

**HOUSING IN LIVINGSTONE: GOVERNMENT POLICY  
AND PRACTICE, 1948 TO 1976**

**By**

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**A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of  
the requirements of the Degree of Master of Arts  
in History.**

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I solemnly declare that this dissertation has never before been submitted for a degree at any University.

Signed: ..... *S. M. Mwenje* .....  
Date: ..... *22nd July, 1985* .....

**To my late grandmother Mutinta, and her daughter,  
my mother, who showed the way.**

This dissertation of Gabriel Muvwanga Muvwanga is  
Approved as Fulfilling part of the Requirements for  
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### Abbreviations

GRZ ..... Government of the Republic of Zambia  
LMC ..... Livingstone Municipal Council  
NAZ ..... National Archives of Zambia  
NRG ..... Northern Rhodesia Government  
ZESCO ..... Zambia Electricity Supply Corporation

## ABSTRACT

In the post war years, the colonial state<sup>1</sup> in Zambia sought to improve African housing in urban areas. The object of this policy was to boost the morale of the African workers so that they could work harder and, therefore, produce more for the capitalist economy which the state wanted to help grow, and to protect the health of the entire urban population for the same economic reason.

So important was African housing to the colonial state that it received a substantial part of the state's expenditure in the two development plans of the colonial period.

The post war housing policy led to a general improvement in the quality of African housing. But housing was distributed unequally among the African population of Livingstone. The urban African population had become socially and economically differentiated by the 1940s as a result of the unequal opportunities that existed in the colonial African education policy. Within the African social structure, the colonial state provided better housing to the African civil servants, and inferior housing to the non civil servants.

When power was transferred to an independent government in 1964 the problem of African housing still persisted. The majority of the people were inadequately housed in terms of the size and quality of their houses. Moreover, the demand for housing continued to rise as a result of the increase in the urban African population. Such was the urban African housing situation in Livingstone, which the post colonial state inherited at independence.

The post colonial state also made conscious efforts to solve the urban African housing problem. Throughout the 1964 to 1976 period, a substantial part of the national budget was invested in urban housing. Livingstone

had a share of these funds.

The housing policies of the post colonial state were similar to those of its predecessor. It provided a large number of small houses for the majority, and a small number of big ones for the few. The only difference was that these houses were not distributed according to racial differences as was the case in the colonial period but according to the economic power of the people. All types of houses were open for occupation to all social groups as long as they could afford the appropriate rent.

In spite of its efforts to solve the urban African housing problem, the post colonial state failed to eliminate the problem in Livingstone for the same reasons that the colonial state had failed. Moreover, the housing policies of both states consolidated the emerging inequality among the urban African population of Livingstone.

#### FOOTNOTE

1. In this study, the term state will be interchangeably used, without change of meaning, with Northern Rhodesia Government (NRG) for the colonial period, and Government of the Republic of Zambia (GRZ) for the post colonial period.

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A work of this magnitude cannot be accomplished by an individual alone without the help of others. I am, therefore, particularly indebted to the following institutions and individuals. Standard Bank Zambia Ltd., Monse Branch, for funding Part I of my M.A. programme. The University of Zambia, in particular the Department of History, for the Graduate Teaching Assistantship. Without the help of the two institutions, I would not have been able to complete my postgraduate studies. I also extend my profound gratitude to the Livingstone District Council, and the people of Livingstone as a whole, for their co-operation during my field research. Added to these, is my Supervisor, Dr. Kusum Datta, whose invaluable guidance contributed a great deal towards the production of this dissertation. Last, but not the least, I thank Ms Anne Sumaili for typing the dissertation. She really did a wonderful job.

Gabriel M. Muvwanga  
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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

This chapter outlines the basic elements of this study. These are the statement of the problem, definition of housing, rationale for the study, theoretical framework, a brief history of the Livingstone town, a description of the layout of the town and characteristics of housing areas, and the methodology used in the study.

#### 1. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

This study examines the manner in which the colonial and post colonial states in Zambia approached and tackled the housing problem of the African population of the Livingstone town from 1946 to 1964.

It is intended to show that the social differentiation that was emerging among the African population of Livingstone by the 1950s was the most important determinant of the manner in which the NRG and GRZ distributed housing among the African population of the town, and that by doing so, they consolidated the existing social differentiation.

#### 2. DEFINITION OF HOUSING

The term housing will be used in a broad sense in this study. It will include shelter, sanitation, water and electricity reticulation.<sup>1</sup>

#### 3. RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

This study is justified on two grounds. Very few historical studies of its kind have been undertaken in Zambia. The two existing studies by M. Tandeo<sup>2</sup> and A. Matongo<sup>3</sup> are concerned with the housing problem on the copperbelt towns during the colonial period. The present study shifts the focus to Livingstone, a non-mining town, which once served as the capital of North Western Rhodesia from 1907 to 1910, and of Northern Rhodesia from 1911 to 1935.

second departure from the earlier writings is that its broader time span enables us to compare the policies of the colonial state with that of the independent government of Zambia.

#### 4. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

It is an accepted fact that inequality exists, albeit in varying forms and degrees, in all forms of human societies:<sup>4</sup> traditional or modern, rural or urban. Inequality, according to W. Moore, one of the sociologists, is the unequal distribution of the means of livelihood, comfort, and prestige, among the members of a society. Inequality may be inherited or acquired. In the modern society, one source of inequality is education. Members of society acquire different skills through various levels of education and training which are controlled by the state and non governmental organisations, and individuals.<sup>5</sup> Those at the top of the structure benefit more than those at the bottom of it. We shall now briefly examine the theoretical views of Karl Marx and Max Weber on the structure of the society.

Marx held the view that the structure of a capitalist society consisted of two social classes with opposing interests. These were the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The former were the owners of the means of production, and the latter the providers of labour. But the classes only engaged in a struggle against each other when they became conscious of their existence.<sup>6</sup>

Weber and others also acknowledged that society is made of classes. They defined a class as a group of people who shared a common position in the economic system. Opportunities to participate in the economic and political aspects of the society were more open to the upper class than to the lower ones. The distribution of social services followed a similar pattern. They noted that inequality existed within the classes in form of social differentiation.<sup>7</sup>

We shall now relate these statements to the structure of the Zambian society. Our aim is to find a suitable concept to use in discussing the housing policies of the colonial and post colonial state in Zambia.

During the colonial period the basic feature of the structure of the Zambian society was that different races occupied different positions. At the top of the hierarchy were the Europeans. Because they were considered by the colonial state to be a superior race, they occupied the highest position in the economic, political and social system. They monopolised the higher positions in administration and industry.<sup>8</sup> They were therefore, economically and socially more rewarded than the other races.

Immediately below the Europeans came the Asians. This racial group generally had wider opportunities in the economic system, and more access to social amenities than the Africans. Asians earned their living as traders.<sup>9</sup> Coloureds, on the other hand, do not seem to have been confined to a particular sector of the economy.<sup>10</sup>

Africans occupied the lowest position in the social structure of colonial Zambia. As such, their participation in the economy was more restricted than those of the other races above them. They were also provided with the most inferior services.

From the above discussion it becomes clear that the racial groups in Zambia occupied specific positions in relation to the major capitalist mode of production. That being the case, it can be argued that Africans constituted a social class at the bottom of the hierarchy, irrespective of the economic differentiation that was emerging among them all through. Thus, in the Weberian sense, different races tended more or less to equate with emerging classes.

The attainment of independence in Zambia, and the resultant end of racial segregation opened the way for the Africans' social mobility. A new African managerial, and bureaucratic bourgeoisie emerged from the civil servants of the colonial period. In the economic sector, an African commercial bourgeoisie also developed. However, this commercial

bourgeoisie did not emerge so soon after independence. This was because the commanding sectors of the country's economy continued to be controlled by non Africans.

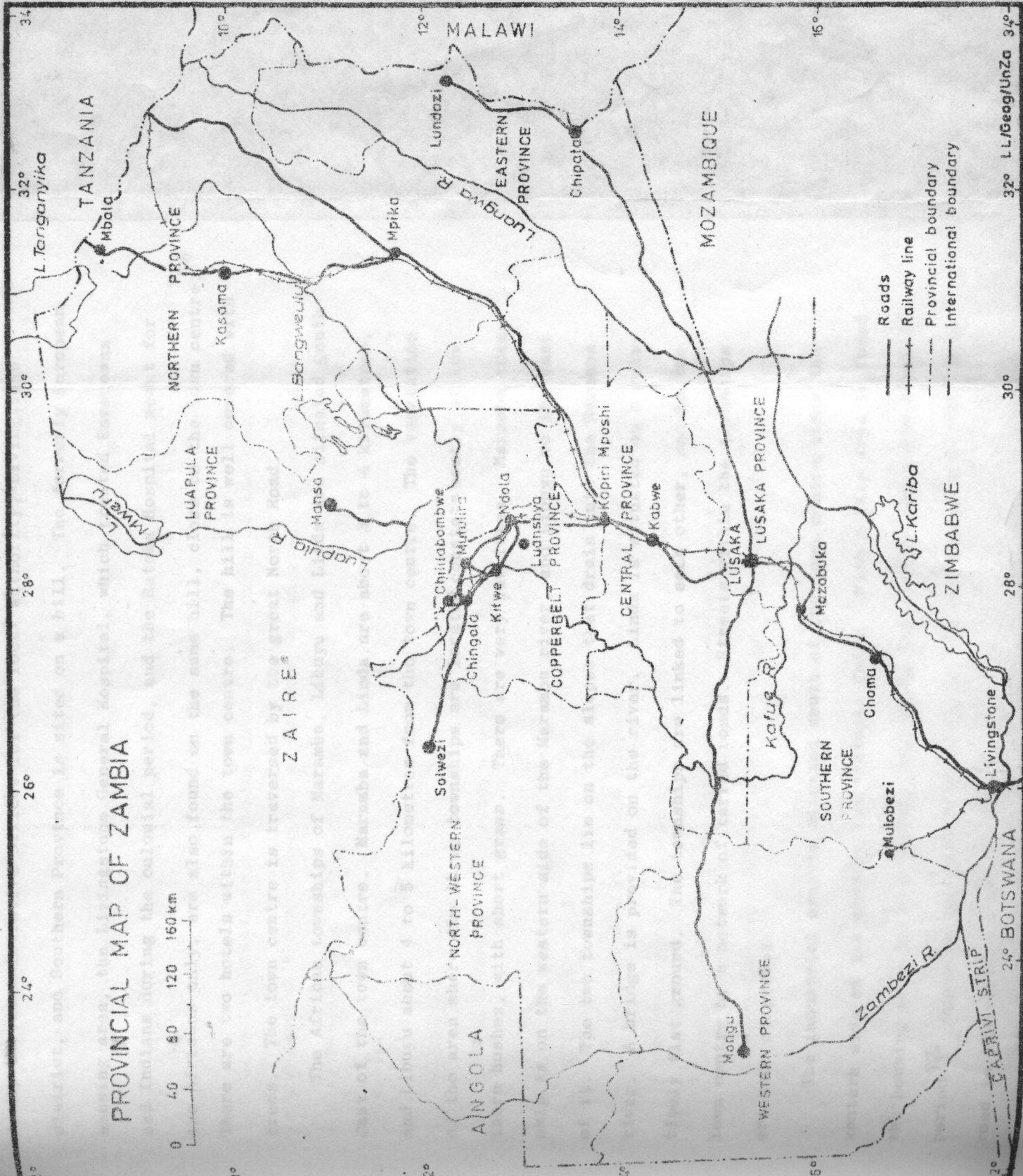
As a social class, most Africans were differentiated. We shall, therefore, use social differentiation in our discussion of the manner in which the state distributed housing among the urban African population of Livingstone, both before and after independence.

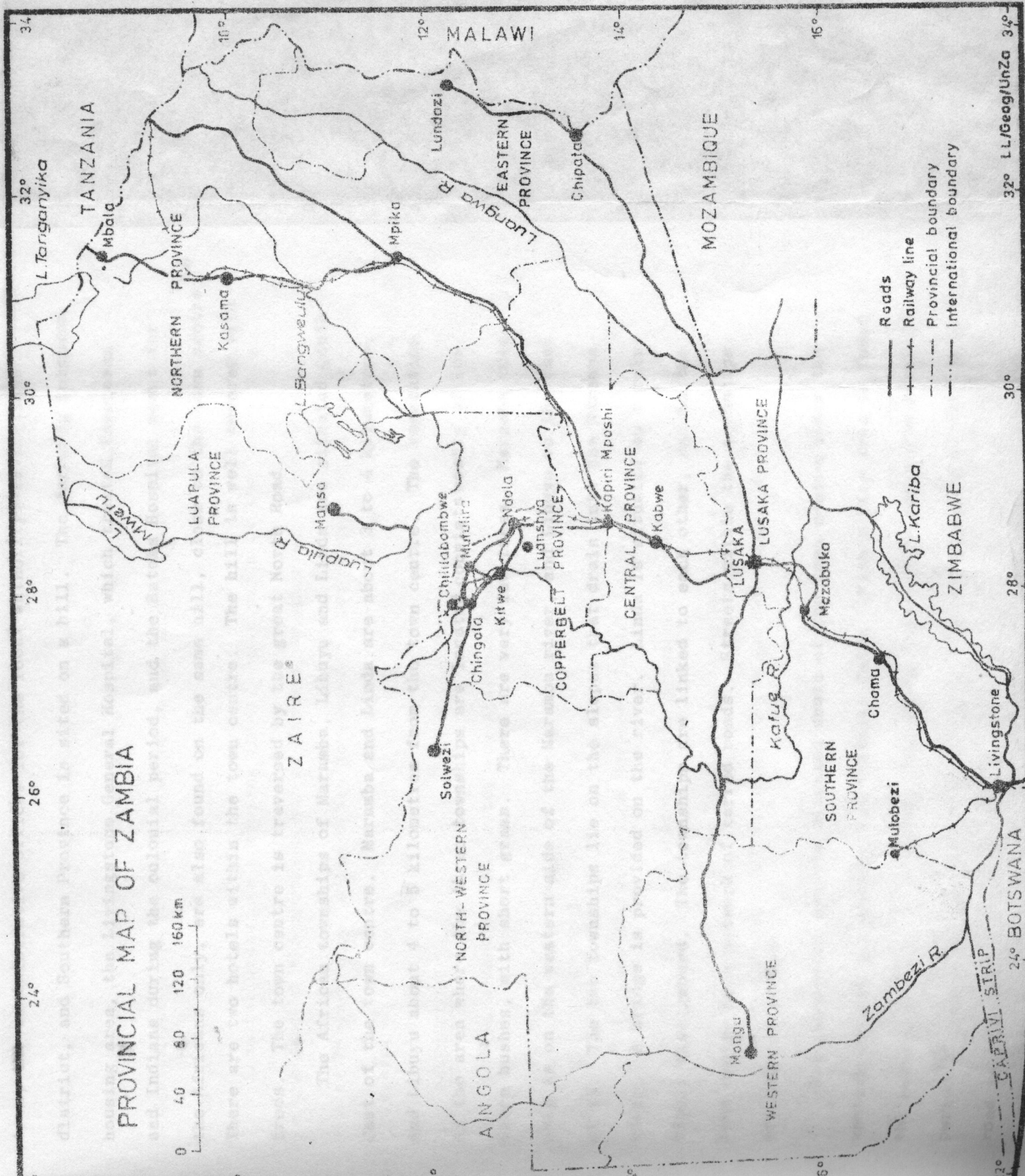
##### 5. A BRIEF HISTORY OF LIVINGSTONE TOWN

The town of Livingstone lies at the southern end of Zambia (see Map 1). It was named after the Scottish missionary explorer David Livingstone. The town had its beginning in the 1890s. The first European settlement that marked the beginning of the town in 1898, on the bank of the Zambezi, lay five miles to the west of the present site.<sup>11</sup> There was no bridge on the Zambezi at that time, and crossing into Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) was by river transport.<sup>12</sup>

In 1911 North-Western and North-Eastern Rhodesia, which had been administered separately by the British South African Company, were amalgamated as Northern Rhodesia. Livingstone became the territorial capital, and remained so until 1935, when it was replaced by Lusaka,<sup>13</sup> which was chosen for its centrality and closeness to the copperbelt mines. Livingstone's importance did not diminish however, for the town continued to be the provincial headquarters for Southern Province, as well as the leading industrial and commercial centre in the province.

Livingstone, which became a municipality in 1928,<sup>14</sup> had a multi-racial population, which comprised the Africans, by far the largest group, the Europeans, Asians and a tiny group of coloureds.<sup>15</sup> This study is primarily concerned with the housing of the African population.





6. GENERAL LAY-OUT OF THE LIVINGSTONE TOWN AND CHARACTERISTICS OF HOUSING AREAS (see Map 2)

The Livingstone town centre, which comprises most of the shops in the town, the administrative offices for the local authority, Livingstone district, and Southern Province is sited on a hill. The formerly European housing area, the Livingstone General Hospital, which treated Europeans and Indians during the colonial period, and the Batoka Hospital meant for the Africans only, are also found on the same hill, close to the town centre.<sup>16</sup> There are two hotels within the town centre. The hill is well covered with trees. The town centre is traversed by the great North Road.

The African townships of Maramba, Libuyu and Linda are situated south-east of the town centre. Maramba and Linda are about 3 to 4 kilometres, and Libuyu about 4 to 5 kilometres from the town centre. The vegetation of the area where the three townships are located consists mostly of low thorn bushes, with short grass. There are very few trees. Maramba township is on the western side of the Maramba river, and Libuyu to the east of it. The two townships lie on the slopes that drain into the Maramba river. A bridge is provided on the river. Linda is situated on a relatively flat ground. The townships are linked to each other, and to the town centre by a network of tarred roads. Streets within the townships are made of gravel.

The industrial area is situated south of the town centre, along the western side of the road to the Victoria Falls. Within this area is found the housing area for the Indians, which has remained so since the colonial period.<sup>17</sup> Opposite the industrial area, on the eastern side of the Falls road is the railway station.

Dambwa township is situated south-west of the town centre, at almost the same distance as Maramba and Linda. It is, however, nearer to the industrial area than the other three African townships. Dambwa is also

linked to the town centre by a tarred road.

Houses at Maramba, Libuyu, and Dambwa townships are neatly arranged. They stand in rows and are generally evenly spaced from each other.

Within Maramba is Malota. Houses in this compound range from a large number of shacks, and a few conventional type houses similar to those at the three townships mentioned above. The houses are not arranged in a definite pattern. They are so close to one another that they form a cluster.

Squatter areas are sprawling in different parts of the town. There is one just at the northern end of Maramba; another at the north-eastern end of Livingstone. A third has developed <sup>at</sup> the western end of Dambwa township.

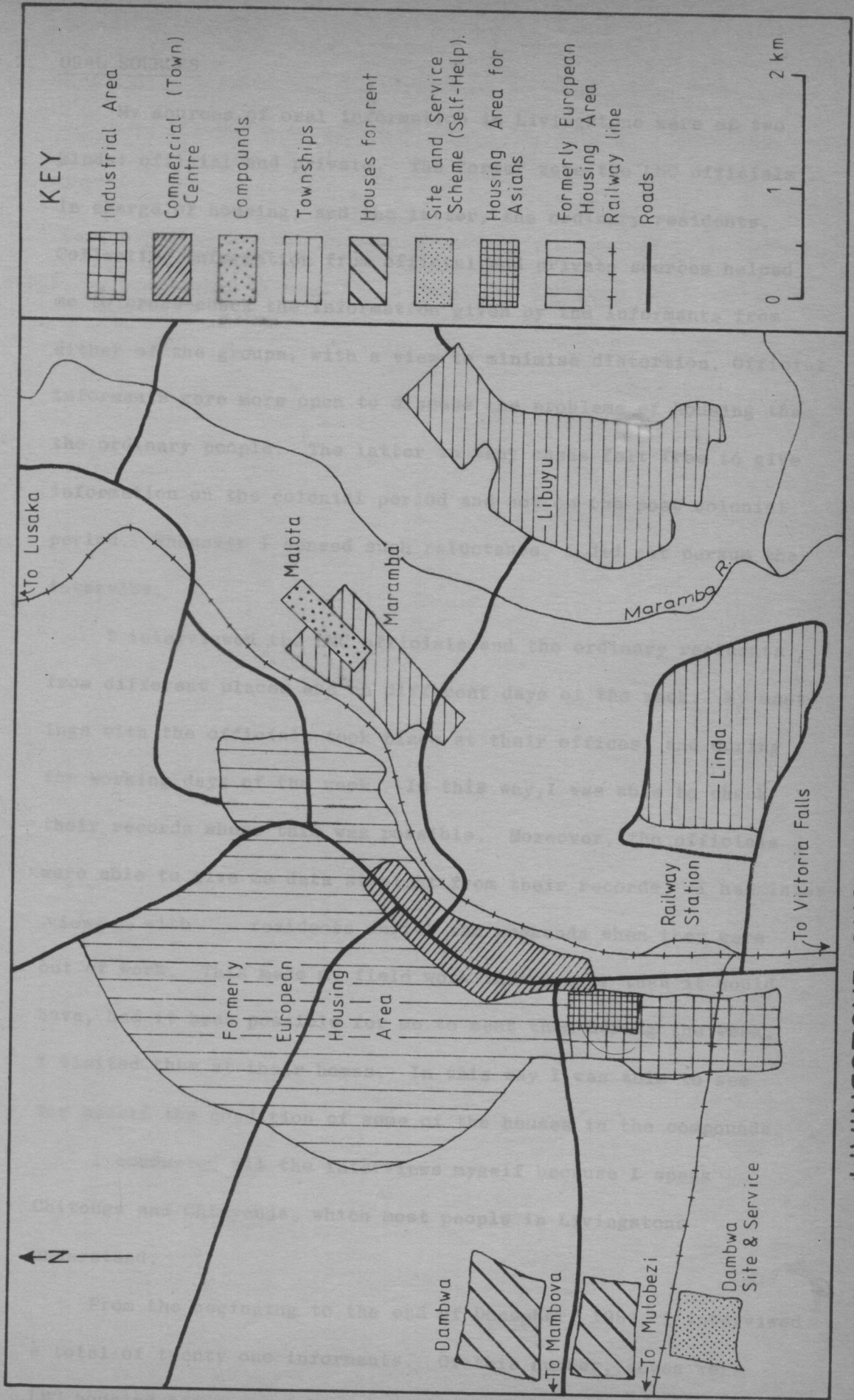
## 7. METHODOLOGY

The data used in this study was obtained from written and oral sources.

### 7.1. WRITTEN SOURCES

Between September and November 1984, I collected material from secondary and primary written sources in the University of Zambia Library, and the National Archives of Zambia in Lusaka. The written material relating to the correspondence on housing between the Government of the Republic of Zambia (GRZ), and the Livingstone Municipal Council (LMC) was not accessible because it was still in the closed period, according to the National Archives of Zambia regulations.

Consultation of the written sources, before proceeding on field research helped me to formulate some of the basic questions that I asked my informants.



LIVINGSTONE SHOWING MAIN HOUSING AREAS.

## 7.2. ORAL SOURCES

My sources of oral information in Livingstone were of two kinds: official and private. The former were the LMC officials in charge of housing; and the latter, the ordinary residents. Collecting information from official and private sources helped me to cross-check the information given by the informants from either of the groups, with a view to minimise distortion. Official informants were more open to discuss the problems of housing than the ordinary people. The latter in many cases felt free to give information on the colonial period and not on the post colonial period. Whenever I sensed such reluctance, I did not pursue the interview.

I interviewed the LMC officials and the ordinary residents from different places and on different days of the week. My meetings with the officials took place at their offices, and during the working days of the week. In this way, I was able to check their records where this was possible. Moreover, the officials were able to give me data straight from their records. I had interviews with the residents during the weekends when they were out of work. This made my field work last longer than it would have, had it been possible for me to meet them during the week. I visited them at their homes. In this way I was able to see for myself the condition of some of the houses in the compounds.

I conducted all the interviews myself because I speak Chitonga and Chinyanja, which most people in Livingstone understand.

From the beginning to the end of December, 1984, I interviewed a total of twenty one informants. Of this number, seven were LMC housing officers at Maramba, Malota, Libuyu, Linda and Dambwa,

one Indian businessman who first came to Livingstone from India in 1948, and the rest were residents. My interviews took an open-ended form.

Having defined in the foregoing chapter the subject of our study, we shall now proceed to discuss it in detail in the next two chapters.

FOOTNOTES

1. This definition is adopted from L. Vincent who was at one time the Manager of the African Housing Board, which was renamed the Zambia Housing Board at Independence. See: Republic of Zambia, Ministry of Housing and Social Development, Proceedings of the Conference on Urban Housing held at Charter Hall, Lusaka, 19 and 20 March 1964. (n.p. n.d.)
2. M. Tandeo, 'Wage Differentials as a Factor in Urban Housing, 1924-53; The Case of Mufulira', M.S. Muntamba (ed.), Zambian Land and Labour Studies, Volume IV, pp. 44-53.
3. A. Matongo, 'Urban Housing within a Colonial Political Economy, 1924-1946, with Special Reference to Kalulushi, Zambia', M.S. Muntamba (ed.), Zambia Land and Labour Studies, Volume IV, pp. 54-57.
4. M.M. Tumin, 'Some Principles of Stratification: A Critical Analysis', R. Bendix and S.M. Lipset (eds.), Class, Status, and Power; Social Stratification in Comparative Perspective (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1974), p. 53.
5. Moore's views on stratification are quoted in Tumin, "Principles of stratification....", p.53.
6. K. Marx and F. Engels, The German Ideology, Revised Edition (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1976), p. 85.
7. M. Weber, H.H. Gerth and W. Mills (eds.), From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1948), pp.53-180.
8. J.C. Mitchell, 'Race, Class, and Status in South Central Africa', A. Tuden and L. Plotnicov, <sup>(ed.)</sup> Social Stratification in Africa (New York: The Free Press, 1970), p. 341.
9. Mitchell, 'Race Class and Status', p. 320.
10. This personal view is speculative due to the absence of any ~~study~~ <sup>empirical</sup> study of the coloured population in Zambia.
11. M. McCulloch, A Social Survey of the African Population of Livingstone (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1956), p.1.
12. McCulloch, A Social Survey, p. 1.
13. Livingstone Municipal Council, Submission of A Case for the Expansion of Livingstone, Northern Rhodesia, to accommodate the Federal Capital of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland(n.p., n.d.), p.1.
14. Northern Rhodesia, Report of the Committee Appointed to Examine and Recommend Ways and Means by which Africans Resident in Municipal and Township Areas Should be Made to Take an Appropriate part in the Administration of these Areas (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1957), p.4.

15. McCulloch, A Social Survey, p.1.
16. Personal interview with M. Devalia, Asian businessman, <sup>9/11</sup>Livingstone,  
10 December, 1984.
17. Devalia, interview.

## CHAPTER TWO

### GOVERNMENT URBAN AFRICAN HOUSING POLICY AND PRACTICE IN LIVINGSTONE 1946 TO 1964

#### 1. GENERAL BACKGROUND

Until the end of the second world war, the colonial state in Zambia had no defined policy of providing housing to the Africans in urban areas. It left this to the local authorities and the employers.<sup>1</sup> This followed from its attitude that African labour should not be allowed to be permanently settled in urban areas but should return to the rural areas at the end of employment either through dismissal, or end of the contract period.<sup>2</sup>

African housing in urban areas in Zambia to the end of the second world war consisted of a large number of houses of single rooms, and a small number of two-roomed ones. Some of the houses were built of pole and dagga.<sup>3</sup> Others were constructed of sun-dried bricks.<sup>4</sup> Roofing ranged from thatch to corrugated iron sheets.<sup>5</sup> Sanitation comprised bucket type latrines. Several houses in a location were provided with a single latrine for communal use.<sup>6</sup> Piped water was provided in the same way.<sup>7</sup> There was no electric lighting provided in the African housing areas. But some of the Europeans were not happy with this situation.

As early as 1930s, various official reports on the conditions of African labour in Northern Rhodesia urged the Northern Rhodesia Government (NRG) to improve African housing in urban areas. In 1938, the report of the commission appointed by the British Government to enquire into the financial and economic position of Northern Rhodesia described the condition of African housing in urban areas as 'very low'.<sup>8</sup> It argued that because it were the Europeans who had caused the movement of Africans into urban areas, it was their duty to improve African housing.<sup>10</sup>

Orde Brown's report on labour conditions in Northern Rhodesia called on the colonial government to abandon its attitude of regarding Africans as temporary urban dwellers, and instead regard them as permanent urban residents. Orde Brown noted that the illegal urban settlements that were established by the Africans on the periphery of the authorised housing areas were indicative of the failure of the migrant labour policy, and a pointer to the inevitability of the Africans becoming permanently urbanised.<sup>11</sup> In view of this, he urged the colonial state to recognise the Africans settlements in urban areas and improve the housing conditions therein, which he described as 'unhygienic', in order to safeguard the health of the European population.<sup>12</sup> In spite of these appeals, however, it was not until after the second world war that the NRG decided to improve African housing in urban areas. There were reasons for this.

At the end of the second world war, the colonial government in Zambia embarked on a comprehensive development plan that was aimed at strengthening the economy of the territory. The colonial state realised that the development of the territory's economy depended on a stabilized African labour force. Improved housing was rightly considered essential for such a stabilization. There was also a general fear that unhygienic African living conditions might endanger the European population by the spread of epidemics and affect the economy itself. It was for these reasons that the colonial government decided to improve African housing.<sup>13</sup> But the distribution of housing among the Africans took place within the ideology of inequality pursued by the colonial government.

Urban housing became an integral part of the post war development planning in Zambia. In the 1947 allocation for the 1947 to 1957 Development Plan, urban African housing accounted for 11 per cent (£1,500,000), and European housing 5 per cent (£618,366) OF THE £13,000,000 for the whole plan. This shows that African housing was given top priority in

comparison to European housing. When the Development Plan was reviewed in 1951 investment in African housing dropped to £800,000, that is 2.2 per cent. Expenditure on European housing was 2.4 per cent (£875,000), of the £36,000,000 earmarked for the whole plan.<sup>14</sup> But in the 1953 review of the same plan there was tremendous increase in government expenditure on African and European housing. Investment in African housing was 9 per cent. (£500,000), and expenditure on European housing was 11 per cent. (£6,000,000) of the total plan budget of £54,000,000.<sup>15</sup>

State investment in African and European housing continued throughout the colonial period. In the 1959 to 1963 Development Plan, African housing received 12 per cent. (£3,809,927), and European housing 6 per cent. (£2,505,498), of the £33,643,548 for the entire plan.<sup>16</sup> From 1947 to 1963 the colonial state spent a total of £11,109,927, and £9,748,864, on African and European housing respectively. The continuing investment in housing during this period is indicative of the growing housing problem. The massive investment in European housing can be linked to the post war demand for European expertise to implement the development plans. But given that in 1963 the total African population for the whole territory was about 3,417,580,<sup>17</sup> and that of the Europeans only about 77,000<sup>18</sup> in real terms the Europeans were far more favoured than the Africans. Ultimately, they were provided with better housing facilities than the Africans. This clearly shows the inequality that existed between them.

From 1956 to 1964, the NRG spent £274,480 on African housing in Livingstone. This represented 3 per cent. of the £9,330,068 spent on urban African housing throughout the territory. Due to the depreciation of the housing facilities, £94,529, that is, 18 per cent. of the vote was spent on maintenance.<sup>19</sup>

Another factor that was considered essential by the colonial state for the economic development of the territory was African education. It was felt that literacy among the Africans would facilitate economic development in two ways. First, African workers would become skilled, and, therefore, more efficient. This would increase industrial production. Second, skilled African labour would be paid higher wages than the unskilled labour. By increasing their buying capacity, higher wages would expand ~~markets~~ for the locally manufactured goods and stimulate industrial growth.<sup>20</sup>

The objective of the colonial education policy in Zambia was to provide universal basic education to <sup>all</sup> African children up to Standard IV, and higher education and skills training for the few.<sup>21</sup> In this way, colonial western education, contributed to social differentiation among the Africans. It contributed to inequality among them which resulted in their being divided into the elite and the masses.

By early 1950s social differentiation was already conspicuous among the African population of Livingstone. At the top of the structure were those with at least Standard VI, or higher level of education. These included clerks, typists, and welfare assistants. Below this group were the skilled workers such as drivers, tailors, mechanics, bricklayers, plumbers, and carpenters, with an average educational attainment of Standard IV, and V (see Table 4).

By 1945 wage differences among the Africans in different occupations had already emerged in Zambia. According to the Blue Book for 1945, the following were the average monthly wage rates for the government and non government African employees. Government labourers were paid the lowest wages. They received between 25s and 35s per month. The civil servants, who included the overseers, artisans, and clerks were

paid higher wages than the labourers. Their wages were in the range of £2 and £15 a month. A similar pattern existed in industry also. Unskilled industrial workers were paid between 20s and 30s per month. The monthly wage range for the skilled workers was £2 <sup>to</sup> and £8. Thus by the time the distribution of permanent housing started, inequality had already developed among the Africans. As such there was also inequality in the distribution of housing.

The colonial state as shall be seen later in the study, provided better housing to the African civil servants who constituted the best educated group than to others. This was because the civil servants made a direct contribution to the functioning of the colonial state, and were the most politically conscious of the Africans. The colonial government wanted to appease them by giving them privileged treatment.

Besides housing and education, most of the medical, and social services were extended to the Africans in urban areas alone. This provided another motive in addition to employment, for the exodus from the rural to urban areas. As a result, the urban African population increased, and so did the demand for housing. The urban African population of Livingstone increased from about 17,800 in 1950<sup>23</sup> to about 28,840 in 1963.<sup>24</sup>

The NRG as a representative of the capitalist interests in the territory, in the post war years extended social, medical and educational services to the Africans in urban areas, where capitalism was centred, in order to create conditions conducive for its reproduction.<sup>25</sup>

The Livingstone Municipal Council (LMC) and the NRG constituted parts of a single state. The former merely represented the latter at a local level. The LMC implemented the housing policies of the central government. It is thus essential to look at the housing policies of

OCCUPATIONAL DIFFERENTIATION OF THE AFRICAN  
POPULATION OF LIVINGSTONE TO 1953

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL REACHED	OCCUPATION										TOTAL ALL OCCUPATIONS %
	DOMESTIC %	LABOURER %	SUPERVISORY %	TRADER %	SKILLED %	WHITE COLLAR %					
Illiterate	43.2	49.6	14.8	40.0	21.9	5.3					37.8
Sub A or Sub B	13.5	16.8	13.0	35.0	25.2	5.3					17.4
Standard I or Standard II	27.7	19.9	18.5	20.0	20.6	7.9					20.7
Standard III	7.4	6.7	13.0	5.0	12.9	2.7					8.4
Standard IV	7.4	3.8	31.5	-	11.0	15.8					8.4
Standard V	6.7	2.3	5.6	-	3.9	15.8					3.2
Standard VI or Higher	-	0.8	3.7	-	4.5	37.3					3.9
Total	99.9	99.9	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.1					99.8
Sample	148	378	54	20	155	38					802

Source: M. McCulloch, A Social Survey of the African Population of Livingstone (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1956), p. 40.

Note: The African civil servants who were provided with the best housing in Livingstone by the colonial state belonged to the white-collar group.

the central government.

During the colonial period Africans were only indirectly represented in the LMC through the Livingstone African Advisory Council, and the Livingstone African Housing Board. But these bodies did not promote African interests because they were subordinate to the European dominated LMC.

During the colonial period, the choice of sites for African housing estates was based on the ideology of the colonial state that Africans were an inferior group. The colonial government, therefore, sited the African housing estates in areas away from those of the Europeans.<sup>27</sup>

African housing estates were also further away from the town centres than the European areas, and often in the poorly drained parts of the towns.<sup>28</sup> It is in this context that African housing needs to be considered.

## 2. LIVINGSTONE MUNICIPAL COUNCIL HOUSING TO END OF WORLD WAR TWO

The condition of African housing in the LMC controlled housing areas of Maramba and Malota before the construction of the permanent type houses started in 1949, can best be presented in the words of

G.St. J. Orde Brown:

Long rows of cells, about 7½ feet square and of brick with iron roofs, provide accommodation to the tenants and their families. The buildings are unsuitable in type, floors and walls being built with a soft mortar which allows of crevices forming a refuge for ticks, bugs and all sorts of pests. Ventilation consists principally of the door, which must be usually kept open owing to the heat generated by the low iron roof. The buildings form a squalid courtyard, at one side of which is the beerhall. Sanitation consists of the unsuitable bucket system, and water had to be fetched from distant taps. A monthly rent of four shillings is charged with five shillings for slightly larger apartments.

Next to this compound is one named Kashitu hereinafter Malots where the tenants pay one shilling a month and build their own houses. The result is an extra-ordinary collection of huts of every size, shape and condition, connected by a labyrinth of paths between fences, hedges, and trees .... Sanitation again consists of bucket latrines on the outer edges of the area; their inadequacy is only too obviously supplemented by the luxuriant crops which grow within few feet of the compound. In these two settlements some 1,800 people are housed.<sup>29</sup>

Brown conceded that these were the worst conditions under which Africans in the urban areas of Northern Rhodesia lived. He condemned the conditions because they posed the greatest danger to health, and recommended that they should be improved.<sup>30</sup> But this did not happen until late 1940s.

There were other African settlements at Libuyu, and Linda. These were not provided or maintained by the LMC. The people provided their own housing. Their shelter consisted of pole and dagga and they did not have any elaborate system of sanitation or water supply. These people included some of the employees of the central government, LMC, private employers, the self employed, and those in search of work. They built their own houses. The pre-colonial inhabitants of these areas were some of Chief Mukuni's people. They were displaced by the colonial government.<sup>31</sup>

When the post war houses were built, these of the earlier inhabitants who could afford the rent moved into them. Those who found the new housing expensive left for squatter areas where they erected cheaper housing for themselves.<sup>32</sup>

The African population of Livingstone must already have been differentiated by the late 1940s. The Blue Book for 1945 indicates that by this time, Africans in the territory had already become divided into labourers, artisans and clerks.<sup>33</sup>

We now turn to examine the post war urban African housing in Livingstone during the colonial period.

The decision of the colonial state to replace temporary by longer life houses in 1947 might have been influenced, in the short term perspective, by the damage done to one hundred houses by heavy rains in

November 1947.<sup>34</sup> The affected people were accommodated in the additional temporary houses which the NRG provided in Livingstone around this time. Between 1946 and 1949 the state constructed 3,125 temporary houses at a total cost of £12,700.<sup>35</sup> The LMC did not want the temporary houses any longer because they burdened it with the cost of constant repairs and replacement. In view of this, in 1947 it appealed to the central government to build permanent houses for the Africans in Livingstone, as quickly as possible.<sup>36</sup>

The NRG outlined its urban African housing policy in its 1947-57 Ten-year Development Plan.<sup>37</sup> According to the policy, the colonial state intended to build permanent houses containing 'two-rooms and a combined lock-up kitchen and stove, and an ablution shelter with no roof attached'. Where possible, each house would be provided with a pit latrine, and there would be a water point for every 50 houses. These would be wells, or pipes, where the local authority could afford it. The aim of the NRG was to build low cost houses at £150 per house in order to ease the shortage of African housing.<sup>38</sup> But as shall be seen later in the study, the colonial government also provided more costly and better housing for the African civil servants.

### 3. HOUSING AT MARAMBA

In Livingstone, the construction of the permanent houses for the Africans started at Maramba in 1949. Maramba township might have been given priority because of the damage caused to the houses there in 1947. After a satisfactory sample construction of 100 houses at an inducement extra cost of £20 per house, the LMC gave M/S Costains Ltd of Salisbury (Zimbabwe) the contract to build 1,175 houses at Maramba in concrete blocks. The NRG favoured the use of ~~concrete~~ <sup>concrete</sup> blocks because it was of the view that this would expedite the construction of the houses. The colonial

government also believed that concrete blocks would produce better quality houses than the bricks available in Livingstone.<sup>39</sup>

But the use of the concrete blocks created a problem. The price of imported cement, which the state provided to the contractors, since there was no local supply, rose from £7.10 to £11 per ton,<sup>40</sup> soon after the construction had started. This rise in the price of cement led to a corresponding increase in the construction cost of the houses. It thus threatened the housing programmes, and a solution had, therefore, to be found. In February, 1950, the Commissioner for Local Government and African Housing, J.C. Colchester, suggested to the Director of Development, F.Crawford, that, in order to meet the increased cost the state should not provide additional funds but should instead reduce the number of houses from 1,175 to 1,125.<sup>41</sup> But Crawford rejected this suggestion because of the critical shortage of African housing in Livingstone. He explained to Colchester:

As regards the finance for the extra cost involved at Livingstone, I do not think there should be any reduction in the number of houses it is proposed to build there (1175) since it is obvious even now that this number is far too short of the total requirements that we shall have to provide in the forthcoming Review of the Development Plan for at least 1,200 African houses for Livingstone. We shall, therefore, have to allow for the additional finance required in the review. The extra cost of these Livingstone houses should, I think be spread over the whole of the territory.<sup>42</sup>

The state provided the additional funds to build more than 1,175 houses. This is evident from the fact that all the houses were built out of concrete blocks.

### 3.1 THE WATER PROBLEM AT MARAMBA

The LMC did not supply adequate water in advance of the commencement of the construction work at Maramba. When, therefore, the construction of the houses started, the LMC was faced with the problem of finding an adequate source of water for the area.

In March, 1949, the LMC suggested to the central government four possible sources of water for Maramba: (a) to extend the LMC mains system to the area; (b) to block the water in the Maramba river during the wet season using stone barriers; (c) to sink boreholes in the area; or (d) to pump water from the Zambezi to the area.<sup>43</sup>

The LMC preference was for the fourth alternative. It was not willing to engage its mains system which was already operating beyond capacity. It considered the second alternative to be a health risk, since the mass of the stagnant water would be a breeding place for mosquitoes that might cause a malaria epidemic. It also feared that the stagnant water might be polluted and, therefore, cause harm to its consumers. At the time the LMC submitted its views, the water experts had not yet submitted any reports on the potentiality of the underground water at Maramba. Consequently, the LMC could not venture into boreholes. All this left the LMC with the last alternative.

But 1949 ended without the central government responding to the recommendations of the LMC. Meanwhile, the LMC itself did not do anything to improve the supply of water to the township.

When the debate opened in ~~January 1950~~ between the LMC and the LMC on the same issue, it hinged on two alternatives: the sinking of the boreholes or the engagement of the LMC mains system. The LMC favoured the former, and the central government the latter. The Director of Water Development and Irrigation, C.W. Longridge advised the LMC against sinking boreholes at Maramba.<sup>44</sup> He argued that it would be difficult to tell the amount of water that was available underground due to the diversity of the underlying rock formations, and that drilling would also be difficult for the same reason. Longridge further argued that the underground water at the site might contain minerals that would render it unfit for domestic use. He suggested to Colchester that the LMC

should instead engage its mains system.<sup>45</sup>

Heeding this advice, Colchester suggested to the LMC two possible ways of supplying water to Maramba using the LMC mains system. One of them was that the LMC could, without increasing the capacity of its mains system, erect tanks at the site into which water from the system would collect at night when the pressure was high. Alternatively, the LMC could increase the capacity of the mains systems using a loan from the central government. The LMC, for unknown reasons, implemented Colchester's first suggestion.<sup>46</sup> Probably the local authority found this method less costly than the other. But the method the LMC opted for proved inadequate, and another alternative had, therefore, to be found.

Crawford and Longridge advised Colchester and the LMC to increase the mains water system to the township. But both of them ignored the advice. They argued that the only suitable alternative to that of collecting water at night were the boreholes. Colchester contended that it was unnecessary to increase the capacity of the LMC mains system to Maramba because the 40 gallons of water per head that would result from it would be 'over-generous' for the Africans. He, and the LMC insisted on sinking the boreholes. Their stand, however, was not without reason. They had been encouraged in this by the report of the geologists that prospects for boreholes at Maramba were good.<sup>47</sup>

The NRG finally gave in. It allowed the LMC to sink boreholes at the township. Between January and February, 1950, a trial borehole was sunk by the Zambezi Saw Mills Company at the request of the LMC. But the boreholes were never successful and the township continued to be supplied with water from the local authority mains systems.<sup>48</sup>

### 3.2. THE DRAINAGE PROBLEM AT MARAMBA

Apart from the problem of inadequate water at Maramba there was that of the poor drainage of the area. The township was built on a slope that drained into the Maramba river. This caused fears that there would be serious soil erosion in the area.

On January 7, 1950, the Governor of Northern Rhodesia, G.M. Rennie, visited Maramba township. He became worried about the poor drainage of the area. Two days after his visit, on January 9, he wrote to Crawford directing him to prevent soil erosion at the township:

....The houses are being erected on sloping land and it is essential that thought be given to the question of drainage at an early stage of construction. We don't want soil erosion there.<sup>49</sup>

When Rennie's directive reached Livingstone, the LMC came up with two alternative solutions to the problem. One of them involved gravelling the site, constructing 'drains and aprons' round the buildings, to trap and drain off the water and planting grass on one of the areas. As this method would cost about £40 per house, the LMC rejected it. The other method involved stabilizing the ground round the houses with any suitable hardening material, and planting hedges, or grass beyond the stabilized area. The LMC opted for this method for its low cost of £2 per house.<sup>50</sup>

The construction of the permanent houses at Maramba was completed in 1952.<sup>51</sup> Under the scheme 1,302 two-roomed houses were built. Of this number, 177 were set aside for occupation by the African civil servants. There were also 15 three-roomed houses that were constructed exclusively for the same category of Africans.<sup>53</sup>

The houses were provided with communal water points. Bucket latrines continued to be the only form of sanitation therein, until 1961 when waterborne sanitation, and water were provided to individual houses.<sup>53</sup>

tion of a 9,500 gallon tank by M/S Steel Fabricators. The NRG hoped that a tank of this size would store enough water from the two boreholes to satisfy the demand at Libuyu. Whether this tank alone, without improvement to the source of water would have sufficed, is a matter for speculation, for, before the tank was installed, another alternative was considered.

The shift from the 9,500 gallon tank to another solution followed the visit to the township by the member for Health and Local Government Lieutenant Colonel E.M. Wilson, on September 12, 1952. At the end of his visit, Wilson, and the LMC noted that the two boreholes were not an adequate source of water for the township. They agreed to use the LMC mains system to supply water to Libuyu.<sup>58</sup> by September, 1953.<sup>59</sup> Wilson promised the LMC that the central government would provide it with a loan to enable it instal a 4" pipe for this purpose.<sup>60</sup> But the LMC rejected to instal the pipe on the grounds that it was both uneconomic and too small to meet the needs of Maramba and Libuyu. Instead of the 4" pipe the local authority installed a 9" and a 10" one directly from the reservoir of its mains to the two townships, at a cost of £16,000.<sup>61</sup>

#### 4.3. THE SANITATION PROBLEM AT LIBUYU

Some parts of the Libuyu compound were built on the cotton soil. This type of soil has high retention of the sub-soil water, and this contributed to poor sanitation during the wet season.<sup>62</sup>

During the 1950/51 rainy season, the water table at Libuyu rose to 10 feet and caused the pit latrines to collapse. This development alarmed the state which, fearing the high cost of replacing the damaged latrines with new ones, decided to provide aqua privies (type of flush toilets that are fed with water manually). These were constructed at a cost of £19,000.<sup>63</sup> The NRG probably preferred the aqua privies to the pit latrines in the belief that they were less expensive in the long run.

But the aqua privies did not function properly for various reasons. Lack of adequate water was one of them. As already shown, the Libuyu compound was not supplied with adequate water until 1954. In the absence of sufficient water, the aqua privies could not flush and, therefore, became unhygienic.<sup>64</sup>

The aqua privies had not been constructed properly. In some cases the floor and the pan were below the level of the surrounding ground. As a result the privies flooded in the wet season.<sup>65</sup>

The soil also contributed to the problem. The high-sub soil water filled the drains of the aqua privies and caused the water in them to stagnate.<sup>66</sup>

The distribution of the water points in the compound was another factor that rendered the aqua privies inefficient. The water points were too far apart, sometimes as far as 100 yards from each other. The residents had to fill the aqua privies with water from these points, as there were no pipes that supplied water directly to the aqua privies. This, relatively long distance between the water points, made it difficult for the residents to fill the aqua privies with as much water, and as regularly, as would have been ideal to keep the aqua privies clean. The other reason was that some of the slumps of the aqua privies constantly leaked due to bad maintenance.<sup>67</sup>

The aqua privies eventually failed to be a substitute for pit latrines. By 1954 they were no longer in use, and the pit latrines had replaced them.<sup>68</sup>

#### 4.4. CRACKED FOUNDATIONS

Cracked foundations were another problem that was encountered at Libuyu. The specifications which the NRG provided for the houses at the township produced weak foundations.<sup>69</sup> Added to this was the fact that

the contractors did not construct the foundations properly.<sup>70</sup> The concrete blocks were loosely joined together, and the trenches in which they were placed were not level.<sup>71</sup> Consequently, the foundations were too weak to withstand the soil movement that occurred in the area during the wet season. By 1950, 225 houses at Libuyu had cracked foundations.<sup>72</sup> The defective foundations of these houses needed to be urgently repaired.

There was not much dispute over who was to be responsible for this. The central government and the contractors held themselves responsible for the weak foundations and agreed to share the cost of repairs. The NRG held itself more responsible than the contractors, and contributed £20,000,<sup>73</sup> and Costains Ltd. put in only £500 towards the project.<sup>74</sup>

#### 4.5. DAMAGED FLOORS, WALLS AND ROOFS AT LIBUYU

Damage to the houses at Libuyu was not only confined to the foundations. It extended to the floors, walls, and roofs as well. The cement which the NRG supplied for the construction of the houses at the township was of poor quality.<sup>75</sup> It, therefore, produced weak floors and walls, which could not withstand the forces of rain, and soil movement; as the Senior Location Superintendent at the compound, R.A. Beaton reported to the LMC sometime in January 1953:

As a result of the fairly persistent rain which has fallen in the Libuyu compound during the month of January, there is much standing water, and an inspection of many of the houses, principally in the Southern Sections, shows that there is very considerable soil movement.

This is resulting in very serious deterioration in the buildings. In some cases floors are broken away from the outer walls, so badly here and there, that underground water is now seeping up into the rooms themselves. This is in turn having the effect of much movement in the interior dividing walls and very many of these are cracked from very badly to minor cracks.

The worst damage which was inspected is in my opinion bad enough to be considered dangerous to tenants, since in these cases deep cracks running horizontally, have developed and only a slight further movement must result in the collapse of the interior wall with possible danger to life and limb.<sup>76</sup>

Added to all the problems discussed above was that of the defective roofs. This was caused by the fact that there were no purlins to support the roofs firmly. The contractors did not provide them because they had had been included in the specifications. In the absence of the support, the roofs at Libuyu sagged within two years of their construction.<sup>77</sup>

The precarious state of the roofs at Libuyu was revealed by the Director of the National Building Research Institute in Northern Rhodesia, J.E. Jennings, in 1953, in his report to the Town Engineer for the LMC, F. Jackson:

... the most frightening aspect about your scheme is the roof which has been employed, and it is my opinion that unless something is done about these roofs fairly quickly you may find yourself faced with catastrophe ... I do not think we would allow a roof of the type you have used until it has been subjected to rigorous tests.<sup>78</sup>

The state became concerned about the deteriorating state of houses at Libuyu and decided to effect repairs. But the question that arose was who was going to do this. Initially, the central government wanted to leave the responsibility with the LMC alone. Thus Colchester argued that although it was the NRG that had provided the specifications that resulted in weak houses, the LMC which had allowed the specifications to be used by the contractors was to blame. He concluded that the LMC should bear the entire cost of the repairs,<sup>79</sup> But the local authority rejected this.<sup>80</sup>

The senior heads of government departments took a very different view of the situation, in as much as they held the government totally responsible for the situation in the Libuyu township. The central government, however, refused to acknowledge this responsibility as that might encourage other local authorities to shift their responsibilities to it.<sup>81</sup> It only assisted indirectly by providing to the LMC a loan of £19,450 for the purpose. This amount was for repairs to 1,125 houses

occupied by non civil servants. It also made a direct contribution of £3,451.15s towards the maintenance of 234 houses for its African civil servants.<sup>82</sup>

The construction of permanent African houses at Libuyu was completed in 1952. A total of 1,360 two-roomed, and 22 three-roomed houses were built.<sup>83</sup> Out of the total number, 212 two-roomed houses were reserved for the African civil servants only,<sup>84</sup> and so were all the three-roomed ones.<sup>85</sup>

Piped water was provided, but communally. A group of about fifty houses were provided with a single water point.<sup>86</sup> As already stated, pit latrines were the only form of sanitation that the colonial state provided for the Africans at Libuyu.

The construction of a second compound also proved inadequate in view of the growing demand for African housing in the town. A third township was, therefore, provided at Linda.

##### 5. HOUSING AT LINDA

Permanent houses were constructed at Linda in 1955. As in the first two townships different types of houses were built in this township. There were 1,056 two-roomed houses.<sup>87</sup> The stock also included 208 three-roomed, and 16 four-roomed dwellings, all for the African civil servants.<sup>88</sup>

Piped water, and waterborne sanitation were provided to all the houses. Each house was provided with a water point and a toilet. This was certainly an improvement over that which was provided at Libuyu. This change probably came about because the Europeans had expressed fear that the unhygienic pit latrines, like the bucket ones, continued to pose a threat to their health.<sup>89</sup>

By the end of the colonial period the state had built a total of 3,610 permanent houses of different types (see Table 2) for the Africans in Livingstone.

TABLE 2  
DIFFERENT TYPES OF HOUSES BUILT FOR THE  
AFRICANS IN LIVINGSTONE BY THE COLONIAL  
GOVERNMENT

Type of House	Number <sup>1</sup>	% of total number of houses	<sup>2</sup> Proportion (%) of the African population catered for by the houses
Two-room	2,701	75	10
Three-room	844	23	2
Four-room (superior type)	65	2	0.2
Total	3,610	100	12.2

Notes:

1. Figures for the houses are taken from the Schedule of the Low Cost Housing prepared by the Livingstone Municipal Council
2. This is based on the 1963 figure of the African population of Livingstone.

From the above table it can be seen that inspite of its investment in urban African housing, by the time of independence the colonial state had accommodated only 12 per cent of the population. Moreover, 98 per cent of these were inadequately housed, in terms of the size and quality of their houses. In view of this, the problem of African housing in Livingstone was still acute at the time of independence.

The different types of houses the colonial state built at Livingstone did not only differ in the number of rooms but in other respects as well. The superior type houses for the senior African civil servants were provided with facilities which were not provided to others. The

facilities included a stove, an internal water system, bath, waterborne sanitation, a metal sink, and space in the bedrooms for hanging clothes. The state, however, provided some furniture to all the houses occupied by the civil servants.<sup>90</sup>

The quality of ventilation as shown by the number of windows, also differed according to the type of houses. The total number of windows for the two, three, and four-roomed houses were respectively, 4, 6, and 9. The bigger houses were, therefore, slightly better ventilated than the smaller type ones.<sup>91</sup>

The fact that African civil servants as a group were better housed than non civil servants shows that social differentiation among the African population of Livingstone was the most important determinant of the manner in which the colonial state distributed housing among the Africans.

It can, therefore, be seen that inequality in African education which brought about social differentiation among them, had a corresponding result in housing. This was because it created differences of income and status among them which in turn had a bearing on the type of housing they received from the state.

It can be seen from the foregoing that the African housing policies of the colonial state consolidated the emerging social differentiation among the urban African population of Livingstone.

The manner in which the colonial state distributed housing among the Africans in Livingstone was similar to what the mining companies on the copperbelt practiced. Tandeo and Matongo have shown respectively, that the mining companies in Mufulira and Kalulushi provided smaller type houses for the majority of their unskilled African employees and bigger ones for the skilled minority. Wage differentials was the determinant of the type of houses the Africans occupied. Thus the highest paid among

then were accommodated in the biggest four-roomed houses, and the lowest paid in the two-roomed type. Those whose wages fell between these two extremes were housed in three-roomed houses.<sup>92</sup> Since the mining companies had already provided this pattern of housing by the late 1940s,<sup>93</sup> the colonial state which did so later, appears to have been influenced by it.

The capitalist ethos not only influenced the housing policies of the mining companies and the colonial state, but the African civil servants too. In 1947 the Abercorn branch of the Northern Rhodesia African Civil Servants Association demanded that the NRG must provide better type housing for the African civil servants.<sup>94</sup> On 10 November, 1950, in the Legislative Council, P. Sokota, an African member, made a similar appeal to the colonial government. He said that as an 'advanced people' among the Africans, the African civil servants deserved better housing than the non civil servants.<sup>95</sup> These demands indicated two things. First, the development of elitism among the western educated Africans. Second, their assimilation of the ideology of inequality pursued by the colonial state.

African government employees who were not civil servants also made demands on the NRG for better housing in August, 1955. This group, who comprised artisans, trade tested workmen (skilled workers), labourers and domestic servants, requested the colonial government to provide them with house furniture, as was the case with the civil servants.<sup>96</sup> But the state rejected the demand.<sup>97</sup> This shows how little the colonial state was concerned with the lower groups in the African social structure.

## 6. PROVISION OF ELECTRICITY RETICULATION TO AFRICAN HOUSING AREAS

In addition to individual piped water connection, and waterborne sanitation, another improvement to African housing during the colonial period was the extension of electricity to some of the houses in the early 1960s.

The NRG policy to provide electricity to African housing areas was initiated by the Government of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. In 1955 the Federal state directed the NRG to provide electricity to the houses of the federal African employees stationed in the territory.<sup>98</sup> The policy excluded the African civil servants in the service of the territorial government. Because of this, the NRG rejected the policy. It feared that discriminating against its civil servants might turn them against itself.<sup>99</sup> It, therefore, decided to provide electricity to the African civil servants employed by both governments.<sup>100</sup> In Livingstone the NRG only provided electricity to Maramba, where the senior African civil servants lived. Here again, social differentiation played an important part in the distribution of this facility among the Africans in Livingstone. Therein lay another aspect of inequality in African housing.

While improvements to African housing at Maramba, Libuyu and Linda were taking place, there was one housing area, one of the oldest in fact, where housing was never improved by the colonial state. That was Malota.

## 7. HOUSING AT MALOTA

Malota compound developed adjacent to the Maramba township. Its origin dates back to the early days of the establishment of the town of Livingstone. It was started by the African traders, and those Africans who came to Livingstone in search of work. It was, therefore, not a government township or 'location', in colonial terminology.

The colonial state, however, recognised the existence of Malota. There could have been three possible reasons for this. First, the African traders resident at Malota were important to the town's economy because they provided food to the African labour force; and with their money, they provided part of the town's market for the European manufactured goods. Second, the unemployed residents in the compound were important because they provided a readily available reservoir of cheap labour. Third, since some of the Africans continued to live in Malota even after securing employment,<sup>101</sup> the area helped to alleviate the housing problem with little cost to the LMC.

The LMC controlled the distribution of land in Malota, which was the only area in Livingstone where Africans could acquire land-lease for housing purposes. The LMC leased plots of the uniform size of 50 square yards, and the tenants were free to sell the plots.<sup>102</sup>

The LMC also provided the area with water and sanitary services. Piped water was provided, but communally, and so were the bucket latrines. There was only one water point and latrine for the whole area.<sup>103</sup>

Residents paid monthly rent to the LMC for plots, water and sanitary services. In 1938, the rent was 2s 6d, as opposed to the 5s paid in the Maramba township.<sup>104</sup>

The LMC, however, did not control the quality of the houses the tenants built in Malota. It neither laid down specifications nor provided the tenants with any form of financial assistance to enable them build houses.<sup>105</sup> The tenants built houses according to their own preference and ability. As a result, by the 1950s there had emerged in Malota a mixture of houses of different qualities. There were a few brick houses with 'glass windows', and many simple 'mud and corrugated iron' structures, all built by the residents themselves.<sup>106</sup> The differences in the quality

of the houses suggests that by this time, some of the Africans in the compound had become more prosperous than others. Thus, economic inequality was reflected in housing.

The colonial government did not extend electricity to Malota.<sup>107</sup>

The LMC provided some of the necessary infrastructure in the African townships. It provided markets to Maramba and Linda townships only. Markets were provided to enable the African workers obtain foodstuffs from within the town. They were, therefore, important for the reproduction of African labour. Roads were also provided in the African townships. Maramba, Libuyu and Linda were linked to the commercial and industrial areas by tarred roads. But within the townships the roads were of gravel.<sup>108</sup>

In addition, the colonial state took measures to safeguard the health of the Africans in Livingstone. It provided a medical clinic in each of the three permanent townships. However, these catered for the African residents in non LMC housing areas also. The LMC also collected refuse from its African townships.<sup>109</sup>

The African population that lived in the three African townships discussed above was heterogenous in terms of industry and occupation. It comprised, in addition to the employees of the government, those working for industries, the LMC employees and the self-employed. The bigger employers, the railways and the Zambezi Sawmills accommodated their employees in their own housing estates.<sup>110</sup>

The colonial state also provided educational facilities in these townships. It operated schools which provided tuition up to Standard VI. Education was supposed to be compulsory, and free for all African children between the ages of 12 and 16, since the 1940s. There was also a trade school where Africans obtained industrial skills.<sup>111</sup> This was in conformity with the objective of the colonial African education policy of providing

skilled African labour for the capitalist industry.

#### 8. CHARGES ON HOUSING LEVIED ON AFRICANS BY LMC, 1950 TO 1964

The LMC levied the Africans for the housing services it provided them. In 1956 Africans paid to the LMC a uniform monthly rent of £1 13s for all the two, three and four-roomed houses.<sup>112</sup> By 1964 the rent had gone up, and the LMC levied different rates for different types of houses. The 1964 monthly rates were £3 10s, £5 5s, and £7 17s for the two, three and four-roomed houses, respectively.<sup>113</sup>

The rates the Africans paid for piped water in 1950 were 18s 9d for the first 7,500 gallons consumed, and 1s per 1,000 gallons in excess of this amount.<sup>114</sup> By 1959 rates for water had risen to £1 10s for the first 7,000 gallons, 1s 3d for the additional 38,000 gallons, and £1 10s for every 1,000 in excess of this amount.<sup>115</sup>

There were charges on the sewage as well. Between 1959 and 1962 Africans paid £1 a month. For refuse collection they paid 4s per month in 1956,<sup>116</sup> and 7s 6d per month in 1962.<sup>117</sup>

Electricity was also paid for. In 1962 Africans paid 1s for the first six units per tariff room, 4d, for the next same number of units per tariff room, and 6d per unit per tariff for the amount in excess of this.<sup>118</sup>

The increase in the levies the Africans paid to the state on the various aspects of housing indicates that the cost of housing was rising, although some of the houses were depreciating due to old age.

The urban African housing policy of the colonial state had two significant results in Livingstone. First, there was great improvement in the quality of African housing over that which existed before the end of the second world war. Second, as this improvement was not evenly

distributed, the inequality that was developing among the African population of the town by the 1940s was elaborated thereafter.

FOOTNOTES

1. Northern Rhodesia, Report of the Commission Appointed to Inquire into the Administration and Finance of Native Locations in Urban Areas (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1944), p.3.
2. G.St.J. Orde Brown, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1938), p.60.
3. Report of Commission on Administration and Finance of Native Locations 1944, p.11.
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## CHAPTER THREE

### HOUSING IN LIVINGSTONE, 1964 TO 1976

#### 1. GENERAL BACKGROUND

The post colonial state (Government of the Republic of Zambia) inherited from the colonial government the problem of inadequate housing for the Africans in urban areas. Sometime before independence, the United National Independence Party (UNIP), which formed the Government of the Republic of Zambia (GRZ) in October 1964, pledged in its manifesto, inter alia, that its government would solve the urban housing problem.<sup>1</sup>

It is true that the Zambian government attempted to solve the urban housing problem. This is evident from the emphasis it placed on it in its development plans. In the Transitional Development Plan for 1964 to 1966, out of the total national budget of £33,813,500,<sup>2</sup> national expenditure on housing accounted for 33 per cent (£11,150,000). This large expenditure on housing shows that the state attached great importance to the housing problem. Of this amount 2 per cent (£1,127,658) was spent on housing in Livingstone.<sup>3</sup> Part of this money, 24 per cent (£272,358) of it, was spent on the maintenance of the existing housing facilities.<sup>4</sup> The amount spent on the construction of new houses was, therefore, £855,302 (76 per cent). In the period of the First National Development Plan, 1966 to 1970, state investment in national housing programmes was 6 per cent (£43,158,000), of the total national budget of £231,851,000.<sup>5</sup> The amount which was spent on housing in Livingstone in these years was 2 per cent (£1,025,888),<sup>6</sup> of the national budget on housing. Of this amount, 10 per cent (£125,975),<sup>7</sup> was spent on improvements to existing housing structures, and £895,913, (90 per cent) was invested in new housing.

In the Second National Development Plan, which covered the years 1972 to 1976, out of the total national budget of K908,000,000, 12 per cent (K106,000,000) was spent on the national housing programmes.<sup>8</sup> That which was spent on housing in Livingstone during this period was 1 per cent (K1,201,923)<sup>9</sup> of the national investment on housing. Of this amount, 5 per cent (K61,280),<sup>10</sup> was spent on the maintenance of the existing structures. The amount that was spent on new housing was, therefore, K1,140,642 (95 per cent).

The central government decided on the housing policy and financed all the housing programmes, as was the case in the colonial period.<sup>11</sup>

The African population of Livingstone increased rapidly in the post-colonial period. This was due to the natural increase of the resident population, and immigration from within, and outside Zambia.<sup>12</sup> Immigration was caused by the freedom of movement of the people in urban areas, the expansion of employment opportunities for Africans in government, commerce and industry, and the attractions of the urban life to the rural people. From about 28,840 in 1963,<sup>13</sup> the African population of the town rose to about 34,748, in 1969.<sup>14</sup> This created the need for the state to extend the existing townships and to build new ones.

But it will be seen in this part of the study that inequality in economic opportunities and not social differentiation was the most important determinant of the way the post colonial government distributed housing among the urban population of Livingstone.

## 2. HOUSING POLICIES OF THE POST COLONIAL ZAMBIAN STATE AND HOUSING IN LIVINGSTONE

The housing policies of the post colonial Zambian state which we shall discuss in this part of the study were three-fold: (a) provision of houses for rent;<sup>15</sup> (b) promotion of Site and Service Self-Help Housing Schemes;<sup>16</sup> and (c) squatter upgrading.<sup>17</sup>

In implementing the first policy in Livingstone, the Zambian government built additional houses at Maramba, and started a new township at Dambwa. Between 1964 and 1966, the GRZ constructed 256 three-roomed houses at Maramba.<sup>18</sup> But Libuyu and Linda remained unextended.

At the time the construction of houses started at Dambwa, in 1966, the area was not inhabited. Between 1966 and 1976 the Zambian government built a total of 694 houses at Dambwa.<sup>19</sup> So, by 1976, the GRZ had built in Livingstone a total of 950 houses. The houses were of different types similar to the ones the colonial state <sup>had</sup> built at Maramba, Libuyu and Linda. Thus of the total number, 41 per cent were two-roomed, 38 per cent were three-roomed, and 20 per cent were of four-roomed type.<sup>20</sup> In this respect, therefore, the housing policy of the post colonial state was similar to that of the colonial government.

Given that in 1969, the African population of Livingstone was about 34,748, the Zambian government, therefore, built houses for only 15 to 20 per cent of the population during the period under study. But only 5 per cent <sup>of these</sup> who were accommodated in the four-roomed houses were adequately housed compared to the rest. In this regard, the GRZ did not solve the housing problem for the majority of the people.

Apart from the number of rooms, the houses at Dambwa were qualitatively similar in other respects to the ones provided at the three townships which were built during the colonial period. This was the case with ventilation. They were however, different in one way. Although the four-roomed houses at Dambwa occupied a larger plinth area compared to the houses of the same size provided in colonial times, their plots were smaller than those of the latter.

Each house at Dambwa had its waterborne sanitation and piped water. These facilities existed within the houses in the case of three and four-

roomed houses, and outside the two-roomed houses.<sup>21</sup> Probably the GRZ feared that the provision of these facilities inside the two-roomed houses would have raised the value of these houses and, therefore, the rent, to a level beyond the capacity of the low income people.

Similarly, electricity was extended to the three, and the four-roomed houses, and not to the two-roomed ones. In fact, unlike the two-roomed houses, the three-roomed, and the four-roomed houses had been deliberately designed to be provided with electricity.<sup>22</sup> This was probably because the state had anticipated that these houses would be occupied by the people who could afford electricity.

The siting of Dambwa township appears to have been in line with the town planning policy of the GRZ of integrating the residential areas with the commercial and industrial centres.<sup>23</sup> The township was built nearer to these centres than the three townships which were built by the colonial government.

All types of houses at Dambwa township were open for occupation by all social groups, as long as they were able to pay the appropriate rent.<sup>24</sup> Unlike, therefore, in the colonial period when social differentiation was the most important determinant of the manner in which the Africans were housed, in the post colonial period it was economic inequality. As a result, the economically better placed who were able to pay the rent for the most expensive and better housing were comparatively adequately accommodated than those who were not.

In late 1980s, while the construction of the houses for rent was going on at Dambwa, the state introduced the Site and Service Self-Help Housing Scheme. It is to this that we now turn.

### 3.1. SITE AND SERVICE SELF-HELP HOUSING SCHEME

It was the continuing demand on housing (see Table 3), and the inability of the state to satisfy it, that led to the introduction of the Site and Service Self-help Housing Scheme in 1967.

TABLE 3

#### HOUSING DEMAND IN URBAN AREAS OF ZAMBIA 1971-1976

<sup>1</sup> Year	All Urban Areas	Livingstone	Demand in Livingstone as % of demand for all urban areas
1971	176,033	10,831	6.1
1972	98,806	4,087	4.1
1973	101,627	4,985	4.9
1974	104,941	5,060	4.8
1975	94,819	2,010	2.1
1976	46,439	2,260	4.9
Total	<u>622,665</u>	<u>37,233</u>	<u>26.9<sup>2</sup></u>

**Footnotes:**

1. No figures are available for 1964-1970. The Zambia Housing Board which was in charge of housing during this period did not include them in its reports.
2. Zambia National Housing Authority, Reports for 1971 to 1976.

As a result of this situation, the Zambian government found itself increasingly unable to solve the housing problem by building the houses itself. It, therefore, decided to involve the people in need of housing through the Site and Service Self-Help Housing Scheme.

The aim of the state in introducing the Site and Service Self-Help Housing Scheme was to reduce its spending on housing by encouraging, and assisting the people to build their own houses. Accordingly, it limited its role to servicing plots by providing water, roads, and electricity infrastructure, and material loans to those who participated in the scheme.<sup>25</sup> At national level, the scheme was started with 22 per cent (K35,000,000), of the amount earmarked for urban housing in the Second National Development Plan.<sup>26</sup> In Livingstone, a Site and Service Self-Help Housing Scheme was started at Dambwa in 1967. Between 1967 and 1976 the government spent on the Dambwa Site and Service Self-Help Housing Scheme 4 per cent (K971,639)<sup>27</sup> of the total amount invested in the Site Service Self-Help Housing Scheme throughout the country.

### 3.2. DAMBWA SITE AND SERVICE SELF-HELP HOUSING SCHEME

The Dambwa Site and Service Self-Help Housing Scheme was sited close to the area where the houses for rent were built, but to the south of it. The scheme was started with two fold objectives: (1) to resettle the people of Malota whom the GRZ regarded as squatters; and (2) to enable the employees who, due to the shortage of conventional housing built by the state, could not secure accommodation in the Municipal townships build their own houses.<sup>28</sup>

The state laid down terms and conditions governing participation in the scheme. Plots were leased to the participants for an initial period of ten years. Tenancy was thereafter renewable after every ten years. In the event of the tenant's death while his tenancy to the plot was still valid, the state would hand over the plot to the person whom the deceased had registered with the government as the rightful heir. In case of dispute the GRZ would sell the plot and give the proceeds to the rightful

heir, so recognised by it. With the approval of the state, the tenants were allowed to sell their property subject, however, to their having paid all the lease fees, or the buyers accepting to pay the outstanding amount. Subject to the approval of the government, the tenants could extend their plots, but not exceeding a plinth area of 225 square metres. Trees on plots were a property of the GRZ and the tenants were not allowed to remove them without authorisation from it.<sup>29</sup>

Tenants were allocated plots only after they had paid a deposit of K20, and a rental of K3, in advance.<sup>30</sup> Upon payment of these amounts, the participants were loaned door, and window frames, to the value of K56, and K144, depending on the types of the houses they wanted to build.<sup>31</sup> The participants repaid the loans on monthly basis with interest. The interest on the K56 loan was K8.40, and K14.74 on the K144 one. Monthly repayments were K1.30 for the K56 loan, and K3.30 for the K144 one.<sup>32</sup> What this meant was that the quality of housing the participants provided for themselves was determined by their financial ability. So, in this case also, economic inequality among the participants influenced the quality of their housing. Moreover, the state consolidated this inequality by giving more material assistance to the participants with more money than those who had less. In this respect, the policy of the government favoured the wealthy more than the poor. As such, the Dambwa Site and Service Self-Help Housing Scheme fell short of solving the housing problem for the majority of the people in need of housing.

Participants at Dambwa Site and Service Self-Help Housing Scheme were also given loans for roofing their houses. These were also repaid with interest. Participants could, however, only secure such loans when they had built their houses up to the roof level.<sup>33</sup> The loan, which was given to the participants in cash, since the LMC did not stock roofing

materials, was K72. It was repayable over a period of four years at 5 per cent interest per annum.<sup>34</sup>

The government controlled the type of houses the participants at Dambwa Site and Service Self-Help Housing Scheme built. To start with, there were LMC specifications. Those who wanted to use specifications other than these had to have them approved by the LMC.<sup>35</sup> The state also demanded that only permanent building materials should be used in building the houses. In order to force the participants to meet this requirement, the LMC denied the loan for roofing to those participants who did not meet the requirements.<sup>36</sup> This measure was certainly beneficial to the few who participated in the scheme, in that it enabled them to build durable houses for themselves.

The participants at Dambwa Site and Service Self-Help Housing Scheme faced a number of problems. One of these was lack of sufficient builders. Since the LMC did not help in this respect, the participants engaged builders already employed elsewhere. As the builders only worked during their spare time for the participants, the houses took a long time to be completed.<sup>37</sup> To solve the problem, the LMC encouraged the builders to form co-operatives. The local authority hoped that working in teams would expedite the construction work.<sup>38</sup>

But the co-operatives were never formed. This was mainly due to two factors. The builders were free from their regular employment at different times. This made it difficult for them to agree on times when they could all meet to work for the participants. Another reason was that some of the builders were content with the money they received from the participants as individual workers. They were, therefore, unwilling to work in teams.<sup>39</sup>

Another problem the participants faced was their inability to raise funds to build their houses. Between 1967 and 1976, for instance, 22 participants had their plots repossessed by the LMC for their failure to complete their houses within the six months of securing the plots, as stipulated by the state.<sup>40</sup>

In spite of the problems discussed above, however, the Dambwa Site and Service Self-Help Housing Scheme had positive results. Between 1967 and 1976, 295 plots were allocated, and developed by the participants. Thus from the time the scheme started to 1976 only 0.9 per cent (295) of about 34,748 Africans participated in the scheme.

The plots were provided with individual waterborne sanitation, and piped water. On plots with big houses, these services were provided inside the houses, but outside, in case of small houses. Electricity was introduced in the area in 1970. The LMC provided poles and the main transmission cables to encourage the participants to extend the supply into their plots. The incentive paid off. Between 1970 and 1976, about 12 per cent of the plots were provided with electricity.<sup>41</sup>

There were no separate areas for the different types of houses at Dambwa Site and Service Self-Help Housing Scheme. Houses of different types were built next to each other. Moreover, unless where they were extended, plots were basically of the uniform size of 45 x 95 square metres.<sup>42</sup>

The government took measures to safeguard the health of the residents of Dambwa. It provided a clinic in the township, and collected refuse.

Following the colonial system, the Zambian government provided communication infrastructure by building gravel roads within the township, and tarred ones between the area and the industrial and commercial centres.

About six years after the Site and Service Self-Help Housing Scheme had been introduced, the GRZ decided to improve housing in the squatter housing areas. There were reasons for this.

#### 4.1. SQUATTER UPGRADING

One of the urban problems the Zambian government faced were the squatter settlements. These were the settlements which had sprang up in the vicinity of the authorised housing areas without the sanction of the state. Some of the squatter, 'unauthorised' settlements developed during the colonial period as early as the 1930s.<sup>43</sup> As their poor housing conditions were feared to pose a health hazard for the whole town, the squatter settlements were declared illegal.<sup>44</sup> But all efforts to erase them had failed.<sup>45</sup> The fact that squatter settlements are mentioned in the early development plans of the Zambian government is indicative of their survival from the colonial period.<sup>46</sup>

Until the early 1970s, the GRZ, like the NRG, had regarded the squatter areas as illegal settlements.<sup>47</sup> Around that time, however, the inability of the state to satisfy the growing demand on urban housing with conventional housing,<sup>48</sup> and probably the need to stamp out the influence of the opposition party, the African National Congress, in these areas,<sup>49</sup> induced the UNIP government to recognise the squatter settlements and to improve housing therein.<sup>50</sup> In 1972, therefore, the state launched the Squatter Upgrading Programme. The programme for the whole country was allocated 6 per cent (K5,000,000) of the national budget on housing in the Second National Development Plan.<sup>51</sup> In Livingstone, the Squatter Upgrading Programme was carried out at Malota.

#### 4.2. MALOTA SQUATTER UPGRADING SCHEME

The fact that Malota was recognised by the colonial government meant that the area was not illegal during the colonial period. It was,

therefore, given the status of a squatter settlement by the Zambian government.

The state financed the Malota squatter upgrading scheme in two ways. It provided a sum of K165,390 as a loan to the residents of the area, and an additional K103,600 as a grant. Added together, these amounts represented 5 per cent of the national investment in squatter upgrading. The scheme was started in September, 1972. It involved improvements to sewerage and water reticulation but not to the houses.<sup>52</sup> The residents repaid the loan thus.

The material loan of K95,700 for ablution blocks will be recovered from the participants over a period of 15 years at the rate of  $6\frac{1}{4}\%$  (K1.85 per participant).

The loan of K6,690 for other development will be recoverable from the participants by way of increased lease rent based on 30 years repayment at the rate of  $6\frac{1}{4}\%$  per cent (K1.35 per participant). [The monthly payment being K1.00].. Thus each participant will have to pay ... K2.60 per month for the first 15 years and K1.00 per month thereafter.<sup>53</sup>

The upgrading work was done by both the participants themselves and the LMC. Under the direction of a Community Development Assistant provided by the LMC, the participants worked in teams of six, building an ablution block for each member of the team at a time.<sup>54</sup> The LMC also provided technical experts to guide the participants in the construction work. This group included building instructors, two plumbers, an architect from the National Housing Authority, and two German Technical Volunteers.

The Malota Squatter Upgrading Scheme was completed within three years. Between September, 1973, when the scheme was started and the end of 1976, all the 516 plots were provided with waterborne sanitation and piped water.<sup>56</sup> The people of the area, therefore, no longer used bucket latrines and communal water points that had been provided since the colonial period. This was an improvement ~~of~~ what the colonial state had provided.

The LMC also aimed at having the houses at Malota upgraded. However, it did not give any form of financial assistance to the participants to do so. It hoped to achieve its aim by merely encouraging the participants. It stocked doors, and window frames, and concrete blocks, and established administrative offices within Malota.<sup>57</sup>

The LMC also controlled the quality of the upgraded houses the participants built. It provided them with housing plans. It also approved the plans the participants obtained from non-state sources.<sup>58</sup>

In spite of lack of financial assistance from the state, however, some of the Malota residents upgraded their houses. Between September, 1973, and the end of 1976, 22 houses had been upgraded, while 20 others were in the process of being upgraded. Some ~~of~~ the owners of the upgraded houses secured electricity as well.<sup>59</sup> This was an added improvement to Malota.

But the majority of the people at Malota could not upgrade their houses because they were too poor to do so. The cost of the building materials was too high for them.<sup>60</sup> These continued to live in poor housing. So, like in other post independence housing areas discussed above, economic inequality among the people of Malota had a similar effect on their response to the Squatter Upgrading Programme. In this situation, it were the few who had the economic means who benefited from

the incentives provided by the state. Such was the shortcomings of the Squatter Upgrading policy as it applied to Malota.

The same terms and conditions that governed participation at Dambwa Site and Service Self-Help Housing Scheme applied to the participants in the Malota Squatter Upgrading Scheme.<sup>61</sup>

The provision of electricity to townships, which started in the colonial period was continued by the Zambian government. It is to this subject that we now turn.

### 5. ELECTRICITY RETICULATION

Not much progress was made in Livingstone in the years 1964 to 1976 in the provision of electricity to the houses. This had to do with the post independence arrangement on the distribution of electricity.

Until 1973, it was the LMC which distributed electricity and collected the charges. But between 1970 and 1972, the newly formed Zambia Electricity Supply Corporation (ZESCO) took over the responsibility. As a result the LMC lost the revenue from electricity to ZESCO. The local authority, however, was required to provide poles and cables in the residential areas at its own cost, to enable ZESCO provide the electricity. The LMC was reluctant to do so since it did not derive any financial gain from it.<sup>62</sup> As a result some of the houses remained without electricity during this period. Out of a total of 3,612 houses built by the colonial and post colonial states only 50 per cent had been provided with electricity by 1976. The distribution included all the 256 at Maramba, 701<sup>63</sup> at Linda and 302<sup>64</sup> at Dambwa. Provision was not extended to Libuyu. The rest of the houses at Maramba had already got electricity by the time of independence.

The post colonial state did not improve sanitation at Libuyu in the twelve years of Zambia's independence. The residents of the township continued to use pit latrines. But because of the irregular pumping out of the waste by the LMC, the pit latrines became so full that the owners had no choice but to dig pits next to them into which they drained some of the waste to create room for further use.<sup>65</sup> So, while the rest of the town were enjoying improved housing the people of Libuyu continued to live under unhygienic conditions. The LMC officials attributed the perpetuation of the condition described above to lack of funds.<sup>66</sup> But this is difficult to believe in view of the fact that funds were available for new housing projects.

The GRZ, like the NRG, did not confine itself to providing shelter, sanitation, water and electricity alone, but provided other services related to housing as well. It collected refuse, and provided clinics in the townships in order to safeguard the health of the urban people. To facilitate the movement of the people, the Zambian government constructed roads at Dambwa, but along the same pattern as that which existed in the colonial period. Roads that linked the compound with the commercial and industrial centres, and other housing areas were tarred, but those that ran through the townships were not. Schools were also provided in the townships.

The people of Livingstone also paid for the housing services in the post colonial period as they did in the preceding period.

#### 6. CHARGES LEVIED ON RESIDENTS BY THE LMC 1964 to 1976

The monthly rent for the houses at Dambwa township during the period 1964 to 1976 was K15.70n, K18.50n and K19.00 for the two, three and four-roomed ones, respectively.<sup>67</sup>

Water charges at the same township were as follows: a minimum charge of K5.00 was levied on the first 20,000 litres consumed in a month, and the following rates were levied on the amount in excess of this. Consumers paid 6n per 1,000 litres, for the next 100 thousand litres, 5n per 1,000 litres for the next 300 thousand litres, 4.5 per 1,000 litres for the next 900 thousand litres, 4n per 1,000 litres for the next 900 thousand litres, 3n per 1,000 litres for the next 2,000 litres, 2nd per 1,000 litres for the next 1,000 litres and 1n per 1,000 for the next 5,200 thousand litres.<sup>68</sup>

At Dambwa Site and Service Self-Help Housing Scheme, and at Malota different water rates were charged. At the former, the owners of plots paid for water through the monthly rent which they paid for the plots. They were allowed 4,000 gallons a month. In cases where they consumed more than this amount in a month, the council charged them for the excess water as it deemed fit.<sup>69</sup> At Malota, residents were levied a fixed monthly rate of K1.60 for a limitless supply.<sup>70</sup>

In addition, residents of Dambwa township paid K2.00 per month for the waterborne sanitation.<sup>71</sup> Those at Malota were charged K1.75 per month.<sup>72</sup> There were no charges for refuse collection at Dambwa township and Malota. But at Dambwa Site and Service Self-Help Housing Scheme, people paid 60n per month for the service.<sup>73</sup> The implications of these unequal payments are that those who paid more were provided *with* better facilities and services than those who paid less.

Charges on electricity included fixed monthly charges and on the amount consumed every month. The former varied according to the purpose for which electricity was used. From 1964 up to the time when ZESCO takeover, the LMC charged the following rates: for the houses where electricity was used for lighting only, consumers paid a fixed rate of K1.00 per month. In houses where it was used for lighting and heating a hot plate for cooking, the fixed monthly charge was K2.25n.<sup>74</sup>

Charges on metred supply varied according to the plinth area of the houses, and, therefore, its size. For the supply to the houses of an area of 720 square feet or less, consumers paid K2.5n for the first 100 units, and 0.1n per unit for the additional units. They also paid a fixed monthly charge of K2.50. For the bigger houses with water heating appliances provided by the council, the rates were 0.5n per unit for the first 100 units, and 0.7n per unit for the remaining units. The fixed monthly charge on electricity for this category of houses was K3.00.

Charges on the metred supplies to houses with heating systems not provided by the council were higher than in the former case. The cost of the first 100 units was K7.5n per unit, and that of the remaining units was 0.7n per unit. The fixed monthly charge was K4.00n. In all cases when electricity was extended to the house for the first time, consumers paid a connection fee of K30.00n.<sup>75</sup>

From 1973 to 1976 ZESCO charged different rates on electricity from those which were levied by the LMC. Fixed charges per month were K0.50n for the houses where the electricity was used for lighting only, K1.00n where it was used for lighting and heating a hot plate; and K3.00 where lighting, cooker and geyser were involved. The consumption rate which all the consumers of electricity paid was K0.213n per unit. They were also levied a sales tax of 15 per cent.<sup>76</sup>

The high cost of bigger type houses in terms of rent and electricity were certainly prohibitive to the low income people. Because of this better housing was, therefore, only accessible to those whose income was high enough to enable them afford such type of housing.

At Dambwa Site and Service Self-Help Housing Scheme, the LMC made a special arrangement with the owners of the houses on the financing of repairs to the houses. The tenants remitted to the council K1.60n every

month towards administrative costs on maintenance. This enabled the council to effect the repairs without much delay. In cases where repairs involved the replacement of certain parts of the house, such as a door, or a window, the house owners bought these and the LMC fixed them for them.

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There were two aspects of housing in Livingstone during the period 1964 to 1976, which were a significant improvement over the housing of the colonial period. These were the Malota Squatter Upgrading and Dambwa Site and Service Self-Help Housing Schemes. But inequality in the distribution of housing among the urban population of Livingstone was continued by the post colonial state. Moreover, despite all the efforts, the Zambian government did not cope with the urban housing problem for the same reasons that the colonial state did not. By 1976, the GRZ had provided accommodation to only a tiny proportion of the population. Additionally, the continued existence of squatter settlements in Livingstone in the first twelve years of Zambia's independence, is indicative of the persistence of the housing problem.

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55. Nyambe, interview.
56. Nyambe, interview.

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  58. Nyambe, interview.
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## CHAPTER FOUR

### CONCLUSION

The following can be said about this study. It has shown that the social differentiation that was emerging among the African population of Livingstone by the 1950s was the most important determinant of the manner in which the Northern Rhodesia Government distributed housing among the urban African population of Livingstone. For the post colonial period, the study has established that economic inequality played an important part in the distribution of housing among the population of the town. Thus through their housing policies, the two governments consolidated the inequality that was developing among the urban African population of the town.

In terms of the housing problem in general, it has been shown in this study that it persisted throughout the period of study. The majority of the people were inadequately housed in terms of the size and quality of their houses. Moreover, the demand for housing continued to rise as a result of the increase in the urban African population.

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