

Migration, Land Resettlement and Conflict at Kambilombilo Resettlement Scheme on the Copperbelt: Implications for Policy¹

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I. Introduction

Displacement, migration and resettlement in Africa has traditionally been attributed to conflict, developmental pressure or extraction of natural resources. Furthermore, literature also shows a history of dispossession through colonisation and conquest. However, evidence from the resettlement programme in Zambia shows a different form of displaced people. It shows a group of retrenched persons, retirees and unemployed youths who are forced by circumstances such as lack of employment and the resultant poverty to migrate to resettlement schemes from urban areas. The fact therefore still remains that these people who has been allocated agricultural land in these resettlement areas have migrated from various urban and rural areas to these resettlement sites. It is therefore important to examine the reasons for such migration and more importantly the success of the resettlement schemes approach to solving economic problems. It has been noted that sometimes these resettlements do cause conflicts with the indigenous local people of such areas, another area this study hopes to examine. This study therefore hopes to looks at one of such resettlement schemes situated on the Copperbelt Province of Zambia to try and understand problems encountered in the process of resettlement and the impact of such schemes on poverty, household food security, land tenure security, infrastructure, etc.

In Zambia, the implementation of the Land Resettlement Programme is the responsibility of the Department of Resettlement under the Office of the Vice President, whose main programme objectives is to:

- To resettle the employed, retired, retrenched, displaced and disabled persons in order to make them self-sufficient
- To coordinate the provision of infrastructure to resettlement schemes in order to make them socially and economically viable
- To mobilize and provide extension and other support services to settlers in order to promote household security.

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In line with these objectives, government has established a number of resettlement schemes around the country in all provinces and now total sixty five in number. This study examines whether resettlement schemes are a solution to unemployment and poverty in the country and to what extent. Furthermore, what lessons can we learn from the implementation of resettlement schemes so far? Moreover, what are the implications for policy?

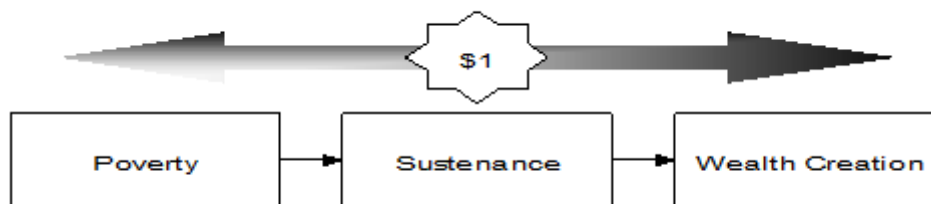
Objectives of Study:

Despite the publicity of the land resettlement programmes, there seems to be little evidence on the actual contribution of these schemes to food security, tenure security, infrastructure development and reduction of poverty at the household level. Therefore this study hopes to achieve the following objectives:

- To examine policy provisions for resettlement schemes
- To track progress on the implementation of the resettlement programme
- To evaluate the impact of the land resettlement programme on household food security, land accessibility and tenure and poverty levels.

It is further argued in this study that policy intervention should go beyond sustenance to wealth creation. Preliminary observations indicate that government's aim of "*self sufficiency*" merely hopes to move its citizens from poverty to sustenance, which should really be a short to medium term objective. The long term vision should be to move from sustenance to wealth creation. These linkages are depicted in figure 1 below.

Figure 1: From Poverty to Wealth Creation



The diagram above indicates that by UN standards, anyone earning less than one dollar a day is living in poverty, therefore if one earns one dollar a day, this is just sustenance or surviving. However, wealth creation would only begin if one earned more than one dollar a day.

Migration and Displacement

Migration is the movement of people from one place to another search for more farming and grazing land, due to conflicts or wars or due to population expansion.

The African Union argues that the movement of people—voluntary or forced, legal or undocumented, within or beyond borders—constitutes today a complex process presenting some of the most intricate interrelationships of policy concerns for governments. Therefore, given that the number of migrants is rising and that this trend is likely to persist in the near future, the management of migration has necessarily become one of the critical challenges for States in the new millennium. (African Union, 2002)

The African Union estimates that in Africa, there are an estimated 16.3 million migrants and close to 13.5 million Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) (African Union, 2002). So the Union argues that mismanaged or unmanaged migration can have serious negative consequences for States' and migrants' well-being, including potential destabilising effects on national and regional security, and jeopardising inter-State relations. Mismanaged migration can also lead to tensions between host communities and migrants, and give rise to xenophobia, discrimination and other social pathologies. (African Union, 2002)

Migration in Africa can be examined within three periods: migration during pre-colonial, during colonial and post-colonial times. Colonisation and post-independence links with former colonial powers greatly shaped the migration patterns observed today and it will do so in future times. However the driving forces, dynamics and patterns of migration are diverse in the various regions in Africa but are mostly shaped by internal factors. The globalisation process will also influence migration as it facilitates the movement of people across the various regions in Africa (through regional integration) and to other regions outside the continent. (African Union, 2002)

However, there seem to be a general lack of reliable migration data, posing one of the principal obstacles to effective migration management, policy and co-operation. As in most parts of the world, the continuing need for systematic and comprehensive migration data gathering, analysis and exchange on all aspects of migration remains a critical challenge both within and between African States. (African Union, 2002). Therefore most of the statistics available on migration, displacement and resettlement is from Bank sources such as the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank who have included a component of compensation for the displaced for all bank funded projects.

However, this study mainly focuses on an area that is even less considered in literature on migration and displacement. It focuses on a less discussed phenomenon, that is, urban-rural migration because of displacements.

Displacement is defined here as referring to both 'physical displacement' and 'livelihood' displacement (or deprivation). (WCD, 2000) However within the literature on displacement, again the focus is on displacements occasioned by development activities such as natural resource extraction, urban renewal or development programs, industrial parks, and infrastructure projects (such as highways, bridges, irrigation canals, and dams), which all require land, often in large quantity to be realized. Therefore, one common consequence of such projects is the upheaval and displacement of communities.

Other types of policies can also induce migration. For example, a distributive policy decision that shifts jobs between two regions might cause some people to move in search of new employment.

Around the world and particularly in Africa, examples abound where whole communities are forced to move as a result of development. For example, the building of Kariba Dam across the Zambezi River in Zambia caused the resettlement of the Tonga people from the Gwembe valley. Issues of resettlement have therefore been raging up to the current times.

Table 1 and Table 2 below shows projects funded by the World Bank and extent of displacement and resettlement.

Table 1. World Bank projects active in 1993 with resettlement, including number of people displaced

Region	Projects	Percentage	People	Percentage
Africa	34	23.3	113,000	5.8
South Asia	29	19.9	1,024,000	52.1
East Asia	58	39.7	588,000	30.0
Europe/Central Asia	5	3.4	27,000	1.4
Middle East/North Africa	7	4.8	32,000	1.6
Latin America	13	8.9	180,000	9.1
Total World Bank	146	100	1,963,000	100

(source: WBED, 1996 also quoted in Stanley J, 2000, Development –Induced Displacement and Resettlement)

Table 2. Distribution of displacees by cause of displacement in World Bank projects (active in 1993) with resettlement

Cause	Projects	Percentage	People	Percentage
Dams, irrigation, canals	46	31.5	1,304,000	66.4
Urban infrastructure, water supply, sewerage, transportation	66	45.2	443,000	22.6
Thermal (including mining)	15	10.3	94,000	4.8
Other	19	13.0	122,000	6.2
Total World Bank	146	100	1,963,000	100

(source: WBED, 1996 also quoted in Stanley J , 2000, Development –Induced Displacement and Resettlement)

Dams – Dams, irrigation, canals causes the major physical displacement from the World Bank perspective.

Urban infrastructure, water supply, sewerage, transportation- this may also include development such as slum clearance and upgrading; the establishment of industrial and commercial estates; the building and upgrading of sewerage systems, schools, hospitals, ports, etc.; and the construction of communication and transportation networks, including those connecting different urban centres. (Stanley J, 2000)

Natural Resource Extraction (including mining) – These include mineral and oil extraction projects including forestry extraction

It is argued that the consequence of displacement largely depends on the way resettlement is structured. Therefore the remedy to displacement following this argument would purely be based

on restoring the livelihood, income and assets the community or individuals had before they were forced to move. However, it is observed that practice is more difficult than is thought.

In trying to explain the effects of forced displacement, a number of theoretical frameworks have been developed, however in this study Cernea's Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction (IRR) model (Cernea, 1997) is adopted. As argued by WCD, the impoverishment risks and reconstruction analysis model for resettling affected and displaced populations adds substantially to the tools used for explaining, diagnosing, predicting, and planning for development. (WCD, 2000)

The Cernea's Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction (IRR) model, in particular stresses that, unless specifically addressed by targeted policies, forced displacement can cause impoverishment among displacees by bringing about the following (Cernea, 1997):

- **Landlessness** – Land is the basis of any economic production system. Normally in a situation of displacement the settler loses occupation/use of this physical asset. Therefore unless the foundation is rebuilt, the effort of reconstruction may be wasted.
- **Joblessness** – Displacement will affect settler more if in the process of moving they also lose their jobs.
- **Homelessness** – In the process of movement, settler also lose house. However this may be temporary or may become chronic if not attended to.
- **Marginalization**- In the process of resettling, the settlers may not regain their lost economic strength resulting in feeling marginalized.
- **Food insecurity** – Forced movement increase the risk that people would fall into chronic food insecurity
- **Loss of access to common property resources** – Common resources provide other products such as fruit and other edible products, firewood, etc, therefore a loss of common resources due to forced migration results in lose of such products.
- **Increased morbidity and mortality** – People forced to relocate tend to have a higher degree of exposure to illness than those who are not.
- **Community disarticulation.** – Movement results in social disorganization which compound the individual's loss of social capital.

Therefore this model is based on three fundamental concepts: risks, impoverishment and reconstruction. Impoverishment risks are analysed by separating out the components of the displacement process. They are landlessness; joblessness; homelessness; social, economic, and political marginalisation; food insecurity; increased morbidity and mortality; loss of access to common property resources; and loss of socio-cultural resilience through a community's inability to secure its interests. (WCD, 2000)

The internal logic of the model suggests (WCD, 2000) that:

- preventing or overcoming the pattern of impoverishment requires risk reversal;
- explicit identification of risks in advance is crucial for planning counter-risk measures; and
- the transparent recognition of risks in advance will allow planners and affected people to search for alternatives to avoid displacement or to respond with mitigation and development measures or strategies and coping approaches.

The implementation of the impoverishment risk model requires detailed studies, which includes the following:

- the baseline study covering such aspects as numbers of affected people, availability and access to resources, sources of livelihood and social, cultural, demographic, economic and political conditions and processes. These studies must incorporate variables to construct key elements of the risk model, in addition to collecting data on other aspects;
- the baseline study providing information to understand how social, economic and cultural networks, physical environment and resources support the well-being of individuals, households and communities; and
- mitigation, development and benefit-sharing measures to improve the livelihoods and well-being of affected people, and to provide the social and physical environment that would enable individuals, households and communities to successfully overcome impoverishment risks.

However, these detailed surveys outlined above have not been carried out for this study due to limitation of time and resources, but a preliminary survey was nevertheless undertaken whose findings are presented in this paper.

The Issue of Resettlement

Due to the resultant deprivation, natural justice demands that the affected persons be compensated or helped to reconstitute their lives after they have been forcefully removed from their previous physical assets, communities and livelihoods.

Therefore resettlement is a theme that has been looked at from a variety of perspectives. From political, social or economic perspectives, all which may be right in their own perspectives. However, the issues of poverty and economic growth cut across all disciplines, hence the need to study this subject in a multi-disciplinary environment. Bridger (1962) and Apthrope (1966) define resettlement from a social perspective. However there is a general agreement in the literature that resettlement takes mainly two forms, voluntary resettlement, where people volunteer to move to different areas normally in pursuant of a better life or involuntary resettlement where people are forced to move due to a development project, reform policy, etc. Concisely it involves the movement of people from one area to another either voluntarily or by coercion.

However, the literature on DIDR (Development -Induced Displacement and Resettlement) does not consider in detail displacement due to policy changes. Its focus is clearly on physical forms of development that require displacement by decree.

A related issue to land resettlement which complicates the problem is on whether we should be looking at the question of land resettlement or land reforms? Keith (2001) argues that in the 1970s and 1980s, land resettlement was more fashionable amongst the international community but many of these schemes have failed. Keith (2001) further argues that leasehold enfranchisement as used in land reform is different from land resettlement. To start with leasehold enfranchisement simply involves the empowering of citizens in ensuring that their rights on land are clear and secure while land resettlement involves the purchasing of large tracks of land subdividing and allocating to new

settlers, which requires huge expenses. Keith (2001) then outlines the reasons for failure of most of these resettlement schemes, which include:

- High costs of land acquisition
- Inability of the land administrative machinery to cope with the scope of work
- Lack of support and training to the beneficiaries in the schemes
- Lack of dedication to farming by most beneficiaries, who normally just want land for residential purposes.

For instance to immediately resettle 3,500 farming households (approximately 15 –20,000 people) in a land resettlement scheme, the Malawian government needed at least USD 25 million to accomplish the task. This is one of the situations where resettlement is used as a policy to cater for emergencies. (GRM, 2002) These large amounts are difficult to mobilise for most governments resulting in inadequate resources available to the scheme.

It is because of these failures in land resettlement schemes that the World Bank and FAO have then opted for market assisted land reform (Keith, 2001). However, this seems to be exactly the opposite of recent findings on the implementation of land reform programs in Southern Africa (See Conference report by Drimie S and Mbaya S, 2001) Recent thinking is that simply distributing land to beneficiaries is not enough because most beneficiaries lack the know-how or capital to be able to use the land productively. Hence, suggestions that land redistribution programs should come with some form of support. What form, similar to land resettlement schemes? Are we going forward or backwards?

Adam (2000) shows that the willing seller, willing buyer formula for land reform was reluctantly agreed by ZANU in Zimbabwe in 1980 and thereafter a compromise was reached by SWAPO in Namibia in 1990 and by the ANC in South Africa in 1994 which resulted in existing property rights being protected in the new constitutions. Recent findings in Namibia on '*resettlement co-operatives*' from a survey by the Division of Co-operative Development in MAWRD, reported in Adams (2001) shows poor performance of the resettlement schemes in Namibia. It concluded that :

- none of the projects were economically viable; some remain welfare schemes dependent on food rations;
- the morale, motivation and commitment of the participants was poor;
- there was little evidence of participants being involved in the planning and the actions necessary to satisfy their needs because decisions were made by officials;
- MLRR (Ministry of Land And Rural Resettlement) staff assigned to the projects were unsuitable in terms of their qualifications and experience;
- there was undue dependence on a limited number of foreign technical assistants;
- the settlers had reasonable access to some services (health and education), given access to government transport.

Therefore, this brings us back to the question, which one should be undertaken land resettlement or land reform? While a simple answer may not be possible at this stage, however a general direction can be given. The policy implication for both land resettlement or land reform should be based on two critical issues:

- Access to land by beneficiaries – accessibility/distribution
- Increased production – productivity/sustainable livelihood

In fact as we debate between land resettlement and re-distributive land reform, Roth (2002) shows that energies have been moving away from re-distributive land reform to market-assisted land reform (1990s) and currently to community-assisted land reform.

Policy on Resettlement in Zambia

As indicated above, statistics on other causes of displacement outside, dams, infrastructure development and natural resources extraction is very little or not available at all. In fact the major focus in Zambia has been on the movement of people from rural to urban areas or what is termed migration and urbanisation. Nevertheless as indicated by statistics Zambia has had more of urban to rural migration than rural to urban migration in both 1990 and 2000. (CSO, 2003). However, a discerning observer would note that the issue of resettlement is a big issue in Zambia and an important political or social program for consecutive governments. The effect of implementing the resettlement program has been a combination of voluntary and involuntary movement of beneficiaries, mainly from urban to rural areas. It is therefore important to examine the objective behind forcing people to the “land”.

The general policy orientation of a resettlement scheme is normally that government wants to provide survival opportunities to the vulnerable of its society such as retrenched, retirees, youths, disabled, etc. Therefore, most of these resettlement schemes were conceived as social programs with an objective of economically empowering the target group. In some cases, these resettlement schemes have been looked at as part and parcel of the rural development strategies. (Hulme, 1989) In Zambia, resettlement schemes date as far back as 1940s, when pleasant schemes for Africans were introduced. After independence, the importance of resettlement schemes as an important economic development strategy were emphasized by its inclusion in the First National Development Plan (FNDP) of 1966 to 1970.

However, detailed government policy documents on the objectives of the resettlement schemes then were not available. Nevertheless, a general direction of the resettlement schemes can be noted from the Watershed Speech by the then UNIP (United National Independence Party) and Republican President Dr Kenneth K Kaunda of July 1975. It reaffirmed the idea of resettlement schemes as an integral part of the government’s policy. For instance, the President emphasized in that speech that while there was going to be cutting of jobs and redundancies due to the streamlining of operations that was to be undertaken in 1975, all those who found themselves without jobs would be assisted to resettle in the resettlement schemes under the Rural Reconstruction Programme. (Kaunda, 1975). These were implemented through the Zambia National Service as Rural Reconstruction Centres and Two Youth Resettlement Centres at Kanakantapa and Kambilombilo. (GRZ, 1995) The Department of Resettlement was then later established in October 1988 as a non-statutory organ with the task of resettling the employed and retired person on land to engage in agriculture.

Under the UNIP government reconstruction and youth resettlement centres, incentives were included to incite the youth and unemployed to move to the rural areas and engage in productive agriculture. These included:

- 10hectares of “free” land for each settler
- Issue of free mealie meal and relish allowance

- Giving grants for land clearing, purchase of agricultural inputs and implements
- Construction of access roads to individual plots within the resettlement schemes
- Assisting persons settling outside the scheme, e.g. in their village of origin
- Transporting new settlers to their places or resettlement in the schemes.

In 1991, a capitalist oriented government under the MMD (Movement for Multiparty Democracy) took office. In line with its capitalist ideology and the MMD government's policy on "removing subsidies", incentives to settlers in the schemes were scrapped off at the beginning of 1992. (GRZ, 1995). Nevertheless by 1995, the position of resettlements were still not clear, resulting in a number of queries from members of parliament on the operations of the Department of Resettlement and its programmes. This prompted the issuing of the Ministerial Statement on 14th March 1995 by the Vice President on the "*Policy and Activities of the Resettlement Programme*". This statement forms the policy directive on resettlement programmes during the third republic. The MMD government's understanding was that funds saved from these subsidies would then be used to sink wells, boreholes, construct roads and staff houses within the schemes. Therefore, from 1995, the following policy provisions were outlined:

- Plots were now to be demarcated from 4hectares (being the smallest) to 50 hectares. Previously every settler was to be given 10hectares of land regardless of one's resources and capacity
- While the resettling of the youth and the unemployed was still a priority of Government, the policy had now been modified to accommodate other categories of persons who need to be resettled
- Land was to be given "free" but through a transparent allocation process by the Provincial Land Allocation Committee.

From 2001, a new form of MMD government took office calling itself the New Deal MMD. This New Deal government has also continued on the resettlement scheme as a tool for economic diversification. In the supplement entitled "*Copperbelt on the Development Move 2002*" published in the Times of Zambia of Monday December 30, 2002, the Copperbelt Provincial Development Coordinating Committee (PDCC) reported that a number of areas had been identified on the Copperbelt as been crucial to the diversification of the Copperbelt by using agriculture.

While the UNIP government initiated the resettlement scheme for those who were to be retrenched, the New Deal government sees it as a tool for the implementation of the agricultural component. This was clearly spelt out in the article on "*Resettlement: The New Deal Approach*" of the same Supplement. It mentioned that farming areas, which included Kafubu West Dam Area, Kambilombilo and Lufwanyama, had already been identified for the implementation of the resettlement schemes.

From the new deal government perspective, the following are the objectives of the current program:

1. To resettle the unemployed, retired, retrenched, displaced and disabled persons in order to make them self sufficient
2. To coordinate the provision of infrastructure to resettlement schemes in order to make them socially and economically viable

3. To mobilize and provide extension and other support services to settlers in order to promote household security.

Therefore, the Zambian government has been trying to implement the land resettlement schemes as a strategy for many years, starting from 1975 through Rural Reconstruction and Youth Centres to the establishment of a fully fledged Department of Resettlement in 1988 and up to date. We will however later examine the successes and failures later of this programme.

However, during the same period that the Zambian government has been trying to implement the land resettlement strategy, a parallel process of land reform has also been taking place. Within the pronouncements of the Watershed Speech of 1975, a number of policy changes were also instituted on land. Some of these included conversion of all freeholds to leasehold tenure, declaration of land valueless, abolition of estate agencies and nationalizing of all undeveloped land. (Kaunda, 1975) This culminated in the passing of the 1975 Land (Conversion of Titles) Act, which ran until it was replaced by the 1995 Land Act. During this period all land in Zambia has continued to be vested under the President while the Commissioner of Lands has delegated powers to administer state land in both urban and rural areas and traditional leaders had continued to administer land on the reserves and trust land. Even the enactment of the 1995 Act did not change these roles except by simply re-classifying all reserves and trust land as customary land but still administered by traditional leaders.

This understanding is also important in that failure to achieve the objectives of a resettlement scheme would simply equate it to a lease enfranchisement, as was observed during field work.

The summary of reform on land resettlements in Zambia is summarized in table 3 below.

Table 3: Summary of Policy Reforms on Resettlement

Year	Policy Reform Activity
1940	Peasant Schemes for Africans
1966	Resettlement Schemes included in First National Development Plan (1966-60)
1975	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Establishment of Rural Reconstruction Centres through ZNS • Establishment of Youth Resettlement Centres
1988	Establishment of Department of Resettlement
1991	Change of government from UNIP to MMD
1992	Abolition of incentives included in the Rural Reconstruction Centres and Youth Centres
1995	Ministerial Statement on the Policy and Activities of the Resettlement Programme
2001	New Deal MMD government
2002	Newspaper supplement entitled " <i>Resettlement :the New Deal Approach</i> "

Resettlement Schemes on the Copperbelt Province

The Copperbelt Province formerly the large copper ore deposits before the opening up of the North Western Province. It is a fairly urbanized province though some part of the province are still considered remote. It is situated approximately 380kilometres north west of Lusaka. On the

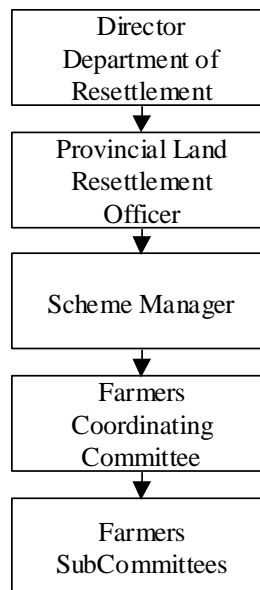
Copperbelt Province ten resettlement schemes have been identified and allocated. These are shown in table 4 below.

Table 4: Resettlement Scheme on the Copperbelt and Land Allocation Status

Scheme	Province	District	Status
Milyashi	Copperbelt	Chililimbombwe	Full
Mutenda	Copperbelt	Chingola	Full
Musakashi	Copperbelt	Kalulushi	Full
Kakolo	Copperbelt	Kitwe	Full
Chifulube	Copperbelt	Luanshya	Full
Luswishi	Copperbelt	Lufwanyama	Full
Miengwe	Copperbelt	Masaiti	Full
Mutundu	Copperbelt	Mufulira	Full
Lukanga North	Copperbelt	Mpongwe	Full
Kambilombilo	Copperbelt	Lufwanyama	Open

These schemes are administered through the Provincial Land Resettlement Officer based in Ndola, the Provincial Capital of the Province. The organizational hierarchy of the resettlement programme is as depicted in figure 2 below.

Figure 2: Institutional Organisation Hierarchy of the Resettlement Scheme Programme



Implementation of the Resettlement Scheme at Kambilombilo

Kambilombilo Resettlement Scheme is situated approximately 140kilomettre north west of Kitwe, in Lufwanyama District and approximately 200kilometres from Ndola the provincial capital. This is virtually the boundary between the Copperbelt Province and the North West Province and falls under SubChief Kambilombilo under Chief Shibuchinga of the Lamba people. Although the New Deal government indicates it on the list together with the newly established resettlement schemes, Kambilombilo was established in 1988 during the UNIP government, initially as one of the Youth Resettlement Centres. Interviews with the pioneer settlers (first settlers of the scheme) revealed that many of them were rounded up and “arrested” from various town centers such as Mufulira,

Kitwe, Ndola, Lusaka, etc. These were the ones found loitering or selling cigarettes while some volunteered to move to the scheme.

Initially the settlers camped in tents at the Camp site and had to undergo military and agricultural training. The initial objective was youth empowerment in order to decongest the cities and reduce crime in the urban areas by making youths productive on the land. Five thousand pioneer settlers were recruited to Kambilombilo at the inception. However, this has drastically changed as will be seen later. Between 1988 to 1991 when UNIP was still in power, the settlers received a lot of support from government including food rations and working clothing such as overalls and safety boots.

Nevertheless, with change in government in 1991, the new government did not feel obligated to continue with the provisions given by the previous government. Therefore, the pioneer settlers were simply given farmland and asked to start production from the land. This has over the years resulted in hardships in the scheme. Pioneer settlers feel that the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) government of 1991 to 2001 had done virtually nothing for them and as such have very little to say on government's role during this period.

However, from 2001 to date the feeling from settlers is that the New Deal MMD has again relooked at their plight. As discussed in an earlier section, the focus of this government has changed from the original UNIP concept. Current figures indicate that there are now more retirees than unemployed youth. Table 5 below shows the categories of allottees at Kambilombilo.

Table 5: Current Land Allocation Status at Kambilombilo

Category	Approx No.
Retrenched/Retired	600
Pioneer Settlers	80
Still to Retire	310
On offer from Dept of Resettlement	110
TOTAL	1,100

Pioneer settlers argue that they do not understand the reason for the shift hence they feel cheated. In fact they argue that they were promised free land way back in 1988 to entice them to move to these resettlement schemes, why should they now be asked to pay for the land? While objecting to the demanded payments in the offer letters from department of Lands, the issuance of titles is also delayed which leaves them legally unprotected. In the meantime the land prices keep increasing from K150,000 (US \$40) in 1999 to K2million (US\$ 512) currently. The pioneer settlers argue that these figures unfortunately are unreachable for them because in the first place they are in the scheme because they are unemployed, so how are they expected to pay for such land? Government on the other hand argues that the policy of "free" land has changed and as such the settlers should learn to adapt to the new environment instead of sticking to old things. Therefore, government feels that a change of attitude is needed from the settlers if they are to benefit from government provisions.

However it was observed that retrenchees and retirees are able to pay this amount probably because at the time they leave employment they benefit from termination packages, hence the preference for this group by government.

Kambilombilo has 20,000 hectares subdivided into 1100 farms. Currently approximately 990 are allocated while the other 110 have been offered by the Department of Resettlements to beneficiaries. This offer is different from the offer of land from Department of Lands.

The design of the evaluation programme was based on the eight impoverishment risks identified by the Cornea's Risks and Reconstruction Model (Model). A questionnaire was developed and structured interviews with settlers carried out. The critical question was whether the resettlement schemes are achieving their objectives? What are the unintended consequences of such schemes? Are there conflicts reported between Kambilombilo Resettlement scheme residents and the indigenous Lamba people of Lufwanyama? The findings are summarized in table 6 below.

A case study research methodology was used. However, there is very little literature on land-based resettlement schemes as envisaged in Zambia. This may be due to a problem of role clarity between resettlement schemes and land reform programmes. Time limitation was another limiting factor of this study. As already mentioned, Zambia has already established 65 sites for resettlement schemes around the country. A look at just one of these schemes may not provide adequate information to reach acceptable conclusions. However, in the time and resources available, this is all that could be done. It is however hoped that this study, time and resources permitting, will be extended to cover other resettlement schemes and come up with a general understanding of the processes, effects and remedies on resettlement scheme programme.

Table 6: summary of Research Findings

Risk	Findings
Landlessness/Accessibility	The whole scheme comprises 1100 farm plots demarcated within a 20,000 land
	Retrenched/Retired – 600 Pioneer Youth – 80 To retire – 310 On offer – 110
	The sizes of farms in the scheme range from 4ha (smallest) –32ha (largest)
Joblessness	Farming is the only economic activity in the scheme. Because of its remote location, there is not even the possibility of off-farm work nearby.
Homelessness	Some while other do not. The Pioneer settlers still contend that government was supposed to build them one roomed basic houses as an incentive to move into the schemes. However government argues that that policy has changed and that each settler is responsible for the erection of their own accommodation and for the larger plots also the digging of wells or sinking boreholes.
Marginalization	Settlers, especially the pioneer settlers feel betrayed and cheated
	Mainly from the urban areas such as Lusaka, Ndola, Kitwe, Mufulira, etc.
Food insecurity	The main crops grown in the scheme are maize, sweet potatoes which is their main source of income. However other crops such as groundnut, beans are also grown
	In terms of contribution to agricultural production, although the total output figures were not available, farmers in the scheme reported that they managed to sell 5,000 x 50kg bag of maize to the Food Reserve Agency (FRA)
	A good part of the year although some run to sell and then save afterwards
Loss of access to common	There are no common area

property resources	If any, these would be controlled through the Farmers Coordinating Committee (FCC)
Increased morbidity and mortality	Clinic within the scheme although settlers complained of shortage of staff and lack of advanced equipment. However the clinic existed before the scheme and a Flying Doctors' clinic.
Loss of access to public services	Access into and within the scheme is by bush tracks which become almost impassable rainy season. No water reticulation.
Security of Tenure	On title to land, most settlers initially received offer letter from Dept of Land and then after payment, certificate of titles were to be issued for 14 years. However pioneer settlers contended that they were promise free land and title way back in 1988. Therefore they do not see the need to pay for the land, thus leaving many of them unprotected.
Community disarticulation.	Minimal, initially but not any more. Due to hardship in the scheme some settlers have decided to move their families out of the scheme back into town and only revisit the scheme during cultivation time.
Disruption of formal education activities	Middle basic school i.e. Grade 1-9, is provided within the scheme. Although interviews revealed that that school was built on site before the area was designated as a resettlement scheme. Some extensions has however been undertaken during the existence of the scheme

There is a general perception that resettlement schemes in Zambia have failed or are failing due to the following reasons:

1. Settlers limited financial situation who have to buy application forms and sometimes hire land clearing equipment which unaffordable by settlers.
2. Farmers abandoning farms because of no development of infrastructure e.g. schools, at a pace farmers would be happy with, no credit facilities for their inputs, no marketing facilities within the schemes and no public transport system to the schemes.
3. Resistance by chiefs to release more customary land for resettlement schemes. Chiefs argue that that land is converted to state land from customary land for resettlement schemes, the inhabitants stop paying loyalties to the traditional authorities. For chiefs, the more land they have the more they the more subjects, influence and control. When farmers are levied ground rent by government, chief do not get any share unlike with Zambia Wildlife Authority (ZAWA) and the hunting licence fee where the chiefs get a portion of that money.
4. Human Resource Factor has also been a constraint staff within government departments is not always adequate on the ground. This has left resettlement schemes with no extension services.

The findings from Kambilombilo Resettlement Scheme of this preliminary survey-based research in terms of achieving the intended objectives of the programme are follows:

1. Most farm plots have indeed been allocated. The complete list of resettlement schemes showing the allocation status of each scheme is given at the end of this study. However, the critical question is, has this improved accessibility to land for the majority? Not necessarily! Only a small group in comparison to the population of the country have benefited from these allocations. Therefore, resettlement in Zambia seems to focus more on physical deprivation, and as such allocation of land seem to be the end in this reconstruction process as opposed to being the means.

2. The objectives of providing infrastructure within the scheme is proving to be unattainable, relegating the resettlement scheme to a land distribution programme. For instance the bush tracks in Kambilombilo were done way back in 1988 with very few little improvements done afterwards. Culverts across the small streams within the scheme have only recently been improvised. Even these are impassable during rainy seasons (November to March)
3. Many beneficiaries in the scheme have no basic training in agriculture and in addition, the extension services of the ministry of agriculture is none existence. Many retirees are former public servants such as teacher, soldier, etc whose lives have mostly been outside agriculture. Settling on land is a matter of circumstance as opposed to being a matter of choice.
4. While poverty levels tend to reduce during harvest periods (March to August), settlers in Kambilombilo are still vulnerable to poverty during certain period of the year (October/November to December/January), with their main sources of income being the selling of sweet potatoes at markets in Kalulushi and Kitwe, approximately 142kilometres away.
5. The unresolved issue especially between government and the pioneer settlers on their entitlement leaves their stay in the scheme legally unprotected. While government argues that pioneer settlers should change their attitude and move with time, it should also recognize that policy, just like law should never be applied in retrospect. The processing of the “free” land should have been completed as soon as settlers were allocated land way back in 1988 such that a change to move from “free” land should have not affected the pioneer settlers. However, the administrative wings of government delayed in finalizing this process resulting in the current impasse. It is not therefore logical to “arrest” someone from town and force them to settle on land which you then ask them to pay for.
6. While 5000bags of maize were sold this season to Food Reserve Agency, more research is needed to conclusively assess the contribution of the resettlement schemes programme to household food security and agricultural production. The counterfactual is that subsistence farmers in the neighbouring villages of Kambilombilo and others also produce surplus maize to sell to FRA without necessarily benefiting from the scheme programme.

Policy Implications

- Improve accessibility to farmland by the rural communities, especially women
- Increase security of tenure on this land, which does not necessarily need to be in a deed form.
- Provide basic infrastructure, particularly feeder roads
- Integrate land reform and land resettlement in a national land policy
- Provide a channel for the participation of the settlers in the planning and execution of resettlement sites.

Conclusion

While a lot of information has been presented in this paper, more is needed to quantify the contribution of resettlement schemes to national agricultural production, employment and sustainable livelihood. Therefore more research is needed in production figures per annual, infrastructure, i.e. road constructed in kilometers, and other household survey data which was not available at the time of writing this paper. Nevertheless, the paper has tried to present the history of

resettlement programs in Zambia and attempted to evaluate one scheme against the Cernea's Impoverishment and Risk and Reconstruction Model.

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Appendices 1: Distribution of Resettlement Schemes and Status as at June 2006

Scheme	Province	District	Status
Kanakantapa	Lusaka	Chongwe	Full
Kasenga	Lusaka	Chnogwe	Full
Mumpanshya	Lusaka	Rufunsa	Full
Rufunsa	Lusaka	Rufunsa	Full
Chitope	Lusaka	Luangwa	Full
Yapite	Lusaka	Luangwa	Full
Milyashi	Copperbelt	Chililimbombwe	Full
Mutenda	Copperbelt	Chingola	Full
Musakashi	Copperbelt	Kalulushi	Full
Kakolo	Copperbelt	Kitwe	Full
Chifulube	Copperbelt	Luanshya	Full
Luswishi	Copperbelt	Lufwanyama	Full
Miengwe	Copperbelt	Masaiti	Full
Mutundu	Copperbelt	Mufulira	Full
Lukanga North	Copperbelt	Mpongwe	Full
Kambilombilo	Copperbelt	Lufwanyama	Open
Muswishi	Central	Chibombo	Failed
Lukanda	Central	Kapiri Mposhi	Full
Kanyesha	Central	Mkushi	Full
Maimwene	Serenje	Serenje	Open
Kampundu	Serenje	Chitambo	Open
Musanya	Northern	Chinsali	Full
Lupandizizi	Northern	Isoka	Open
Milongo	Northern	Isoka	Full
Kanga	Northern	Kaputa	Failed
Lukulu	Northern	Kasama	Full
Lufubu	Northern	Luwingu	Full
Musombizi	Northern	Mpulungu	Full
Kanchibiya	Northern	Mpika	Full
Mufubushi	Northern	Mpika	Full
Mwange	Northern	Mporokoso	Closed
Chanfubu	Northern	Mungwi	Open
Lutwi	Western	Kalabo	Failed
Kalumwange	Western	Kaoma	Open
Lombelombe	Western	Kaoma	Open
Kamilende	Western	Lukulu	Failed
Muuyi	Western	Mongu	Failed
Naaga	Western	Sesheke	Failed
Kanja	Western	Shangombo	Failed
Mlolo	Eastern	Chadiza	Full
Kaozi	Eastern	Chama	Open
Chipangali	Eastern	Chipata	Open
Madziatuba	Eastern	Chipata	Open
Kapeya	Eastern	Katete	Full
Mtilizi	Eastern	Nyimba	Open
Msanzala	Eastern	Petauke	Closed
Ukwimi	Eastern	Petauke	Open
Kapako	Luapula	Chiengi	Open
New Kala	Luapula	Kawambwa	Open
Mansa	Luapula	Mansa	Open

Mukanga	Luapula	Mwense	Full
Mano	Luapula	Samfya	Open
Kikonge	North West	Mufumbwe	Open
Litoya	North West	Kabompo	Open
Kafumfula	North West	Kasempa	Open
Munwinji	North West	Mwinilunga	Open
Solwezi	North West	Solwezi	Open
State Ranch	North West	Solwezi	Open
Harmony	Southern	Choma	Full
Sibanyati	Southern	Choma	Full
Siamambo	Southern	Choma	Full
Masasabi	Southern	Itezhi Tezhi	Open
Kalomo West	Southern	Kalomo	Open
Kabuyu	Southern	Kazungula	Full
Kasiya	Southern	Livingstone	Full
Neganega	Southern	Mazabuka	Full
Ngabo	Southern	Namwala	Full

Note on the Status

1. Full – all farm plots allocated
2. Open – farm plots is available for allocation
3. Closed – scheme was opens and some allocation done but could not proceed due to problems encountered. By then some would have benefited from the allocations.
4. Failed – Scheme was open but encounter a big problem, e.g. problem with soils or lack of water which made the scheme to flop.