justice. Access-justice grants all people an equal basis for accessing basic means of production; means of making their lives worth living instead of them waiting to receive from the wealth that has been created as the primary strategy. Such a justice system may be found in what David Korten calls equity led growth.

Equity led growth “calls for starting with equity by breaking down the structures of dualism, and thus making equity the foundation of a broadly-based integrated or uni-modal growth.”¹⁷⁴ In other words the starting point for bringing about growth is granting equal access to the means of production to people by implementing programmes that enable them to participate in production. This calls for effective reforms relating to fundamental factors that contribute to production such as education, land, rural infrastructure and agricultural intensification and diversification.

For such a process to occur there is need to reorient our planning and priority levels. Lessons for setting new priorities for bringing up growth without disastrous consequences on communities have been proved in some Asian countries. David Korten, Amartya Sen and Klaus Nürnberger agree that the so called tiger economies of Asia, namely Hong Kong, Singapore, Taiwan, South Korea and Japan embraced the idea of equity first before they moved into market growth. These countries’

¹⁷² Yoder, *Shalom*. Pg 36

¹⁷³ Yoder, *Shalom*, Pg 36

¹⁷⁴ Korten, *Getting to the 21st Century*, Pg 73

priorities in the initial stages focused on strong integrated domestic economies with institutional foundations that helped to achieve broadly-based participation in the growth process. They embarked on radical land reform which resulted in agricultural sectors that consisted predominantly or exclusively of small farms. Instead of overlooking rural people and depriving them of land, these Asian countries increased land among members of the rural populations enabling them to grow more crops than usual. Besides they went on to strengthen rural and local communities' leadership through which literacy and numeracy programmes were conducted. The increased access of the rural people to the means of production enabled the production of sufficient raw materials that then could be supplied to budding industries in the urban centres creating an opportunity for exporting goods and services.¹⁷⁵ It has become very clear that in the case of Taiwan for example the country did not apply classical free enterprise capitalism in order to have a sound economy instead,

The economy was carefully and pragmatically guided by a strong government. ...Export-orientated industrialisation [was not] the only factor which led to Taiwan's success. Its industrial development followed on a prior spate of agricultural development which placed the bulk of the population on a sound economic basis. A successful programme of land reform was applied, which initiated a tradition of egalitarian policies.¹⁷⁶

Diversifying the economy on the Copperbelt will certainly require access justice which will enable local authorities, local farmers and small scale entrepreneurs to participate in the economy by granting them access to the basics of production. A careful scrutiny of the Zambian education system, central government behaviour to economic theory and people's participation in their own development should be scrutinised and given the impetus it requires to enable people become active citizens and producers.

5.4 Policy Recommendations

We have laboured in this thesis to provide a vision for the diversification of the copperbelt's economy. We have said that the development vision for the Copperbelt should be based on a programme that upholds the people as entities of praxis, respects

¹⁷⁵ See Korten, *Getting to Twenty First Century*, Pg 74 – 75, Sen, *Development as Freedom*, Pg 150 and Klaus Nürnberger, *Prosperity, Poverty and Pollution*, Pgs 322ff

¹⁷⁶ Klaus Nürnberger, *Prosperity, Poverty and Pollution*, Pg 323

creation as a phenomenon with intrinsic value and builds on social justice. In order to bring about the reality of *shalom*, let me briefly reflect on some of the practical policy considerations founded on *shalom* that can bring about change in the lives of people on the Copperbelt. Let me start by saying I am aware of a range of different policies that have been proposed in the past such as creating Tax Free Zones on the Copperbelt to stimulate investment, giving tax rebates to foreign investors in order to boost investor confidence and lowering interest rates to enable people to borrow money from financial institutions. In my view an introspective looking that focuses on what can be done from the Copperbelt region itself can complement these policies. Here below are some of the other three that can be considered.

5.4.1 Land and Agriculture on the Copperbelt: It is not the intention of this paper to go into details on the land issues pertaining to Zambia and the complexity of the land reform programmes that have taken place since the colonial times. Suffice it to mention here however that, historically and presently, land is divided into two distinct categories namely State Land and customary land.¹⁷⁷ In spite of this distinction according to the Land Act No: 27 of 1995 all land is vested in the president. (I must mention here that there is currently a land consultation process aimed at amending Land Act 27). The president, through the commissioner of lands has the powers to grant land to anyone who wishes to own land and can give lease tenure of up to 99 years with almost automatic possibilities for renewals. Customary land is to be distributed by the Chiefs who are the custodians of the traditional land. However when someone has been allocated land by the chief they can convert it to a lease thereby turning that land into state land alienating the chief's jurisdiction.

On the Copperbelt, huge tracts of land are owned by the mining companies, the forestry department and city councils.¹⁷⁸ With the increase in retrenchments and loss of jobs due to company closures many people on the Copperbelt have decided to turn to agriculture as a means of livelihood but they feel insecure to develop certain land areas because they do not own that land and they are constantly being reminded of being squatters and encroachers on someone else's land. Although research shows

¹⁷⁷ For further reading on the Land Reform and Land issues in Zambia confer Adams Martin "Land Tenure Policy and Practice: Issues relating to the Development of the Agricultural Sector" Report to DFID, Oxford, Jan 2003

¹⁷⁸ www.oxfam.org/livelihoods/fromcoppertocultivation.htm

that there is no direct causal link between land ownership and increased agricultural output,¹⁷⁹ it is however inevitable that if the Copperbelt will have to become an agricultural region, more land must be de-gazetted and be made available to the people that can use it for growing food and earning a living out of it.

The poor, especially women and youth who are the heads of households, must be given special consideration for special land usage conditions. Although it is stated in the policy that 30% of Zambian land is reserved to women,¹⁸⁰ it is however unclear and very unrealistic as to how such a policy can be implemented. More practical measures such as working with households and enabling them access land either through customary systems or lease tenure must be developed and accelerated.

In the past the promotion of agriculture has focused on large scale agriculture that will impact on the market. But the reality in Zambia is that the majority of the farmers are peasant farmers who make a living out of growing food. In that sense agricultural development must not ignore the peasants for the sake of export oriented agriculture. Efforts to put peasant farmers first have been tried before but were stopped even before they could make a significant contribution. In the early 1980s the Ministry of Agriculture Food and Fisheries (MAFF) started a programme called Adaptive Research. They created teams they called Adaptive Research Teams that were going to work with rural-peasant farmers at district level in order to understand agriculture from the peasants' perspective so that they could design responses that were appropriate for the peasant farmers. It is unfortunate that the Ministry of Agriculture stopped that programme because "links with other research teams in MAFF were also weakened by suspicion and fear that it was diverting resources from more "orthodox" agricultural research. The result has been that most public sector agriculture research has reverted to being oriented primarily towards the demands of richer and more market oriented farmers."¹⁸¹ It is high time such programmes were brought back to help the peasant farmers on the Copperbelt have access to modern technologies and methodologies of producing food in an environmentally sustainable way. In recent years some people that have become peasant farmers on the Copperbelt did not start

¹⁷⁹ Adams Martin, "Land Tenure Policy and Practice: Issues relating to the Development of the Agricultural Sector" Report for DFID Oxford, Jan 2003, Pg 15

¹⁸⁰ Martin "Land Tenure Policy and Practice..." Pg 16

¹⁸¹ Copestake, *Agricultural Services Reform in Southern Africa*, Pg 28

off their lives as farmers. So the process of helping them become farmers must start with focused appropriate programmes that are aimed at helping people to understand agriculture. Let it not be just for the elite commercial farmers but for all, which is what justice demands, which is the way of *shalom*.

5.4.2 Copperbelt Development Fund

One policy idea that we can seriously reflect on in order to accelerate the well-being of our people on the Copperbelt springs from the fact that the natural resources of a nation belong to the people of that nation and that the people of that nation must benefit from its proceeds. On the Copperbelt, mineral wealth that the region enjoys must be managed in such a manner that some of the proceeds coming out of the mining industry find its way to helping the people of the Copperbelt region to live better lives. In order to accelerate the diversification programme and to raise resources for funding agricultural, tourism and manufacturing activities, I propose that investors in the Copperbelt's mining industry pay a special tax that will not go to central government but to the Provincial Development Committee. The provincial development committee can develop the fund into a revolving fund partly providing grants, and partly lending out money to small and medium scale businesses to boost the development programme of the country. In complementing the provincial efforts to develop itself, central government can then play a significant role in ensuring that all Copperbelt based rural infrastructure is well looked after. Pertinent to the process are the rural areas' feeder roads. As agriculture expands people will need access to the market hence the usage of roads become necessary. With better roads come better transportation systems and access to further resources located in rural areas.

5.4.3 Development of Eco-tourism

In Zambia tourism has the potential of significantly contributing to the economy of the country. According to the Minister of Finance Mr. Ngandu Magande,

the tourism sector continued to register positive growth in 2003. Preliminary data show that the number of tourist arrivals increased from 565,081 in 2002 to 577,526, representing a 2.2 percent increase. Average room occupancy rates rose to 53,2 percent from 50.4 percent, while the bed occupancy rate rose to

44.1 percent from 43.3 percent. Similarly, the level of employment also rose by 9.4 percent to 16,548 in 2003¹⁸².

It is clear therefore that tourism is a significant sector of the Zambian economy. Unfortunately in the past, tourism has focused mainly on foreign tourists and on designated national and popular traditional dances which are in other parts of the country other than the Copperbelt. In order to accelerate the diversification programme on the Copperbelt there is a need to focus on financing ecotourism. Ecotourism which is defined as “responsible travel to natural areas that conserves the environment and improves the well-being of local people,”¹⁸³ should be viewed not only in its economic terms but also by the value it adds both to people and the environment that is being visited. As people travel they tend to exert pressure on the areas they are visiting by various actions such as disposing of plastic packaging and illegal trading in exotic species of plants and animals. The financing of tourism should ensure that waste management and laws to protect various species are well put in place.

On the Copperbelt there are various sites that could be developed into popular local and foreign tourist’s destinations. Some of the possible areas that can be developed that have not yet been fully developed on the Copperbelt as tourist destinations include

a) Chimfunshi Chimpanzee Sanctuary: This is a sanctuary for chimpanzees at a farm owned by David and Sheila Siddle. It has become a renown rehabilitation centre for chimpanzees brought from all over the world. Currently Chimfunshi is “home to over fifty chimpanzees housed in two enclosures - one walled and the other solar power electric fencing - with cages for the new introductions.” Unfortunately Chimfunshi does not cater for tourists just yet, although accommodation is available for paying guests who are genuinely interested in chimpanzees.¹⁸⁴

b) Chembe Bird Sanctuary: Situated near Kalulushi town the Chembe was declared a bird sanctuary in 1973 and in 1982 it was accorded the same protection as a national

¹⁸² Ngandu Magande quoted by Zambia Investment Centre at http://www.zic.org.zm/IPA_Information.asp?hdnGroupID=3&hdnLevelID=6

¹⁸³ <http://www.ecotourism.org/index2.php?what-is-ecotourism.htm>

¹⁸⁴ <http://www.chimfunshi.org.za>

park. Out of the “740 listed birds of Zambia, 301 species have been reliably reported at Chembe” and can be seen in the morning and evening.

c) Lake Chilengwa: “lying about sixteen kilometres southeast of Ndola is one of two sunken lakes found on the Copperbelt. The other being the 100 meter deep Lake Kashiba, further south on the Kapiri Mposhi road. Both lakes have local cultural significance. The lakes are formed by the collapse of surface rock into the underlying limestone. Lake Kashiba offers basic camping facilities, safe swimming and good birdwatching.”¹⁸⁵

d) Dag Hammarskjöld Memorial: situated at ten kilometres along the Ndola/Kitwe road the site commemorates where the United Nations Secretary General, Dag Hammarskjöld died in a plane crash during the Katanga crisis in the then Zaire in 1961. The site is a good destination for people who would like to be inspired by one of the world’s peace makers. There is also potential to develop cultural and agricultural tourism if the people who live around the crash site can be organised to develop tourist villages that could be sharing the cultures and traditions of the local people .

e) Makwera Falls and Lake: situated about 9 kilometres off the Kitwe-Ndola dual carriageway, the lake is a centre for fish farming. “The falls are small but quite picturesque as they tumble from a small river over a wider rocky outcrop before settling in a shimmering pool on the rock basement”¹⁸⁶.

Besides these natural sites, the Copperbelt is also divided into urban and rural areas. It is worthwhile exploring how village life and certain urban areas could be turned into tourist attractions that would be giving the visitors insight into Zambian life, culture and traditions. It is worth mentioning that as we invest in tourism, culture and tradition should be viewed beyond simply traditional dancing. Tourism that will have an insight into people’s culture on the Copperbelt can also explore various traditional ways of living such as food, housing, family life and history.

¹⁸⁵ <http://www.zambiatourism.com/travel/cities/copperbe.htm>

¹⁸⁶ <http://www.zambiatourism.com/travel/cities/copperbe.htm>

Summary

In this chapter we have focused on evolving approaches and mindsets that are based on *shalom* which development practitioners and policy planners should have in order to develop systems that are aimed at sustaining people's lives. We have said that to be human entails being free to engage in developing one's own destiny. What is called development is all about augmenting people's freedoms. As free beings people communicate their ideas and actions which builds up culture and enables people to be involved in what they think is worth doing as a community. Development action should therefore embrace dialogue. The education system which is key to development should not be a one way stream of the teacher depositing ideas in students but should be dialogical so that people can encounter reality together, name it and shape it for their common good. Sustaining life entails looking at the community from the asset based perspective which enables communities to utilise what they have rather than what they do not have. The process of bringing about desirable lives should therefore be focusing on the identification and utilisation of assets by the local people themselves.

We further said that bringing about authentic development based on the vision of *Shalom* would require redefining the meaning of wealth. We said that looking at wealth as something that ought to be accumulated regardless of the means of how to do it is detrimental to the environment. We demonstrated that the perception of wealth in capitalistic terms, the increase of population on the Copperbelt and lack of appropriate technology have harmed the environment on the Copperbelt Province. It is therefore important that people reduce on consumption, control the birth rate and develop environmentally friendly technologies to respond to their needs.

In the chapter we also asserted that economic growth understood from the perspective of increasing people's capabilities to develop themselves is necessary. We said such growth, however, should not come through the market driven export oriented economic vision but should be based on equity. We said that instead of looking at justice from the distributive perspective first we should start with access-justice that gives every individual an opportunity to access the fundamental means of production in order to enable them participate fully in the development process. We have given examples from the so called Asian tiger economies to illustrate this point.

In winding up the chapter we proposed three policy considerations that are consistent with the vision of *Shalom* namely Land and Agriculture, Copperbelt Development Fund and promotion of ecotourism. Effective land distribution and support to local peasant farmers should be implemented as a matter of policy if the majority of the people on the Copperbelt that are taking to farming are to live meaningful lives in economic terms. Creating a development fund will make the people of the Copperbelt decide on which areas they ought to invest in, in order to accelerate their own development. The idea of central government deciding on budgets that should go to the Copperbelt is not only wrong but it also limits people's own creativity to see the possibilities that exist which they can actually fund.

Tourism is an important sector. However its promotion and financing should be based on ecological considerations so that visitors to the interesting sites of the Copperbelt contribute to the protection of flora and fauna and augment the value of culture that they are visiting.

In this chapter we have demonstrated that *Shalom* can be translated into a social economic agenda consistent with the current development debate. Focusing on people as the key in the development process, protecting the environment and ensuring justice are not just desirable elements but they are practical realities that can and should be translated into policy in order that poverty can be fought from the inside of the Copperbelt Province itself.

Chapter Six

Summary and Conclusion

In this thesis we have provided a theological vision for the diversification of the Copperbelt's economy. In the thesis we have argued that the aim for people's action in bringing about development is what from the Christian perspective we call *Shalom*. We said that *Shalom* is an authentic vision for the diversification programme because in the *Zambian constitution* it is clear that *Zambia* is a Christian nation and the majority of the *Zambian people* are Christians.

In chapter two, we began building the vision of the diversification programme by refuting the way development has been practiced in the past years. We said that the dominant way of looking at development from the unregulated market driven growth point of view was not only erroneous but detrimental to the environment and people. We therefore proposed that the best way to bring about development is by focusing on *Shalom*. We understand *Shalom* as being comprehensive and all encompassing focusing on the well-being of both people and nature. We said that in order for *Shalom* to take root there is need to look at the three fundamental elements namely

- **The integrity of creation:** creation is an initiative of God himself. It has intrinsic value which should be respected. We emphasised the point that humans are part and parcel of creation given the mandate to look after creation and not to rape and destroy it.
- **The importance of People:** *Shalom* entails respect for the human person as a child of God. We asserted that humans born free as individuals have their identity and their *being* enshrined in God from whom they derive their humanity and their agency. Created by God people are mandated to be actors, subjects in creation and not objects to be manipulated for the ends of others. Though humans are individuals, their well-being is not in their individuality it is in their being part of the community. As beings of togetherness humans communicate and share ideas that should be respected in order to bring about authentic existence.

- **Justice:** through a brief exploration of the biblical perspectives of justice we said that God and people never are pleased with acts of injustice. Oppressive situations hinder people's ability to flourish as human beings. We learnt that both the prophets and Jesus condemned injustices in whatever form they came. God sides with the poor in order to emphasise the point that wealth should be seen as a means through which humanity should develop and not as an end in itself. Looking at wealth as end leads to greed and oppressive actions on the poor by the wealthy. Justice is therefore integral to *shalom*.

These three elements of *shalom* should not be looked at in isolation. They have to be taken in combination if we need to bring about lives that are worthy living.

In chapter three we turned our attention to analysing the economy of the Copperbelt Province from the historical perspective. We highlighted three distinct economic eras namely the colonial period, state socialism and free market capitalism periods. We concluded that the economy in these periods has not brought about the complete well being of the people on the Copperbelt. We have also concluded that dependency on copper is not sustainable and cannot bring about significant change on the Copperbelt. It is therefore important that the economy is diversified in order that other possibilities can be identified that can contribute to the well being of society as a whole.

In the fourth chapter we turned our attention to the current economic diversification programme and looked at its strengths and weaknesses. We said that unlike the Structural Adjustment Programme and poverty reduction strategy papers which were conditionalities for foreign aid assistance, the economic diversification programme has the potential of being a Zambian people's own driven programme in the sense that the people of Zambia themselves are feeling the brunt of the policy experimentation that has occurred in the past with no significant change in sight. We also said the economic diversification programme brings with it an opportunity to explore how other natural resources that the Copperbelt region and the country as a whole could be used in order to sustain life.

On the other hand we also identified weaknesses in the programme. These weaknesses include the fact that the way the programme is being run is too elitist in nature. Information is not flowing between people that are at the core of the

programme and the ordinary citizens, a fact that is hindering people's possibility to participate in it. We also looked at the absence of a clear implementation structure of the recommendations that will be made in due course. We concluded that the best way to implement a programme that is aimed at improving people's lives is to ensure that local implementation mechanisms such as the district and community development committees are involved directly in both the design and implementation of such programmes. The current diversification programme has not noticed and has not involved the development coordinating committees in the process of brainstorming and implementing solutions to the poverty situation that the people of the Copperbelt find themselves in.

The other weakness we reflected on was the focus on research that may not bring about practical and implementable programmes. We said that there should be conscious balance between the researchers' needs and the people's needs. Researching without people's participation and for its own sake may not bring about the desired results. We highlighted the fact that the research agenda should use modern methodologies such as Participatory Learning and Action and Appreciative Inquiry which takes into account local people's knowledge and wisdom.

We also looked at the fact that the diversification programme seems to have ignored integrating the fight against HIV/AIDS in its overall design. We said the process of diversifying the economy should take into account the prevention and impact mitigation of HIV/AIDS amongst individuals and communities on the Copperbelt. The deaths occasioned by AIDS are detrimental to all development efforts that can be made and therefore its prevention and impact mitigation mechanisms must be an integral part of the programme.

In the fifth chapter we turned our attention to evolving approaches and mindsets that the policy makers and the development practitioners must have in order to sustain life on the Copperbelt. In other words we have translated the theory of *Shalom*, the church's agenda, into a socio-economic agenda for the people. In the chapter we reflected on three necessary mindsets namely people as free agents, understanding of wealth from an environmental perspective and equity led growth.

Regarding the issue of people as free agents we emphasised that there is need to refute the underlying neglect for the poor as non-actors or as people that need to just receive from the rich. Instead of looking at people as being divided in two those that act and those that are passive or in other words the non-poor and the poor we must focus on appreciating that all humans whether classified as poor or non poor are agents of their own development. We pointed out that there is a need to increase people freedom to participate so that they can become free agents. The process of development should therefore be aimed at augmenting individual and communal freedoms that enable people to make choices to create a life they have reason to value. We stressed that the instrumental freedoms namely, political freedom, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantees and protective security are essential and should be upheld to enable people themselves to be free agents of their own development. To be free, facilitates dialogue amongst people. We said that dialogue is an existential necessity through which people share their ideas and thoughts. Through dialogue people name the world and shape it. Hence the process of providing education should not be based on monologue where the teacher is depositing ideas in the students but rather where the teacher and the student are dialoguing to bring to enhance each other's knowledge. Such an act authenticates the appreciation of the other as a person with whom to interact and live with in the community.

Relating to the issue of agency, we also affirmed that we cannot develop communities from resources that they do not have. We said that to develop, communities should look at their assets and find ways and means of utilising such assets in order to better their lives. We refuted a development process that focuses on problems and deficiencies of the community which we referred to as 'needs driven dead end' and advocated for a paradigm shift to start looking asset based approaches whose main aim to make the community identify and deploy the capacities, skills and assets that they poses in their communities.

On the issue of understanding wealth from an environmental perspective we highlighted the fact that the satisfaction of human needs causes environment destruction. We claimed that the Copperbelt's bleak environmental situation is due to three main causes, namely, the mining operations that focused on profit rather than environmental impact mitigation programmes, the increase of population due to rural

urban migration and child birth, and inadequate appropriate technology for the resource deprived communities. We therefore proposed that in order for *Shalom* to take hold on the Copperbelt there is need to redefine our vision of wealth by introducing programmes that are aimed at reducing over-consumption, population growth and programmes that can introduce technologies that are environmentally friendly.

The other important consideration for developing a people's agenda is what we called equity led growth – the dimension of access-justice in development. We said that based on the market driven economic growth, justice is viewed primarily from equal distribution of incomes. We said that although distributive justice has its place in the development process, it should come second to access-justice which we said is focused on ensuring that people have access to the fundamental factors of production such as education, land, seed and so on. We gave examples from the Asian tiger economies where it has been learnt that economic growth should start with equity first. People must be enabled to make choices that guarantee their participation in the development process before they can start participating in economic growth. Failing to enable people access the fundamental means of production will always lead to the rich getting richer and the poor getting poorer.

At the end of chapter five we proposed three policy issues that can be translated into action in order to make life better for the people on the Copperbelt. We said that there is need to give land and focus on helping peasant farmers grow more food for both household food security and selling. The other policy we have proposed is to evolve a Copperbelt development fund. This policy idea is based on the fact that natural resources found on the Copperbelt belong to the people of the Copperbelt and therefore the proceeds from such resources should benefit the people who live on the Copperbelt. We said that a special tax to all the companies exploiting Copperbelt resources be introduced which will not go to central government but to the provincial development committee which will create a revolving fund for investing in further production activities on the Copperbelt. Finally we looked at the promotion of ecotourism in various sites around the Copperbelt Province.

In drawing the thesis to a conclusion I must say that the process of sustaining life through the diversification of the copperbelt's economy is a long term and complex process which will require everyone's participation. The focus should be on *shalom* which means the well-being of people and nature. There is need in the development process to develop programmes that appreciate people as agents of their own development, programmes that respect the environment as a phenomenon with intrinsic value and programmes that foster social justice.

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