

The case of
Lusaka, Zambia

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INTRODUCTION

Lusaka is the capital city of Zambia, a country in the Central African Plateau with an average altitude of 1,000 to 1,400 m above sea level. Zambia is generally considered to be a Southern African country, because of its strong social and economic ties with the countries in the Southern African sub-continent rather than those in Central and Eastern Africa. Zambia lies between latitudes 100° and 180° south and 220° and 330° east. It is landlocked and shares borders with eight neighbouring countries. Zambia has a land area of 752,614 km² and a population of just over 10 million (UNDP 2001).

This city report on slums and poverty in the city of Lusaka is divided into three main sections. The first section provides a physical, demographic and socio-economic background to the city. It also analyses the history, economy and governance of the city. The second part of the report analyses the slums found in the city and the welfare of the residents of the city in general and those of the slums in particular, and then goes on to examine the socio-economic characteristics and profiles of the residents of Lusaka's slums. The third part of the report discusses the development of policy initiatives aimed at improving conditions in the Lusaka slum areas. Some conclusions presented at the end of the report focus on the prospects for improved environmental conditions in the slums and improved living conditions for the residents of the slums of Lusaka.

The paper draws on available secondary data and on the personal experience of the author arising from more than twelve years of active involvement in planning, promotion and evaluation of living conditions and projects and programmes designed to improve the environmental and socio-economic conditions of slums in Zambia. Although the concept of slums adopted by the United Nations 2003 Global Report on Human Settlements is broad and encompasses various settlement types ranging from inner-city deteriorated tenements to squatter and illegal sub-divisions, the settlements that may be described as slums in the Zambian context are identified or defined within this approach. Before identifying or defining urban settlements that might be described as slums in Zambia, however, a background or urban context is essential. The report therefore provides Zambia's urban context, before analysing the history of Lusaka and the emergence of its slums.

A. THE URBAN CONTEXT CONTEXT IN ZAMBIA AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE CITY OF LUSAKA

The development of Zambia's urban centres can only be traced back as far as the annexation of the territory

now called Zambia by the British South African Company (BSAC) between 1899 and 1900. Before that most of the territory was under the control of different African Kingdoms. The people throughout the territory, however, lived in fear of the so-called slave traders, who attacked communities, enslaved their captives and sent them to the east or west coasts through present day Tanzania, Mozambique and Angola respectively for onward shipment to the Middle East, Western Europe and South America as slaves. Thus, at the time when Zambia was brought under European colonial rule, there were no major urban centres, perhaps because activities of the slave raiders had destroyed stable communities and their economies. Zambian cities and towns thus date back only to the early 1930s, while the country's urbanisation has largely resulted from the copper mining industry, which transformed the economy from a stagnant one based on labour migration to the South African and Southern Rhodesian mines and farms in the early years of colonial rule to a vibrant economy based on a growing mining industry in the post second world war period. However, Zambia's mining industry, which has been the backbone of the national economy began to stagnate and decline in the mid-1970s. The situation worsened in the 1980s due to low copper prices, declining production and a rising debt burden. The pace of urbanisation in Zambia has, however, generally mirrored the economic trends in the dominant copper mining industry (Gann 1964; Hall 1965).

Most of the cities and towns in Zambia emerged in two zones. Firstly, along the railway line that was constructed for the purpose of connecting the rich copper mines in the Katanga region of the then Belgian Congo to the South African ports. Secondly on the Copperbelt, where towns and cities emerged around the copper mines. Other towns also emerged around administrative centres that were established for administering the large sparsely populated territory. The urban population in Zambia is, however, concentrated in the cities and towns of the Copperbelt. The towns around the copper mines grew most rapidly between 1945 and the immediate post independence period. Lusaka, however, has been the fastest growing city in the post independence period. This can be attributed to its role as the administrative centre of a newly independent country whose leaders were keen to play a role in international affairs. As a result, Lusaka had to provide facilities to hold international conferences, such as the summit for the head states of the Non-Aligned Movement held in Lusaka in 1970, followed by the Commonwealth Heads of State summit in 1979.

Lusaka started as a railway siding in 1905, when the railway line that was constructed primarily to transport copper from Katanga Province in the present day Democratic Republic of Congo to the seaports of South Africa reached Lusaka. Within a few years, however, Lusaka attracted a number of white settler farmers

mostly of Afrikaner origins. The BSAC which was administering the territory at the time on the basis of a royal charter obtained from the British monarchy was compelled to grant the growing white population around Lusaka with the right to manage their local affairs. An elected Village Management Board was thus established in 1913 with the mandate of managing the affairs of an emerging service centre. The original size of Lusaka, which was under the jurisdiction of the Village Management Board was a narrow strip of land along the railway line. It was 5 km in length and 1.5 km wide with the railway being the centre of the area under the jurisdiction of the Lusaka Village Management Board (Williams, 1984). The city has since been extended to 360 km², while a recently completed integrated development plan proposes to extend the city boundary beyond this to bring the Lusaka International Airport and a substantial amount of rural land within the city boundary. The proposed extension if approved will bring a substantial amount of land within the city boundary and probably help resolve the current shortages of land for burial sites and disposal of the city's solid waste.

The rapid growth of Lusaka, however, began in earnest in 1931, when it was designated as the new capital or principal administrative centre of Northern Rhodesia, as Zambia was then called. Its selection as the new capital was due to its central location on the main north-south axis of the railway line, which was expected to become the centre of development. The central location of Lusaka was also evident from being the intersection of the main roads to the north and south, and east and west. Lusaka was also within easy reach of the Copperbelt, the country's economic heartland. Furthermore, unlike other equally central locations, Lusaka had substantial underground water resources in its limestone/dolomite aquifers, which could provide the city with adequate water throughout the year. Lusaka is thus a planned city. Its original plan was made by Professor Adshead, who conceived the city of Lusaka as an administrative centre only. The original plan did not therefore provide for other economic activities other than government administration, domestic and menial services. Industrial activities and a large population of Africans were in particular not anticipated to form part of the city of Lusaka (Collins 1969; Williams 1984).

Industrial activities, however, became part of the Lusaka Development plan during its implementation. The government planner responsible for implementation of the plan, J. T. Bowling modified the original plan and provided for light and heavy industrial areas. The area between Church Road, the railway line and the Great East Roads was, for example, zoned for light industrial activities, while heavy industrial activities were allocated the immediate western side of the shopping area, which had emerged to the west of the railway line. The shopping area, on the other hand, was designated to move to the hilly and more attractive, well-drained land on the

Ridgeway, south-east of the railway line.

The principal planners of Lusaka never intended it to be a large city. Its initial total area was only 2.6 km². It was, however, increased to 18 km² in 1931, then 36, and 139 and 360 km² in 1961, 1969 and 1970 respectively (Collins 1969; Pasteur 1979). The Integrated Development Plan for the city completed in 2000 has also proposed extension of the city boundary to bring the Lusaka International Airport, which is currently in the neighbouring Chongwe District and additional land around the city within its boundaries. Inadequate land within the city boundary has constrained re-development of the slum areas, which initially emerged as unauthorised areas, but most have since been recognised as improvement areas under the Improvement Areas Act of 1974. There is also a shortage of land for new burial and solid waste disposal sites within the current city boundary as the existing burial and solid waste disposal sites have become full. The land shortages being experienced within the existing city boundary are partly due to the dramatic population increase in the city. The next section therefore analyses the demographic developments in the city of Lusaka since its designation as the capital of Northern Rhodesia.

1. Demographic Dynamics of Lusaka

Although the census data for Lusaka date back to 1921, they are unreliable, because they only covered the European population comprehensively. The first census of population to cover all the racial groups was undertaken in 1931, the year when Lusaka was designated the new capital of Northern Rhodesia. The total population was 2,433. Unfortunately, subsequent censuses excluded large proportions of the African population and only comprehensively covered the European population. As a result, the available population statistics on the city prior to 1963 when the African population was covered comprehensively for the first time ought to be treated as mere estimates. By 1946 the population of Lusaka had risen to 18,909 (Wood et al. 1986). The population was growing at an annual growth rate of 15 per cent. The African population in the city grew most rapidly after 1948 after the passing of the African Housing Ordinance 1948. This ordinance granted the African population the right to reside in towns with their families. Before 1948 Africans were treated as temporary residents in urban areas. They were, therefore, only granted short-term employment contracts and urban residence permits, as they were expected to return to their rural homes at the end of their short employment contracts. African women and children were not allowed to accompany

their husbands and fathers to urban centres. Despite the restrictions that were placed on the residence of Africans in urban centres, an urbanised African population emerged and Lusaka like other Zambian towns has always been predominantly an African city. In this regard, it is generally believed that Africans have always accounted for at least 80 per cent of the population, while the European population had never at any time exceeded 20 per cent of the population (Wood et al 1986).

To get a clear picture of how the population of Lusaka has changed over the years, we have to examine the census data obtained from the comprehensive censuses that covered all the racial groups resident in the city. In this regard, it should be noted that comprehensive population statistics for the City of Lusaka are available for 1969, 1980, and 1990. The most recent census data obtained in 2000 are also available, but only provide provisional statistics relating to the total population. The preliminary report does not provide data on all aspects of interest to this paper. It does not, for example, provide the total urban population from the 2000 census. These detailed population statistics will only become available after verification and cleaning of data. **Table 1**, nevertheless gives the Population of Lusaka for the period 1963–2000, its growth rates and proportions of the national and the total urban population.

It is evident from **Table 1** that the population growth of the city increased most dramatically after 1948 and the attainment of political independence in 1964. A confidential District Officer's report of 1957, for example, noted that Lusaka's urban African population had increased by 27,000 or 56 per cent during the previous three years, while the population of unauthorised locations had increased by 19,150 or 138 per cent during the same period (Armor 1957). The population statistics from the inclusive censuses, on the other hand, showed that between 1963 and 1969, the population grew at over 13 per cent and added nearly 140,000 people to

Table 1: Population of Lusaka 1963-2000

Year	Population	Annual Growth Rate	Percentage of National Population	Percentage of Total Urban Population	Percentage of Large Urban Areas
1963	123,146	-	3.5	17.2	18
1969	262,425	13.4	6.5	22.0	23.5
1974	421,000	9.9	9.0	25.3	27.2
1980	535,830	4.1	9.4	21.9	28.2
1990	769,353	3.7	10.4	26.5	
2000	1,103,413	4.0	10.7		

Sources: Wood et al (1986) and Central Statistics Office (1994; 2001)

the population of the city, which led to the doubling of the city's population from 123,146 in 1963 to 262,425 in 1969. The population of Lusaka also doubled between 1969 and 1980, from 262,425 to 535,830. The population growth rate, however, declined in the post 1980 period, due to the slowdown in the expansion of employment, which resulted in reduced immigration from the rural areas.

The slowdown in employment was caused by the economic stagnation and decline that began in 1974 and continued throughout the 1980s and 1990s. Poor economic conditions resulted in the decline of rural-urban migration, which was one of the three main sources of population increase in the city. The other sources of population growth were natural increase and the extension of the city boundary. Since the city boundary has not been extended since 1970, the main source of population growth in the last two decades has mainly been through natural increase. Natural population increase has been able to sustain the city's higher population growth rates, because those who immigrated to the city from the rural areas in the 1960s and 1970s were predominantly young people, which reflects the overall Zambian population structure. However, due to a higher concentration of young people, Lusaka has had higher population growth rates than Zambia as a whole even after the decline of rural-urban migration. The annual population growth rate in the city was 4 per cent in the 1990-2000 inter-censal period compared to 2.9 per cent for Zambia as a whole (Central Statistical Office, 1994 and 2001).

The population of Lusaka is diverse and consists of people from all the ethnic groups found in Zambia, as well as a small proportion of people of European and Asian origin. In the 1960s and 1970s when migration contributed significantly to the population of the city, most of the migrants were from the Eastern Province (36-37 per cent), followed by people from the Northern (13 per cent) and Southern (12 per cent) Provinces. The dominance of people from Eastern Province was largely due to Lusaka having been the nearest urban centre, while limited employment opportunities in Eastern Province was yet another contributing factor. In the case of people from Southern Province, there were relatively good employment prospects within the province. As a result, only a few emigrated. For those from Northern, Central, and other Provinces, there were other towns, providing employment opportunities, for example, Kabwe in Central Province and indeed any of the 7 Copperbelt towns. All ethnic groups found in Zambia are, however, present in Lusaka. In terms of languages spoken Nyanja was the *lingua franca* of Lusaka in the 1960s and 1970s. It seems, however, to have lost some ground to Bemba since the 1980s, probably because of new immigrants from the Copperbelt, where Bemba is the *lingua franca* and thus an increase in the number of the Bemba speaking population in the city (Wood et al,

1986). This is likely to be the case, because since the 1980s up to 85 per cent of immigration is believed to be between urban centres, while only 15 per cent is believed to be between rural and urban areas (Central Statistical Office 1994).

In comparison to other cities in Sub-Saharan Africa, Lusaka is not a primate city, because it does not account for the bulk of Zambia's urban population. This is evident from **Table 1**, which shows the proportions of Lusaka's population in the national and the total urban population. Lusaka's primacy in fact declined in 1980 from 25.3 per cent of the urban population in 1974 to 21 per cent in 1980 after having increased from 17.2 per cent in 1963 to 22 and 25.3 per cent in 1969 and 1974 respectively. The decline in Lusaka's primacy was due to a faster growth of the small towns and a decline in its own growth. Lusaka's primacy, however, rose to 26.5 per cent in 1990, due to its higher population growth rate and the decline in the population of some Copperbelt towns. Mufulira, for example, recorded negative population growth in the 1980 and 1990 inter-censal period (Central Statistical Office 1995). Very little change can, however, be expected in the primacy of the city of Lusaka between 1990 and 2000, because there have been no significant changes in population movements. Lusaka is, however, not a particularly large city when compared with other African capital cities. It was, for example, only a third of the size of Kinshasa in 1986, and was only larger than the capitals of a few countries in Southern Africa (Botswana, Swaziland, Malawi and Namibia) (Wood et al, 1986).

2. Lusaka's Economy

The economy of Lusaka has become more diversified with its physical expansion and population growth. It has in fact grown from the provision of a few services to commercial farmers who had established themselves around it to provision of higher order services, such as financial and technical services, construction and even manufacturing activities. As the capital city of Zambia, Lusaka also provides services including administrative functions to Zambia as a whole. However, Lusaka also plays a significant role in the country's manufacturing. Most manufacturing enterprises are located in Lusaka and the Copperbelt. Food processing enterprises, such as milling, meat processing and production of essential commodities such as detergents and other domestic chemical products seem to be concentrated in Lusaka.

In terms of employment, the service sector is the largest employer of the city's labour force. This is evident from **Table 2**.

It is evident from **Table 2** that services and administration in particular have consistently accounted for most of the formal employment in the city. This suggests that though the economy of the city is more diversified than that of the country, it is quite weak, as most of the

Table 2: Economic Activities of the Lusaka Labour Force 1961-1996

Economic Activity	1961	1969	1993	1996
Agriculture and Forestry	6.6	3.4 (43.7)	-	-
Mining and quarrying	0.9	0.6	-	-
Manufacturing	12.0	11.4	14.6	-
Electricity, Gas and Water	-	-	-	-(1)
Construction	13.6	14.4	-	-
Commerce and Finance	12.5	118 (5.5)	16.2	-(12)
Transport And Communication	6.4	12. (4.7)	-	-(12)
Administration	30	46.5	15.1	24
Domestic Services	(18.1)	(25)	-	-(24)
Total Labour force	30,086	50,090	205,000	-

Note: The figures in table 2 show employees in thousands, as indicated in the totals. The Figures in Brackets are percentages of the National Proportions

Source: Wood et al 1986, p. 175 and Central Statistical Office 1997 p.87

sectors are underdeveloped. The basic manufacturing activities, such as food processing and beverages, textiles and leather goods for example dominate the manufacturing activities. The transport and communication and hotel and restaurant sectors are also underdeveloped and perhaps have scope for improvement. Underdevelopment of these sectors could be attributed to the internal orientation of the Zambian economy prior to the recent macro-economic reforms.

The performance of the construction sector, on the other hand, has mirrored the performance of the overall economy. The construction sector has, therefore, performed strongly during periods when the national economy has been buoyant and declined during the years of economic stagnation and decline. Although the statistics are not available, the construction sector in Lusaka performed relatively well in the late 1990s. It was in particular helped by the rehabilitation of the major roads and the construction of new housing estates and conference facilities (GRZ 2002). The primary economic activities, especially agricultural and mining activities have been on the

decline, as more of the city's land has become built up. The financial and commercial sectors, on the other hand, are fairly large and account for most of the financial and commercial activities in the country.

Although the economy of the City of Lusaka is somewhat more diversified than the national economy, like the national economy, it only provides formal employment to a small proportion of its labour force. The Integrated Development Plan for Lusaka, for example, put the number of people in formal employment in Lusaka at 120,233 or 35 per cent of the labour force (V3 Consulting Engineers, 2000). The majority (65 per cent) of the city's labour force, therefore, earns its livelihood from informal economic activities, which predominantly consist of unregistered and unregulated small-scale non-agricultural economic activities ranging from petty trading to metal fabrication and wood processing. The bulk of the informal economic activities are, however, essentially in trading. The low proportion of the labour force working in the formal sector has a bearing on welfare of the residents of the city and will be discussed in the second section of the paper, which analyses slums and welfare.

3. Governance in Lusaka

Councillors are elected every three years to run the affairs of the city through the Lusaka City Council on behalf of the residents of the city. Like all councillors in Zambia, the Lusaka City councillors are part time officials. Full time employees of the council headed by a town clerk assist them with the daily management of the affairs of the city. The councillors, however, approve all development projects for the city. The Lusaka City Council also serves as the planning authority for the city. It therefore grants planning permission for all projects that alter the land use permanently. Although the Lusaka City Council is a corporate body and is expected to manage the affairs of the city independently, it merely operates as an agent of the central government, which has delegated about 61 functions relating to provision of services to the residents of the city under the Local Government Act CAP 281. Other councils have similar responsibilities in their areas. As agents of the central government, local authorities in Zambia, including the Lusaka City Council, do not enjoy financial autonomy. They do not, for example, have tax raising powers and are dependent on the central government for their finances. The councils' ability to raise finances independently is, however, limited, because they are not allowed to borrow or receive grants from foreign governments and organisations. Sources of revenue for the local authorities such as the Lusaka City Council are thus limited to licensing fees, levies and charges, rates and personal levies. They also receive a grant in lieu of rates on property owned by the central government within their areas, as well as

a share of sales tax and a surcharge tax on beer. The lack of financial autonomy among local authorities in Zambia is, however, such that even the levies, charges and rates that they might charge are subject to the approval of the Minister of Local Government and Housing.

The financial position of the local authorities in Zambia has further been worsened by a directive for them to dis-invest in commercial ventures they had embarked on in a bid to arrest their deteriorating financial situation, while the recent sale of their housing stock to sitting tenants under a presidential directive has taken away one of their more reliable sources of revenue. Lack of financial autonomy and inadequate grants received from the government have left the local authorities including Lusaka City Council in a very weak financial position to the extent that they are not able to deliver the services they were designated to provide. Government grants to the local authorities in Zambia tend to be inadequate, because they are not based on any specific formula nor linked to any specific tax. The central government, therefore, provides grants to local authorities in an arbitrary manner with most councils receiving far less than they require for efficient delivery of services let alone breaking even. In consequence, local authorities in Zambia have been unable to deliver services and most are extremely indebted, especially in terms of unpaid wages and terminal benefits. Workers of the Lusaka City Council are, for example, owed more than three months wages. Under these circumstances, it is difficult to make them offer any services to the residents of the city in an efficient manner.

The inability of the Lusaka City Council to deliver services to the residents has undermined its credibility and esteem. Highly qualified or trained people are as a result reluctant to work for the Lusaka City Council and other local authorities. Most residents have also lost any interest they might have had in the affairs of the city. The residents are also reluctant to pay levies, user charges and even rates, because they cannot see any benefits of paying these to the local authority. Lack of interest in the affairs of the Lusaka City Council on the part of the residents is also evident from the quality of persons who put themselves forward for elections as councillors. The voter turnout in the local government elections also tends to be much lower than in the presidential and general elections in which the President of Zambia and Members of Parliament are elected. Thus, educated and trained residents with the capacity to manage the affairs of the Lusaka City Council more efficiently do not bother to contest the local government elections as candidates for election as councillors.

The government has acknowledged the failure of the current financing arrangements for local authorities. Its Draft Decentralisation Policy, which unfortunately has been in draft form since 1997, for example, commits the government to improvement of the local authorities'

financial resources so as to reduce their dependence on central government (GRZ, 1997, p.15) The Government has also promised to provide a legal framework that could promote autonomy in decision-making at the local level. The performance of Lusaka in service delivery has thus been constrained by a lack of financial and administrative autonomy. The poor financial status of Lusaka City Council has also begun to adversely affect the human resource base of the council's secretariat. Decentralisation, including financial and administrative autonomy, and improved capacity of personnel in the local authorities are currently seen as the joint solutions to the problems that have beset the Lusaka City Council and indeed other local authorities in Zambia.

B. SLUMS IN LUSAKA

This section analyses the slums found in the city of Lusaka. It defines the settlements in the city of Lusaka that might be described as slums, their types, location and age. The welfare of people who live in slums and the measures taken by the government to address poverty in general and in the slums in particular are also analysed.

1. Definition of Slums in Zambia

The concept of slums can only be used to describe two types of self-help urban settlements in Lusaka. These two types settlement were described by Rakodi (1986) as "early self-help housing" and "unauthorised housing". The former emerged on land allocated specifically to low-income self-help housing on the outskirts of the main urban settlements in the post 1948 period when the African Housing Ordinance designed to stabilise the African urban population was passed. The African Housing Ordinance allowed African workers in urban centres to live with their families. The passing of the African Housing Ordinance worsened the shortage of housing for African workers, as their families started to move into the urban centres to join them. The aim was to ease the housing shortage, which was largely due to the tying of housing to employment through legislation that gave employers the responsibility of providing housing to their employees. This law was considered essential, because the Government did not want to see the emergence of an urbanised African population, in a country in which there were initially hardly any prospects for development of long-term economic interests. Consequently, neither the government nor municipal council saw a need to invest in low-income African housing, beyond what was required for the government and the municipal workers. As a result, when copper production began to rise in the Copperbelt in the immediate post World War Two period due to high demand for copper on the international markets, urban centres

also began to grow at a rapid pace, resulting in widespread shortage of low-income African housing in particular.

In response to the economic boom and the housing shortage, the government passed the African Housing Ordinance in 1948 and provided for self-help African housing on the outskirts of the main urban centres. The Private Locations Ordinance was thus passed, which did not insist on the statutory building standards. This was essential, because most African workers were generally not highly paid, the majority of them could not as a result afford to build houses that could meet the urban housing standards that were prescribed in the Town and Country Planning Act imported from the United Kingdom. The early African self-help urban housing areas were therefore located just outside the town boundaries, but within easy reach of the working areas. The African workers who were allocated plots in the early African self-help urban housing areas were permitted to build houses and pit latrines on the plots using cheaper unconventional building materials. They were, however, provided with clean water supplies on a communal basis rather than on individual plots. At the same time there was an attempt to provide more public housing through the local authorities. The Lusaka Municipal Council, for example, embarked on the construction of Matero and Chilenje townships for the growing population of African workers in the 1950s. The provision of the early African self-help housing areas was a response to a critical shortage of housing at a time when increased copper production created an economic boom and the urban centres began to grow rapidly.

Lusaka though not a copper mining town benefited from the economic boom of the immediate post World War Two period created by the high copper production and prices. Hence like other urban centres it experienced phenomenal growth in its population, which resulted into a housing crisis, which was evident in the growth of unauthorised settlements on the farms located on the edge of the town boundary. A confidential government report of 1957, for example, put the number of persons housed in the unauthorised locations at 33,500 or 44 per cent of the total Lusaka Urban African population (Armor 1957). The report also noted that between 50 and 100 new buildings were being erected in authorised locations each month, "or ...900 new buildings housing 4,500 persons each year" (*ibid.*, p. 50). In a bid to stem the low-income or African housing crisis, in particular, Lusaka established two African self-help urban housing areas on the western edge of the city boundary. These were Chibolya and New Kanyama. The two self-help urban housing residential areas were clearly inadequate, because unauthorised settlements emerged on agricultural land, nearly in all directions of the city with the exception of the eastern side where Kalingalinga, was the only unauthorised settlement.

The unauthorised settlements in Lusaka were thus concentrated on the western, southern and northern sides of the city. The authorised self-help urban housing was, on the other hand, entirely on the western side of the city boundary. The low concentration of unauthorised urban self-help housing on the eastern city boundary was due to the quality of the land and land tenure, as well as the eastern boundary of the city being distant from the industrial areas and the CBD where low-income urban employment could be obtained.

The land on the eastern side of Lusaka was generally considered to be prime land, because of being generally hilly and with deep well-drained soils. It was consequently not generally made available for unauthorised self-help African housing. This was because it was better land for both agricultural and urban development than the land on the western side of the city, which is generally flat, shallow and with many rock outcrops (Williams et al, 1984).

The striking feature of the early self-help housing, both authorised and unauthorised was the use of unconventional building materials and their location just outside the city/town boundary. The unauthorised locations were, however, not provided with any municipal services. In consequence, the living conditions in the authorised self-help housing areas were generally better than in the unauthorised self-help settlements, because the former had access to some municipal services, notably potable water and were less crowded than the unauthorised settlements. Above all, the residents of authorised settlements were not subjected to constant and/or occasional harassment by the law enforcement agencies.

The unauthorised self-help urban housing areas generally emerged on privately owned agricultural land on the western, southern and northern parts of the immediate outskirts of Lusaka. A small number of unauthorised urban settlements also emerged on former construction sites that had been built on land zoned for other purposes. Such settlements were, however, few. In the case of Lusaka only John Howard seem to have been previously occupied by construction workers. Most of the unauthorised urban settlements in Lusaka, therefore, emerged on land zoned for agricultural purposes on the outskirts of the city boundary. The early settlers of unauthorised urban settlements were, therefore, generally former low-income African workers who were not entitled to any housing in urban areas after their short-term labour contracts had come to an end. This was because housing was tied to employment in order to avoid the emergence of an urbanised African population.

As the economy and economic opportunities grew, the city also grew larger. In consequence, some employers found it difficult to provide housing to their employees. African workers whose employers could not provide housing and those who had remained in urban areas long after their short-term employment contracts had run

out turned to unauthorised urban settlements for their housing needs.

Although the unauthorised self-help urban settlements that emerged on the periphery of the urban centres were generally considered and called “unauthorised settlements” or “locations”, nearly all of them emerged with the consent of the legal landowners. These were mostly not very well-to-do white settler farmers. They offered the African workers and former workers land on which to build their own shelter in return for monthly rent. According to Armor (1957), the Lusaka District Officer, the farmers who leased their land to the African workers for construction of self-help housing collected as much as £22,000 per annum. The unauthorised urban settlements, however, lacked the essential social and physical infrastructure that ought to go with urban housing, such as schools, health facilities, as well as essential utilities such as water supply, electricity, access roads and even security services.

The housing standards in unauthorised settlements were also extremely poor, because as tenants the African residents of unauthorised settlements could not invest in improved housing, because of lack of security of tenure, while the authorities treated them as temporary residents who would eventually return to their rural homes. The situation was made worse by constant and/or occasional harassment by the authorities who generally believed that the unauthorised urban settlements provided sanctuary to illegal urban residents, unproductive and non-law abiding citizens. Research findings, however, consistently showed that the bulk of the residents of the so-called unauthorised urban settlements were by and large law abiding citizens, who were generally in employment and contributed to the economic well-being of the city. Armor, the Lusaka District Officer, for example, conceded in his 1957 report that

“...only between 7 and 10 per cent of the squatters are unable to give a satisfactory account of themselves, and of their means of livelihood. The great majority of them are very decent people and their numbers contain a higher proportion of self-employed African artisans than are found in the municipal locations” (Armor 1957, p. 7).

Later surveys, for example, Department of Community Development (1967) reached similar conclusions. The residents of the unauthorised urban settlements were, therefore, generally law abiding citizens, who were, however, discouraged from investing in improved housing. As a result, most houses in the unauthorised urban settlements were built out of cheaper unconventional building materials, such as mud bricks (for making walls), cardboard, tins and plastic materials and even grass (for roofing).

The unconventional building materials made the unauthorised urban settlements vulnerable to outbreaks of fire. The houses were also likely to collapse in the event of floods. The biggest problems, however, arose

from lack of essential infrastructure and services, which made the residents of unauthorised urban settlements vulnerable to ill health, particularly because of lack of access to clean water and safe sanitation facilities. The quality of environmental conditions in the unauthorised urban settlements also degenerated progressively with increased population. The situation was made worse by lack of garbage collection services and transport infrastructure and services. Due to lack of access to clean water and sewerage facilities, the residents of unauthorised urban settlements relied on shallow water wells for their water supplies and pit latrines and even any available open bush for the disposal of human waste. The poor disposal of human waste in particular created a polluted environment and made unauthorised locations extremely uncomfortable places to live. The residents of unauthorised urban settlements were, therefore, vulnerable to both respiratory diseases and diarrhoea. Vulnerability to ill health also undermined the productivity of the residents of the unauthorised settlements.

The productivity of the residents of unauthorised urban settlements was also grossly undermined by lack of adequate access to essential infrastructure and services. The unauthorised urban settlements did not, for example, have roads and adequate access to public transport services, schools and health facilities. The residents, therefore, generally walked long distances to the official residential areas to have access to any of the essential infrastructure and services. Although the authorities generally regarded the unauthorised urban settlements as hideouts for anti-social and criminal elements, the unauthorised settlements did not have access to law enforcement agencies, because these could not be located in areas that were not designated for housing. The residents of unauthorised urban settlements did not therefore get any kind of service from the authorities.

2. Livelihoods and Welfare of Residents of Improved, Authorised and Unauthorised Urban Settlements of Lusaka

This section draws on national welfare studies, the so-called priority surveys (Central Statistical Office 1992 and 1994a) and Living Conditions Monitoring Surveys (Central Statistical Office 1997 and 1999), as well as on micro-studies of individual settlements, such as Moser’s study of Chawama (Moser 1996) and Chipimo-Mbizule’s longitudinal cohort study of peri-urban Lusaka livelihoods (Chipimo-Mbizule 1997).

It should be noted from the outset that livelihoods and the welfare of the resident of the improved, authorised and unauthorised settlements in Lusaka and other urban centres in Zambia have undergone dramatic changes since the collapse of the Zambian economy. In

this regard, it worth noting that until the 1980s, Zambia was one of the middle-income African Countries. Its per capita income was estimated at US\$500 in 1975. By 1997, however, it had declined to only US\$300. In consequence Zambia has since been reclassified as one of the most highly indebted and poorest countries in the world. There has therefore been a dramatic decline in the living standards, of the poor in particular, who generally lack assets other than their labour. The decline in personal incomes has, however, been worsened by reduced Government capacity to finance existing social infrastructure and services, let alone provide new socio-economic infrastructure and services in tandem with the population growth. Poor and inadequate access to social infrastructure and services has, therefore, worsened the exposure and vulnerability of the urban poor in general and the residents of the slum areas (self-help improved, authorised and unauthorised settlements) in particular.

To get a clear picture of the welfare situation, we ought to turn to the welfare studies, which show the prevalence or magnitude and depth of poverty. There are, however, various approaches to the analysis of welfare, because of the complexity of the nature of poverty. Although reviews of literature might suggest up to four main approaches only the absolute poverty and the participatory poverty assessment approaches have been used in Zambia. The absolute poverty approach is based on a poverty line, measured on the cost of a pre-determined food basket of selected food items that may provide minimum calorie requirements of an individual per month. The poverty line in Zambia was recently put at K32 862 and K47 188 (approximately US\$7 and US\$10 respectively) for extreme and moderate poverty respectively, per adult equivalent unit per month. These poverty lines were adjusted at the 1998 prices from the 1991 prices (GRZ 2002). Thus, anyone who had an income or who spent less than K47 188 (about US\$10) per month on basic household needs could be classified as poor, while those who earned or spent more than the poverty line could be considered non-poor. The living conditions monitoring surveys have been used as a means of determining the prevalence and severity of poverty. They have also been used to obtain information about the nature and causes of poverty. They have not, however, succeeded in providing information about the latter.

Participatory Poverty Assessments, on the other hand, have sought the local definitions or perceptions of poverty. They have also sought to establish the key social and infrastructure factors associated with the state of being poor or non-poor, either as a cause or manifestation of poverty. Environmental and security issues have been the other areas of concern in the Participatory Poverty Assessments.

Participatory Poverty Assessments are quite recent in Zambia and were first attempted in 1993. They are now expected to be undertaken every two years as a means

of supplementing the Living Conditions Monitoring Surveys, which are also scheduled to be undertaken every two years in an attempt to track changes in the lives of the poor in the context of the on-going macro-economic reforms and poverty reduction efforts supported by the international financial institutions. Living Conditions Monitoring Surveys have been undertaken on a biennial basis by the Central Statistics Office since 1991 in an attempt to measure the impact of the macro-economic and structural economic reforms that began in earnest in 1992. Before that the implementation of the economic reforms in Zambia was characterised by constant reversals.

The findings of the Living Conditions Monitoring Surveys have unfortunately not been reported at the city level, but only at the provincial level, which includes rural areas and two other districts, which are not part of the city of Lusaka. Despite this weakness, we can infer the welfare situation in the city from these surveys. Similarly, the Participatory Poverty Assessments are based on studies of a few areas. Their findings can nevertheless be extrapolated to similar areas. However, this is not a big problem, because a number of micro-studies have also been undertaken in the slum areas of Lusaka, while upgrading projects also generated a lot of information about the livelihoods of the residents of slum areas.

3. Prevalence and Severity of Poverty in Zambia

Living Conditions Monitoring Surveys and Participatory Poverty Assessments undertaken so far, suggest that poverty is widespread in Zambia. The 1998 Living Conditions Monitoring Survey, for example, showed that poverty in Zambia had risen to 83 per cent from 69 per cent of the population in 1996 (Central Statistical Office 1997 and 1999). Urban poverty has, however, increased more dramatically. It has increased from an estimated 4 per cent of the urban population in 1974 (ILO 1977) to 26 per cent in 1991 (Central Statistical Office 1992), 46 per cent in 1996 and 56 per cent in 1998 (Central Statistical Office 1997 and 1999). Rural poverty is, however, deeper and most prevalent, although urban poverty has increased more rapidly since the early 1970s. Urban poverty in Zambia is, however, spatially diverse. In terms of access to services, Lusaka and the Copperbelt have the least poverty, while poverty is highest in the larger urban centres in terms of consumption. Above all, the majority of the urban poor live in the self-help improved, authorised and unauthorised settlements. The urban poor in the city of Lusaka are thus concentrated in the self-help housing areas including the improved or upgraded, authorised, and unauthorised settlements. However, the poorest seem to be concentrated in the unauthorised settlements, which do not have any public services and there-

fore provide the least expensive housing that the poorest perhaps find affordable.

Although poverty in the city of Lusaka like elsewhere is complex and due to both personal and societal factors lack of access to wage employment in the formal sector seems to be a major cause of poverty. This is to some extent discernible from **Table 3**, which shows welfare status by employment sector of the head of household.

Heads of households who were in formal employment headed the bulk of the households that were not poor. Similarly, the unemployed and those who worked

Table 3. Welfare Status by Employment Sector of the Head of Household Poverty Levels

Employment Sector	Extremely Poor %	Moderately Poor %	Non Poor %
Formal	45	19	36
Informal	60	15	25
Unemployed	62	13	25
Inactive	61	13	26
Not Stated	64	14	22

Source: Central Statistical Office (1999) Living Conditions Monitoring Survey Report 1998

in the informal sector headed most of the extremely poor households. Households headed by people working in the formal sector are therefore less likely to be poor than those headed by the unemployed or those working in the informal sector. Thus, since the bulk of the people who live in the slums of Lusaka work in the informal rather than the formal sector, the majority of households in the Lusaka slums are certainly poor, while only a few are likely to be non-poor.

4. Livelihoods of Lusaka Slum Dwellers

The slums of Lusaka have since the 1940s provided housing to people in intermittent wage employment and the self-employed. Most people in these categories moreover tend to be usually unskilled or semi-skilled. The majority of people who live in the self-help housing areas of Lusaka are therefore generally poor, because they are not likely to command high wages when they take up wage employment, while their self-employment activities tend to be characterised by low capital input and low returns (Hansen 1980). Furthermore, the slum areas of Lusaka had generally more men than women before independence and in the immediate post independence period. This was largely due to the restrictions that were placed on the free movement of unaccompanied women in particular. Despite these restric-

tions, however, a few women did find their way into the self-help housing areas of Lusaka. It is likely that such unaccompanied women earned their livelihoods through provision of sexual services to the predominantly male labour immigrants from the rural areas. It is also likely that such women probably also engaged in other income generating activities such as small-scale trading, which early market studies suggest were also a predominantly male activity, as opposed to the current situation (see for example, Nyirenda 1957; Miracle 1962; and Hansen 1980).

The proportions of women and men in the low-income self-help housing areas of Lusaka evened out in the post independence period when all the residents of Zambia could exercise their freedom of movement. The socio-economic characteristics of the residents in these settlements have not changed completely, however. Hence, the bulk of the residents of the low-income self-help housing areas of Lusaka are still predominantly unskilled and semi-skilled men and women. Due to the decline in the availability of formal wage employment, the bulk of the residents of the slum areas of Lusaka work mainly in the informal sector. Those without any practical skills generally engage in piecework and small-scale trading activities. In general, women and young people are involved in trading at markets within these settlements and in the main city markets. Semi-skilled and skilled men with practical skills such as carpentry and metal fabrication, on the other hand, earn a living by making household items such as furniture and other usable things for sale. A small proportion of the residents of the slums of Lusaka also include retired persons, who decided to settle permanently in Lusaka. Depending on the sectors where such retired persons worked and the amount of terminal benefits they might have received, such persons are likely to be the main retail traders in the self-help housing areas of Lusaka. A few young men and women also engage in what might be described as anti-social means of earning livelihoods. These would include criminal and anti-social activities ranging from stealing, selling drugs and prostitution. The residents of the Lusaka slums, are, however, not generally dependent on a single livelihood activity. On the contrary they engage in a variety of livelihood activities, which also change according to seasons and overall economic conditions and individual circumstances. Female residents of the slums of Lusaka have, for example, been involved in quarrying building stones since the late 1980s. They have since been joined by young people and people who have trucks who have since moved into selling sand, cement and making cement blocks for sale. The livelihoods of the residents of the slums of Lusaka are thus dynamic and cannot be captured fully through sample surveys only, but a mixture of approaches including keen long-term observations and engagement with them.

C. POLICIES AIMED AT IMPROVING CONDITIONS IN LUSAKA

The main stumbling blocks to provision of public services in the unauthorised urban settlements were twofold. First, the authorities looked at unauthorised urban settlements as problem areas rather than areas in need of services, because they were largely perceived as hideouts for undesirable persons. Secondly their location outside the city/town boundaries left them without any institution being responsible for provision of services. The municipal authorities did not, for example, feel obliged to extend any services to the unauthorised urban settlements, because they were technically outside their area of jurisdiction. The situation was made worse by the fact that the residents of the unauthorised settlements did not pay any direct taxes to the city/municipal authorities.

The post independence African Nationalist Government that took the reins of power on 24th October 1964 inherited a capital city in which the residents of the self-help unauthorised urban settlements lived in very poor environmental conditions. The new government, however, also inherited the attitudes of the preceding colonial government. As a result, there was no immediate change of policy towards the unauthorised urban settlements. Instead, the post independence government assumed that the unauthorised urban settlements would cease to exist once the government increased spending on public housing. The critical housing shortage and the provision of free movement to all persons throughout the country worsened the low-income housing crisis in urban areas including Lusaka, as people immigrated into the urban areas in search of better wages. The unauthorised urban settlements thus attracted more people and became even larger and more overcrowded. The situation was worsened by the departure of the white settler farmers, the legal owners of the land on which the unauthorised urban settlements had emerged. Their departure meant that the residents of the unauthorised urban settlements did not have to pay rent to any more. This state of affairs made immigration into the unauthorised urban settlements even easier and more attractive to the rural-urban immigrants who went into the urban centres in search of better paid urban employment.

In response to the critical situation of low-income housing in the major urban centres, the new post independence government devoted more resources to development of more public housing through the local authorities and the National Housing Authority. As a result, Kabwata, Kamwala and Chilenje were built in Lusaka. Despite enormous investment in low-income public housing, the unauthorised urban settlements continued to grow, while the living conditions worsened, because of over-crowding. By the end of the First National Development Plan Period 1966-70, the Government realised that it could not resolve the inherited urban housing crisis without the support and involvement of the residents of the unauthorised urban settlements. The Second National

Development Plan, which covered the period 1972-76 thus recognised the housing in the unauthorised urban settlements as assets, which required improvement rather than demolition. In this regard, the Government observed that:

“...although squatter areas are unplanned, they nevertheless, represent assets both in social and financial terms. The areas require planning and services and wholesale demolition of good and bad houses alike is not a practical solution” (GRZ 1972, p.1485).

Improvement of housing in the unauthorised urban areas could not, however, be attained under the Town and Country Planning Act, which specifies the building standards expected in townships. It therefore became necessary to provide an institutional framework for improving housing in the unauthorised urban settlements. The Improvement Areas Act of 1974 was, therefore, passed to pave way for upgrading unauthorised urban settlements, a large proportion of which had been brought within the city boundary following the extensions of the city boundary in 1969 and 1970.

The Improvement Areas Act 1974 gave power to the Minister of Local Government and Housing to declare any undeveloped areas improvement areas. An area so declared becomes a legal settlement and the residents can then improve their houses gradually. The process of gradual improvement of housing in previously unauthorised areas is called upgrading. It involves provision of essential infrastructure and services, such as water supply, roads, schools and health facilities by the local authority or indeed any interested agency and the provision of security of tenure to the residents, as well as gradual improvement of houses. The latter is by and large left to individual initiative, although it might be facilitated by provision of building laws or materials. Upgrading of former unauthorised housing areas also require additional land for resettlement of those whose houses have to give way to roads and other socio-economic infrastructure. Upgrading of the former unauthorised areas cannot successfully be carried without additional land for resettling those whose houses have to be demolished to pave way for roads. Provision of essential infrastructure and services in improvement areas requires a lot of money. The improvement of houses is, however, left to the individuals. However, unlike in the conventional housing areas, developers in the improvement areas are allowed to use unconventional building materials, such as soil cement blocks. The building specifications are also less stringent than in the conventional areas. The building standards were deliberately made less stringent in the improvement areas in order to make improvement of houses affordable for as many residents of the improvement areas as possible.

The first improvement areas were declared in Lusaka

and upgraded with the assistance of a US\$20 million loan from the World Bank. The World Bank supported an upgrading programme which began in 1975 and ended in about 1982. The areas that were upgraded under the first upgrading programme were Chawama and George Compounds to the south and west of the CBD respectively. A Peri-Urban Housing Section was also created in the Directorate of Housing and Social Services of the Lusaka City Council with the specific mandate of managing the improvement areas. It was also expected to manage any subsequent upgrading programmes in Lusaka. However, the subsequent upgrading programmes have been undertaken with the support of both bilateral and multi-lateral development agencies, as well as non-governmental organisations. Kalingalinga was, for example, upgraded with the support of the Germany Government through GTZ, the German Agency for International Co-operation. Bauleni and Kamanga in the east and north-east of the city were upgraded in the 1990s with the support of Human Settlements of Zambia, a local NGO working in collaboration with the World Food Programme and a number of International NGOs and the Irish Aid Agency respectively.

The upgrading of Bauleni was very innovative, because a local NGO, Human Settlements of Zambia (HUZA) worked along with the Community Participation Training Programme of the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (UNCHS). These agencies focused on empowering residents of unauthorised areas earmarked for upgrading, as they were not allowed to work in unauthorised urban locations not earmarked for upgrading. The two agencies trained residents of Bauleni in community mobilisation techniques and advocacy for improved environmental living conditions. As a result, the residents established a Community Based Organisation (CBO) dedicated to the promotion of improved environmental conditions in their unauthorised settlement, which had been earmarked for upgrading by the Lusaka City Council. The CBO was managed through a Residents Development Committee (RDC). Members of the RDC served as community organisers and representatives of the community in any dealings involving external agencies including the Lusaka City Council. They also advocated the upgrading of the settlement. The establishment of the RDC enabled the residents of Bauleni to play a more proactive role in promoting the recognition of their settlement for recognition as an improvement area, which paves the way for upgrading unauthorised settlements.

However, the initial successes of the residents' active involvement in helping to improve Bauleni were lost in 1992 when a country-wide crop failure and implementation of the Structural Adjustment Programme brought the World Food Programme (WFP) into the partnership for the upgrading of Bauleni with the sole purpose of delivering food to the poorest. The need to target food for the poor led to the introduction of "the food for work

programme". The food for work programme was therefore incorporated in the activities of the Bauleni RDC. The food had to be worked for on public works in order to ensure that it reached only the most needy social groups, because the non-poor were unlikely to work for food. Although the food for work programme was effective in getting food to the most vulnerable, it killed the involvement of the community as a whole in the provision of community infrastructure, as those who did not have to work for food stopped participating in the public works programmes that were now tied to the food for work programme. The food for work programme resulted in confinement of participation in public works programmes to predominantly poor women. Men in particular generally withdrew their labour from the public works programmes and the improvement of the public infrastructure in the newly recognised formerly unauthorised location. The food for work programme, therefore, made involvement in the public works programme an almost exclusive preserve of the poorest women in Bauleni.

Worse still, when the food for work programme came to an end around 1996, none of the residents were any longer willing to be involved in the improvement of public infrastructure on a voluntary basis. A programme designed to target food aid to the poorest households thus led to the disintegration of a previously effective community participation programme in which residents were providing labour voluntarily to bring about the desired improvements in a formerly unauthorised settlement that had been declared an improvement area on the strength of the fact that the UNCHS, HUZA and the residents had forged a strong partnership designed to improve the public infrastructure and ensure adequate management of solid waste.

The Lusaka City Council has not been very proactive in initiating upgrading activities in the city, partly because of its poor financial position and generally negative attitude towards upgrading. Most city officials other than the councillors who have unauthorised or improved settlements within their wards have negative attitudes towards improvement areas, because the property owners in these areas do not contribute to the revenue, as their properties are not included on the valuation roll and are therefore exempt from paying any direct taxes such as rates. The failure to collect rates from property owners in the improvement areas is due to two main factors. First, these areas have not been surveyed and the properties cannot therefore be clearly identified. Secondly, the city authorities may not have up to date records about the property owners, because the allocation of plots in these areas has not entirely been managed by the city council, because the ruling political parties have been heavily involved in plot allocation both when Zambia was a one party state and during the more recent multi-party era. Above all, given that the majority of poor people in the city live in the

improved and unauthorised settlements, it is unlikely that there could be sufficient political will to ensure that all property owners in the improved areas paid their taxes on their properties.

However, not all of the residents of improved areas are poor, because upon being upgraded they attracted some middle income residents who could not acquire land for construction of their own houses within the city boundary. Such people either obtained plots through the ruling party officials or indeed bought out the original residents of the improved areas who could not afford the cost of upgrading their houses. Most of the residents who could not afford the cost of upgrading their houses in the improvement areas either sold their unimproved houses and moved to other unauthorised areas, which were not undergoing upgrading, or simply became tenants of the newly improved houses, which they previously owned. Due to the severe financial constraints faced by the Lusaka City Council, an attempt was made to develop cadastral maps even for improvement areas and thereby make it possible to collect rates even in the improvement areas. Extending rates to Improvement Areas is seen as one of the income diversification strategies available to local authorities in Zambia. However, it remains to be seen whether sufficient political will can be mastered to extend rates to the Improvement Areas.

Upgrading of unauthorised urban settlements improved living conditions in these settlements by providing clean water and other socio-economic infrastructure and services, which were previously absent. The improvement in the water supply situation was, however, variable. It improved in some settlements, while in others the situation only improved slightly. The water supply did not generally improve in improved settlements located away from the original official city boundary. In such settlements, the residents continued using shallow wells to meet their water needs. These wells were, however, generally vulnerable to contamination from two main sources. First, from running water, especially during the rainy season and from pit latrines, which are not always made sufficiently far from the wells, due to lack of space and overcrowding. The residents of improvement areas without reliable access to piped water have thus remained vulnerable to water borne diseases. In the 1990s, the vulnerability of residents of formerly unauthorised locations was evident from outbreaks of public health epidemics and health disasters, such as cholera outbreaks during the rainy season.

In recognition of the problem of lack of access to clean water supplies international development agencies, notably the Japanese International Development Agency (JICA), the Department for International Development (DFID) of Great Britain, and CARE International working in conjunction with the Lusaka City Council and its water supply subsidiary company, the

Lusaka Water and Sewerage Company embarked on a joint project designed to improve the water supply in what they called Satellite Areas of Lusaka. In actual fact these areas were all improved areas, which were formerly unauthorised locations. In areas where the water supply has been improved, there have been remarkable declines in outbreaks of public health epidemics, such as cholera. The only major disappointment is that a few households in these areas still rely on shallow wells, because they can apparently not afford to pay the minimal monthly water charges which were introduced under the water supply project in a bid to make the supply project sustainable in the long-term.

The other major public health problem in improved and unauthorised settlements is the disposal of solid waste. The Lusaka City Council has not generally been collecting solid waste from most housing areas, especially improved housing areas. This state of affairs has created a major problem in the improvement areas where houses do not have a lot of space to enable residents dig waste disposal pits. In consequence, solid waste is left uncollected in large piles throughout the improved and unauthorised settlements. The situation is particularly bad during the dry season when it is windy and dusty. Absence of trees to serve as wind breaks makes the situation even worse. As a result, residents of improved and unauthorised urban settlements are more likely than other residents of the city to suffer from upper respiratory tract infections.

In an attempt to ensure that solid waste is collected and managed, the Sustainable Lusaka Programme supported by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and Irish Aid have experimented with participatory programmes for collection and management of solid waste. In this regard, they have even encouraged and trained some residents with the help of the International Labour Organisation in business skills of turning the solid waste problem into an economic opportunity for those without formal jobs, who have been encouraged to form companies to manage solid waste in their residential area for fees from all the residents. These experiments are, however, in their infancy and are yet to be examined in terms of whether they are viable.

Residents of self-help improved, authorised and unauthorised settlements in Lusaka are also more vulnerable to air borne diseases, such as tuberculosis, because they generally live in overcrowded conditions. This is because most households live in only one or two rooms and yet the average household size is about 5 to six persons (Central Statistical Office, 1995). Thus room occupancy rates of 3 to 5 people per room are not uncommon. The situation is made worse by poor ventilation as most windows are not likely to be left open, especially at night due to fear of intruders and burglars. The problem of overcrowding is, however, not being addressed by the city and health authorities, probably,

because they are not able to do much about the problem. However, even programmes designed to make residents of the city's slums aware of the dangers of overcrowding are none existent. The problem is, however, generally experienced at the individual level and is scarcely discussed. The high rates of HIV/AIDS infections in the city and the re-emergence of tuberculosis as major public health problem have transformed the problem of overcrowding into a serious problem that requires urgent solutions. At the very least, programmes to make people aware of the risks of sleeping in overcrowded rooms should be put in place.

The environmental and health problems confronting people in the improved, authorised and unauthorised housing areas should be of concern to the city authorities and the Government, because a large proportion of the city's population, estimated at 60 to 70 per cent of the city's population live in these settlements. The environmental and health problems are worsened by the socio-economic situation. The latter are, however, discussed in the next section, which analyses the livelihoods and welfare of the people who live in the improved, authorised and unauthorised housing areas of the city of Lusaka (GRZ 1972; Central Statistical Office 1995).

D. CONCLUSION

The slums of Lusaka owe their origins to the neglect of provision of low cost public housing and a rather myopic colonial urban and housing policy. The successive post independence governments have also failed to come up with a permanent solution to provision of decent housing in a rapidly growing city. Although the Improvement Areas Act of 1974 has shown that the solution to the critical housing shortage can be best resolved with the involvement of the residents of the slum areas, the government does not seem to have grasped the key essential lessons that should have been learnt from the upgrading projects. Nevertheless, the major lesson that can be drawn from the experience of the upgrading projects is that participatory approaches are more likely to help deliver decent housing at an affordable cost to both the individuals and the government, while the traditional public provision of low cost housing failed to deliver improved housing for the bulk of the population, especially in the period 1966 to 1970 when enormous public resources were devoted to provision of public housing.

The more participatory and gradual improvement of housing, on the other hand, has delivered improved housing although it might be below the formal statutory standards. Participatory upgrading programmes, however, require care and flexible management to ensure adequate provision of essential infrastructure and services, and above all to ensure that such public infra-

structure and services can be provided on a sustainable and equitable basis. The major problem confronting the slum areas of Lusaka today is not poor housing quality, but sustainable provision of essential infrastructure and services, as well as effective solid waste management. Other less clearly perceived problems are insecurity and over-crowding. The former undermines the productivity of the people who live in the slum areas, while the latter makes them vulnerable to airborne diseases of which tuberculosis is currently the most serious problem. The apparent resurgence of tuberculosis has been attributed to the impact of the HIV/AIDS pandemic, which is perhaps the other single public health and development challenge facing not only the city of Lusaka, but the country and perhaps the continent as a whole.

Rapid population growth largely due to natural increase is also causing serious land shortages, especially for cemeteries and the disposal of solid waste. Additional land for new housing is also required in many of the upgraded settlements that were upgraded about thirty years ago. This because most of the land has been used intensively to an extent where there are no places for waste disposal and even new pit latrines or gardening. This state of affairs cannot, however, continue.

Finding answers to the problems faced by the residents of the slums of Lusaka requires concerted efforts by a more proactive and progressive leadership at all levels. Above all, a more autonomous local authority with full control over the affairs of the city including its finances and management seems desirable. Instituting about such a local authority, however, requires more comprehensive and fundamental democratic decentralisation and an acceptance by those who wield political power that essential urban services can only be delivered by an autonomous and democratically elected and decentralised local authority, because it is more likely to be responsive to the needs and concerns of the ordinary residents and the plight of the poor. ■

ACRONYMS

GDP	Gross Domestic Product
BSAC	British South African Company
CBD	Central Business District
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
HUZA	Human Settlements of Zambia
UNCHS	United Nations Centre for Human Settlements
CBO	Community Based Organisation
RDC	Residents Development Committee
WFP	World Food Programme
JICA	Japanese International Development Agency
DFID	Department for International Development (UK)
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme

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