

**LABOUR MIGRATION: A STUDY OF NAKAMBALA SUGAR CANE CUTTERS IN
MAZABUKA, 1964-2017**

BY

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DECLARATION

I, **Mumbula Mulope**, do hereby declare that this dissertation represents my own work, and that it has not been previously submitted for any degree at this or any other University.

Signature:

Date:

APPROVAL

This dissertation of Mumbula Mulope is approved as fulfilling the partial requirements for the award of the Degree of Master of Arts in History by the University of Zambia.

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Supervisor	Signature	Date
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DEDICATION

I wish to dedicate this dissertation to my wife, Juliet N.M. Mulope and our three daughters, Agginess Anayawa, Alexinah Maikisa and Annette Macwani. Let this work always be an inspiration to you to achieve greater heights in education than I have done. I wish to dedicate this work to the academics and sugar plantation owners, too. This piece of work may be a useful reference for you in terms of the phenomenon of labour migration and the job of cane cutting.

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ABSTRACT

The phenomenon of labour migration at Nakambala Sugar Estate (NSE) was an extension of the labour migration system that started during pre-colonial times. It continued and grew during the colonial era and eventually entered post-colonial institutions which included NSE in Zambia. From inception, Zambia Sugar Company (ZSC) repeatedly recruited the majority of labourers from the Western Province, a trend that does not have enough scholarly address. Due to scarcity of specific literature on that, this study attempts to examine ZSC's preference for cane cutters from the Western Province. It also investigates the socio-economic impact of the job of cane cutting on the Western Province, and analyses the reaction of ZSC and Mazabuka town community to the migratory cane cutters between 1964 and 2017. The study used the qualitative method. Data was collected from primary sources such as archival documents and oral interviews with various individuals and institutions. Secondary sources like books, journals, dissertations and theses were also consulted. Other sources included Government and ZSC reports. This study shows that between 1964 and 1968, ZSC did not recruit cane cutters because it was still planting sugar cane on the estate. In addition, the company's preference for the local labourers who had no interest in the job of cane cutting but farming contributed to the failure to recruit cane cutters. The study also reveals that from 1968 to 2002, the company turned to the Western Province where men had shown interest in the job of cane cutting. Although there was an attempt to recruit cane cutters from the Eastern, Northern and Luapula Provinces in the 1970s, the study states that the recruits deserted the estate because they felt that the job of cane cutting was difficult. Therefore, ZSC continued to recruit cane cutters from the Western Province whom it eventually developed preference for. The study further indicates that between 2002 and 2017, the recruitment was shifted to Mazabuka mainly because the local people had begun to seek the job of cane cutting. The study argues that the local people only began to seek the job of cane cutting after 2002 mostly due to droughts and Contagious Bovine Pleuro-Pneumonia (CBPP) which crippled farming, their main source of income. Although the job of cane cutting was beneficial because it was a source of income used to meet essential needs for cane cutters and their families, the study has shown that it also impacted negatively as it did not offer vital skills to cane cutters to enable them contribute towards the development of their home communities. It also promoted reliance on monthly wages earned at NSE which affected the culture of being industrious among the cane cutters and their families in the sending communities. This work has similarly shown that the migratory cane cutters who were of benefit to the host community, sometimes were a threat in terms of staging strikes, abrogating ZSC rules, and competing for accommodation and the job of cane cutting with the local people. As a result, the host community was compelled to react to them in various ways. Lastly, this study argues that although the local people began to seek the cane cutting employment, by 2017 the majority of cane cutters at NSE still came from the Western Province due to the preference ZSC had for them, because they were hard working and committed to the job of cane cutting.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ABF	Assorted British Foods
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
AK 47	Automat Kalashnikova 47
APG	Andrew, Peter and George
ATMs	Automated Teller Machines
BFS	Bayport Financial Services
BRE	Barotse Royal Establishment
BSACo.	British South Africa Company
CAF	Central African Federation
CBD	Central Business District
CBPP	Contagious Bovine Pleuro-Pneumonia
CSE	Chirundu Sugar Estate
CSO	Central Statistical Office
DC	District Commissioner
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EFT	Electronic Fund Transfer
EU	European Union
FNB	First National Bank
FRA	Food Reserve Agency
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GRZ	Government of the Republic of Zambia

HIV	Human Immuno-deficiency Virus
HRMT	Human Resource Management Team
ILO	International Labour Organisation
INDECO	Industrial Development Corporation
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
KASCOL	Kaleya Smallholders Company Limited
MCL	Maamba Collieries Limited
MMD	Movement for Multi-Party Democracy
MoH	Ministry of Health
MPs	Members of Parliament
NAPSA	National Pension Scheme Authority
NAZ	National Archives of Zambia.
NLH	Native Land Husbandry
NRC	National Registration Card
NSE	Nakambala Sugar Estate
PPE	Personal Protective Equipment
RNLB	Rhodesia Native Labour Bureau
SADC	Southern Africa Development Community
SDA	Seventh-Day Adventist Church
SSE	Sena Sugar Estate
STIs	Sexually Transmitted Infections
TSE	Triangle Sugar Estate
UK	United Kingdom

UN	United Nations
UNIP	United National Independence Party
UNZA	University of Zambia
VCT	Voluntary Counselling and Testing
WENELA	Witwatersrand Native Labour Association
ZANACO	Zambia National Commercial Bank
ZIMCO	Zambia Industrial Mining Corporation
ZNBC.....	Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation
ZNPF.....	Zambia National Provident Fund
ZNS.....	Zambia National Service
ZP.....	Zambia Police
ZPS	Zambia Postal Services
ZSC	Zambia Sugar Company

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GLOSSARY

- Bulozi*: Whole area occupied by the Lozi speaking ethnic groups though it sometimes refers to the flood plains, which is also called Bulozi proper.
- Chinyanja*: Language mainly spoken in the Eastern and Lusaka Provinces of Zambia which is generally called the language of the lake in reference to Lake Malawi.
- Citonga*: Official regional language of the Southern Province of Zambia.
- Denkete*: Tonga word for the Contagious Bovine Pleuro-Pneumonia (CBPP) which killed cattle in the Southern Province in the 1990s and 2000s.
- Icibemba*: Language of the Bemba people mainly spoken in the Northern, Muchinga and Luapula Provinces of Zambia.
- Imilangu*: Lozi group named after small calabash like material (Malangu) which they used to bring to the Litunga as tribute.
- Induna*: Official title of a spokes-person or advisor to the chief in some Southern African Bantu society.
- Kaloba*: Word for money lent to a person which is expected to be paid back with very high interest.
- Kaonde*: Main ethnic group of Kalumbila, Kasempa, Mufumbwe, Mushindamo and Solwezi districts of the North-Western Province of Zambia.
- Karavina*: Local name for guns which people illegally bought from late Jonas Savimbi's guerilla fighters.
- Kololo*: Ethnic group originally led by Sebitwane from Nguniland, which invaded the Luyi Kingdom in the first half of the 19th century.
- Kufunda*: Illicit method used in the Lozi society to acquire cattle from rich relatives' kraals without permission.
- Kwandi*: Original name of the Lozi group which settled in present day Senanga district of the Western Province of Zambia.

- Kwangwa*: Original name of the Lozi group which settled in the woodlands of present day Mongu and Limulunga districts of the Western Province of Zambia.
- Lealui*: Originally Lialuyi, meaning the residence of the Lozi in reference to the winter Palace of the Litunga.
- Limpo*: Lozi word for gifts.
- Litunga*: Official title of the Lozi King which means the owner of the land.
- Liuwa*: Lozi group which occupied the Liuwa plains.
- Lozi*: Term used to refer to the Royalties and also a collective name for all the groups of Luyi and Kololo origin and the incorporated people in the Western Province.
- Luyi*: Original ethnic group of the Lozi people of the Western Province which existed before the Kololo invasion of the Luyi kingdom.
- Mafisa*: Cattle given to a person to keep with hope of remunerating the custodian if the cattle later multiplied.
- Makoma*: Luyi remnant group which occupied an area that had plants called Mikoma in present day Sikongo district of the Western Province.
- Mashi*: Lozi group which settled in an area called Mashi in the Western Province.
- Mbowe*: Lozi group which originally settled in the Zambezi flood plains in the Western Province.
- Mbunda*: Ethnic group incorporated into the Lozi community having originally come from present day Angola starting during the reign of Mulambwa, the 10th Litunga.
- Mwenyi*: Luyi group which occupied the area called Mwenyi in Kalabo district of the Western Province.
- Ndundulu*: Lozi group named after Mandundu, bundles of fibre, which they used to bring to the Litunga as tribute.
- Nkoya*: Ethnic group incorporated into the Lozi community, mainly found in present day Luampa, Kaoma and Nkeyima districts of the Western Province.

- Nyengo*: One of the remnants of the Luyi who were named after snakes locally called Nyengo which inhabited the area they occupied in present day Sikongo district of the Western Province.
- Nzimbe*: Word for sugar cane in the Tonga language of the Southern Province of Zambia.
- Silози*: Lingua Franca for the people of the Western Province of Zambia which developed from the combination of Luyi and Kololo languages in the 19th Century.
- Siluyana*: The original language of the Lozi which existed prior to the Kololo invasion.
- Simaa*: Group of the Lozi believed to be part of the Ndundulu.
- Subiya*: Lozi group found mainly in Sesheke district of Zambia and Kaprivi areas of Namibia.
- Tonga*: Mother ethnic group of the Southern Province of Zambia.
- Totela*: One of the ethnic groups in the southern part of the Western Province which aided the Kololo during their invasion of the Luyi Kingdom because it felt it was not part of the Luyi.
- Tung'ombyo*: Lozi name for very portable musical instruments played using fingers also called Tulumba in other Zambian Languages.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction and Historical Background

The central focus of this study is to examine the phenomenon of labour migration at Nakambala Sugar Estate (NSE) in the post-colonial Zambia. The term “labour migration” is defined differently by scholars. However, it is generally referred to as the movement of people from their home communities to other communities either within or outside their country of origin in search of job opportunities.¹ Scholars argue that labour migration is not a new practice in labour procurement in Africa.² It existed during the pre-colonial period, continued and grew in the colonial era,³ and finally entered the post-colonial epoch. The study, however, starts from 1964, the year NSE began to be planted even though the migratory labour activities at the estate started four years later.⁴ At NSE, labour migration mainly involved the movement of men from the rural communities of the Western Province to Mazabuka in the Southern Province of Zambia to seek the job of cane cutting yearly in April and back to their home communities at the end of the contract in November.⁵ This labour migration system continued even up to the end of this study in 2017.

The phenomenon of labour migration in Africa dates as far back as the times of the pre-colonial settled communities. It was an integral part of the socio-economic organisation of the African societies. It often increased in times of poor harvest and epidemics that claimed the lives of many domesticated animals such as cattle and goats. The labour migration system during the pre-colonial era was seasonal and barter system based. Usually after harvest, migrants went into foreign lands which had plenty of the desired essential items in order to work for such items as

¹ IOM, *International Labour Law: Glossary on Migration*, (Geneva: International Organisation for Migration, 2004), p. 38 and IOM, *International Labour Law: Glossary on Migration*, (Geneva: International Organisation for Migration, 2011), p. 58.

² Bertil Egero, “Colonisation and Migration: A Summary of Border-crossing Movements in Tanzania Before 1967”, Research Report no. 52, Sweden, Uppsala Offset Centre, 1979, p. 22 and Yizenge A. Chondoka, “Labour Migration and Rural Transformation in Chama District, Northeastern Zambia, 1890-1992”, PhD Thesis: University of Toronto, 1992, pp. 53-54.

³ Chondoka, “Labour Migration”, pp. 53-54.

⁴ Suwilanji S. Sinyangwe, “Health and Nutritional Status of Young Zambian Children Residing on a Sugar Estate in Rural Zambia”, MMed. Dissertation: University of Zambia, 1995, p. 1.

⁵ Sinyangwe, “Health and Nutritional Status”, p. 1.

payment. This was because, prior to the advent of colonialism, movements from one community to another were common and not very restricted. In the foreign communities, the migrants sold their labour for iron, salt and other necessities. Apart from that, they carried out gathering, hunting and fishing activities. Once the migrants obtained the necessary items, they returned home, often at the onset of farming season in order for them to participate in the growing of crops. They bartered the items they came with for locally available ones and also for agricultural labour.⁶ The labour migration cycle restarted the following year after harvest.

During the colonial era, labour migration continued and actually increased in Africa. Unlike in the pre-colonial times, the European powers created borders and imposed colonial rule on Africa.⁷ Without necessarily consulting African rulers, the emerging settler communities established mining and farming industries in the territories of Southern Africa. With the growth of the capitalist economy, African labour was needed in the established mines and settler farms. The scenario led to the development of the colonial labour migration.⁸ Before the recruited African men were transported across the territorial borders, they were vaccinated in order to protect them from contracting diseases and also to prevent them from transmitting diseases to people in the host communities.⁹ During the colonial era, labour migration was cash-wage based in addition to being seasonal. The recruited labour migrants received their wages in cash monthly and were expected to go back to their home communities at the end of the contract.¹⁰

African adult males easily embarked on labour migration to the established mines and settler farms during the colonial period because it was a phenomenon that had been practised in Africa from the pre-colonial era. Therefore, they were used to it.¹¹ Some scholars such as Chipasha C. Luchembe and Henry S. Meebelo individually state that it was the brutal colonial policies in the territories which compelled the African men to embrace colonial labour migration and seek

⁶ Chondoka, "Labour Migration", pp. 53-54 and Egero, "Colonisation and Migration", p. 22.

⁷ Saadia Touval, "Treaties, Borders, and the Partition of Africa", *The Journal of African History*, 7, 2 (1966), pp. 279-83 and P.E.N. Tindall, *A History of Central Africa*, (New York: Frederick A. Praeger Inc., 1968), pp. 17, 135 and 159.

⁸ A. Whiteside, *Southern African Issues: Labour Migration in Southern Africa*, (Bloemfontein: The South African Institute of International Affairs, 1988), pp. 1-2 and G.H.N. Haantobolo, "Ecology, Agriculture, and Proletarianisation: A Study of the Sinazongwe Area in the Gwembe Valley of the Southern Province of Zambia: 1900-1989", MA Dissertation: University of Zambia, 1991, pp. 3-4.

⁹ Interview, Robinson M. Mulope, Retired Clinical Officer and Former Induna Mukulwamwandi, Mwandi Royal Village, Kalabo, 1st March, 2018.

¹⁰ Chondoka, "Labour Migration", pp. 53-54 and Egero, "Colonisation and Migration", p. 22.

¹¹ Egero, "Colonisation and Migration", p. 22 and Chondoka, "Labour Migration", pp. 53-54.

employment at the established firms. Among the policies was taxation which was imposed on able-bodied men for colonial administrative purposes. Those who failed to meet the tax demands were tortured and sometimes imprisoned.¹² On the contrary, W.J. Breytenbach argues that Africans were attracted into labour migration by the positive benefits of the western economy. These included the need to earn money in order to acquire European goods and meet other needs.¹³ In addition, Patrick Harries and D. Malyn Newitt independently explain that African men were drawn into wage labour by cultural and ecological factors. Among the factors were the need to raise money for dowry payment and buy food in times of famine resulting from droughts and floods.¹⁴

There were many impacts of labour migration on the Africans' home communities during the colonial era. According to Yizenge A. Chondoka, some scholars claim that labour migration underdeveloped African communities because it kept away potential men for a long period while others argue that energetic African men did not leave the villages for wage labour at the same time. Some of the men remained in the communities and did developmental works. As a result, labour migration did not underdevelop African communities.¹⁵ Scholars operating within the "underdevelopment" school, emphasise that labour migration caused underdevelopment as it proletarianised and shifted Africans from the traditional to the capitalist economic sector because of its monetary incentives. African men abandoned land; their production means and resorted to wage labour. This eroded the reliable African labour force from the African rural communities resulting into underdevelopment. Conversely, "modernist narratives" argue that labour migrants utilised their wages to acquire modern goods and personal exposure. Their sending communities were also developed through the process of cash remittances.¹⁶ Jonathan Crush and Vincent Williams jointly take a neutral stance. They stress the mutual impact of labour migration, both

¹² Chipasha C. Luchembe, "Finance Capital and Mine Labour: A Comparative Study of Copper Miners in Zambia and Peru, 1890-1980", PhD Thesis: University of California, Los Angeles, 1982, pp. 120-23 and Henry S. Meebelo, *Reaction to Colonialism: A Prelude to the Politics of Independence in Northern Zambia 1893-1939*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1971), p. 122.

¹³ W.J. Breytenbach, *Migratory Labour Arrangements in Southern Africa*, (Pretoria: Africa Institute of South Africa, 1979), p. 1

¹⁴ Patrick Harries, *Work, Culture, and Identity Migrant Labourers in Mozambique and South Africa, c.1860-1910*, (London: James Currey Ltd, 1994), pp. 226-27 and D. Malyn Newitt, *A History of Mozambique*, (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1995), pp. 483-84.

¹⁵ Chondoka, "Labour Migration", p. III.

¹⁶ Pesa Iva, "Moving along the Roadside: A Social History of Mwinilunga District, 1870-1970s", PhD Thesis: Leiden University, 2014, pp. 151-52.

positive and negative, on the migrants' home communities and the foreign ones they worked for.¹⁷

The phenomenon of labour migration continued even after independence (1964 for Zambia). However, it was for socio-economic and personal reasons, and no longer due to compulsory taxation. This time, it was mainly internal labour migration, where able-bodied men left their home areas for other places within Zambia to seek wage labour, although there were reduced numbers of Zambians who still sought wage labour externally.¹⁸ In the post-colonial Zambia, NSE, an irrigated plantation, belonging to the Zambia Sugar Company (ZSC) in Mazabuka,¹⁹ was one of the places where labour migration was largely practised. The company had been recruiting cane cutters mainly from the Western Province of Zambia from inception on seasonal contract.²⁰ The cane cutters together with sucker cutters, planters and irrigators were, therefore, seasonal labour migrants whose employment depended on the seasonal growth of sugar cane which usually matured between April and December yearly.²¹ As earlier stated, this study focuses on the cane cutters but not the other migratory workers at NSE.

NSE was the largest and oldest sugar estate in Zambia by 2017.²² It began operations in June 1964,²³ even though the events leading to its origin go beyond that period and are connected to the global development of sugar cane. Historically, the origin of sugar cane in the world is obscure. This is because of "... some controversy over the exact [date and place of] origin of ... sugar cane..."²⁴ Owing to the usage of the terms "sweet cane" in the Bible, some scholars have

¹⁷Jonathan Crush and Vincent Williams, *Southern African Migration Project, Regionalising International Migration: Lessons for SADC, Migration Policy Brief No. 11*, (n.p., n.d.), pp. 11-12.

¹⁸ Charles M. Becker, Christopher N. deBodisco and Andrew R. Morrison, "Urban Africa in Macroeconomic and Microeconomic Perspective: Issues and Options", Discussion Paper, Report no UDD - 97, World Bank, April, 1986, p. 21.

¹⁹ J.B. Ranger, A. Gulotti and D. Montagu, "Observations on Frost Damage at Nakambala Estate", Proceedings of the Forty-Third Annual Congress 2nd-6th June, 1969, p. 30.

²⁰ Fison Mujenja and Charlotte Wonani, *Long-term Outcomes of Agriculture Investments: Lessons from Zambia*, (London: International Institute for Environment and Development, 2012), pp. 40-41.

²¹ IOM, *International Labour Law*, p. 89 and Sinyangwe, "Health and Nutritional Status", p. 1.

²² Zambia Sugar Company Ltd., Annual Report, 2017, p. 9.

²³ National Archives Zambia, ZIMCO 1/06/009/7036, Zambia Sugar Company Limited Management Agreement, 1971-1976, p. 2.

²⁴ Plinio Mario Nastari, "The role of Sugar Cane in Brazil's History and Economy", PhD Thesis: Iowa State University, 1983, p. 12.

associated sugar cane to the Old Testament times and places.²⁵ However, it is probable that “Sugar cane was ... first domesticated in New Guinea some 10,000 years ago ...”²⁶ Thereafter, it spread to some parts of South-East Asia through India. From there, it was introduced to the surrounding areas of the Mediterranean Sea by the Moors.²⁷ Towards the end of the second half of the fifteenth century, sugar plantations were established in Madeira and Sao Tome, the oceanic Islands of West Africa, by the Portuguese.²⁸ Through the voyages of discovery, Christopher Columbus carried the knowledge of sugar cane to the New World in 1493. Still in the Americas, Brazilian and other sugar plantations were established in the first half of the sixteenth century.²⁹ Those plantations were sustained by African slave labour because the local Indians were unsuitable and difficult to manage.³⁰

In Southern Africa, the development of sugar plantations started during the colonial era in Mauritius towards the end of the eighteenth century. Afterwards, the migrating technical staff from sugar estates of Mauritius introduced the practice to Natal in South Africa in the middle of the nineteenth century. Before the end of the last decade of the nineteenth century, sugar plantations were already established in Mozambique among which was the Sena Sugar Estate (SSE).³¹

The knowledge of sugar production reached Southern Rhodesia in the 1930s.³² Prior to that, both Northern and Southern Rhodesia mainly depended on the factories of SSE for sugar supply. The

²⁵ Isaiah 43: 24, *The Holy Bible, New King James Version*, Washington: Thomas Nelson Inc., 1982; Jeremiah 6: 20, *The Holy Bible, New King James Version*, USA: Thomas Nelson Inc., 1982 and Nastari, “The role of Sugar cane”, p. 15.

²⁶ Phillimon Ndubani, “An Epidemiological Assessment of the Prevalence of Sickness and Injuries among Workers in Zambian Industry: The Case of Nakambala Sugar Estate”, MMed. Dissertation: University of Zambia, 1998, p. 10.

²⁷ Ndubani, “Epidemiological Assessment”, p. 10 and Stuart B. Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society Bahia, 1550-1835*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 3.

²⁸ Ndubani, “Epidemiological Assessment”, p. 10; A. McKenna, *The Britannica Guide to Africa: The History of Central and Eastern Africa*, (New York: Britannica Educational Publishing, 2011), pp. 11-12; McKenna, *The Britannica Guide to Africa*, p. 72; Joseph Smith, *A History of Brazil 1500-2000: Politics, Economy, Society, Diplomacy*, (New York: Routledge, 2013), p. 22 and J.H. Galloway, *The Sugar Cane Industry: An Historical Geography from its origin to 1914*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 48.

²⁹ McKenna, *The Britannica Guide to Africa*, pp. 11-12; Smith, *History of Brazil*, p. 22; McKenna, *The Britannica Guide to Africa*, p. 72 and Ndubani, “Epidemiological Assessment”, p. 10.

³⁰ Smith, *History of Brazil*, p. 23.

³¹ Ben Richardson, *Sugar Cane in Southern Africa: A Sweeter Deal for the rural poor*, (Coventry: University of Warwick, 2010), p. 6 and Alex Dubb, Ian Scoones, and Phillip Woodhouse, “The Political Economy of Sugar in Southern Africa - Introduction”, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 43, 3 (2017), p. 451.

³² Richardson, *Sugar in Southern Africa*, p. 6.

high sugar demand due to increasing urbanisation in both territories led to the establishment of the Rhodesia Sugar Refining Company in October, 1936 in Bulawayo. The company acquired sugar cane for its sugar production from farmers within Southern Rhodesia up to 1944 when the colonial government took over that role. Later, the government gave that task to a South African sugar company. The Bulawayo Sugar Refinery could not contain the growing sugar demand. Therefore, in 1957, another refinery was established in Salisbury. The demand for sugar also led to the development of two cane growing projects. The first was the Chirundu Sugar Estate (CSE) and mill that developed in the Zambezi valley in 1955 using financial aid from the Tate and Lyle Company Limited. In 1959, another, the Hippo Valley Estate Limited was set up. When the Ndola Sugar Refinery started its production in 1960, it relied on sugar cane from the CSE.³³ In 1963, the Central African Federation (CAF) was disbanded. Consequently, the CSE went through a liquidation process.³⁴

Following the closure of the Federation-owned CSE in 1963, the Tate and Lyle Limited technical staff embarked on a search for a different site in Northern Rhodesia. After a period of considerable investigation, a site on the banks of the Kafue River was identified. The place met the conditions necessary for the establishment of a sugar estate. This was the present day NSE in Mazabuka district of the Southern Province of Zambia. At the beginning, the estate was jointly owned by the Government of the Republic of Zambia (GRZ) and Tate and Lyle Company Limited.³⁵ In the 1970s, ZSC was nationalised by the Industrial Development Corporation (INDECO)³⁶ through the nationalisation policy initiated by the ruling United National Independence Party (UNIP). Therefore, "... INDECO ... owned the majority ... shares of the Nakambala Sugar Estate (51%) with UK-based multinational Tate and Lyle being the other

³³ Tindall, *Central Africa*, p. 225; Joy H. Kalyalya, "A History of Nakambala Sugar Estate, 1964-1984", MA Dissertation: University of Zambia, 1988, pp. 6-7; Ndubani, "An Epidemiological Assessment", pp. 6-7; Tindall, *Central Africa*, pp. 302-03 and See Minutes no. 1105/Prod/19 and Notes on the Pilot Sugar Cane Growing Scheme in the Gwembe Valley by the Director of Agriculture to Acting Provincial Commissioner of Southern Province, NAZ, SP 1/14/16/3080, Establishment of Sugar Plantations, 1950-1954, p. 2.

³⁴ Ndubani, "An Epidemiological Assessment", p. 7.

³⁵ Ndubani, "Epidemiological Assessment", p. 7 and V. Rocca, "The Gendered Implications of the Expansion in Commercial Sugarcane Production: A Case Study of Contract Farming in Magobbo, Zambia", MA Dissertation: University of Caletton, 2014, p. 48.

³⁶ Saturnino M. Borras Jr., Phillip MacMicheal and Ian Scoones, *Critical Agrarian Studies: The Politics of Biofuels, Land and Agrarian Changes*, (New York: Routledge, 2011), p. 353; NAZ, ZIMCO 1/06/009/7036, Zambia Sugar Company, p. 1; *Times of Zambia*, 28th July, 1972, p. 8 and *Times of Zambia*, 2nd August, 1972, p. 5.

shareholder ...”³⁷ The situation prevailed up to the end of the Second Republic in 1991. Afterwards, the new ruling party, the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD), followed the liberalisation policy that emphasised the “... structural adjustment programme ... [which] focused on privatisation and promotion of the private sector.”³⁸

Owing to the liberalisation policy, NSE was among the first Zambian enterprises to be privatised, in August, 1995. Tate and Lyle Company Limited bought back the estate and became the major shareholder.³⁹ In 2001, the company was bought by Illovo Sugar Limited of South Africa,⁴⁰ a subsidiary of the Assorted British Foods (ABF).⁴¹ Up to 2017, the company remained privately owned with categories of workers employed on either permanent or seasonal basis.⁴² The migratory cane cutters, who are the focus of this study, were amongst the seasonal workers.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The labour migration system at NSE has received little scholarly attention despite some efforts by ZSC to recruit migratory cane cutters yearly since its inception. Only few Scholars among whom were Joy H. Kalyalya, Suwilanji S. Sinyangwe, Phillimon Ndubani and Peggy Muwanei Malesu⁴³ made attempts to address this topic at NSE between 1964 and 2017. However, their works lack a detailed view. Their studies have also given little consideration for ZSC’s preference for recruiting cane cutters from the Western Province of Zambia, the impact of labour migration on cane cutters’ home areas and the reaction of both ZSC and Mazabuka town community to the cane cutters since the first recruitment in 1968.⁴⁴ Other works on the topic

³⁷ Ton Dietz, Annemieke van Haastrecht and Rudolf Scheffer, “Revisiting Peripheral Capitalism in Zambia”, in Paul Hebinck, Sef Slotweg, and Lothar Smith, (eds.), *Tales of Development: People, Power and Space*, (Assen: Royal Van Gorcum, 2008), p. 66

³⁸ J. Carlsson, P. Chibbamullilo, C. Orjuela, and O. Saasa, “Poverty and European Aid in Zambia: A Study of the Orientation of European Aid to Zambia”, Working Paper 138: Results of ODI research presented in preliminary form for discussion and critical comment, London: overseas Development Institute, September 2000, pp. 1-2.

³⁹ Ndubani, “Epidemiological Assessment”, p. 7 and Borrás Jr, MacMicheal and Scoones, *Critical Agrarian Studies*, p. 353.

⁴⁰ ZSC Ltd., Annual Report, 2014, p. 2; ZSC Ltd., Annual Report, 2015, p. 2 and Borrás Jr, MacMicheal and Scoones, *Critical Agrarian Studies*, p. 353.

⁴¹ Interview, Namasiku Anaba, Human Resource Manager, Zambia Sugar Company, Mazabuka, 19th July, 2018.

⁴² Kalyalya, “History of Nakambala Estate”, p. 34.

⁴³ Kalyalya, “History of Nakambala Estate”; Sinyangwe, “Health and Nutritional Status”; Ndubani, “Epidemiological Assessment” and Peggy Muwanei Malesu, “Livelihood and Coping Strategies of Men and Women in the context of male Labour Migration. A Gender Perspective: A Case of Mazabuka and Kalabo Districts”, MA Dissertation: University of Zambia, 2013.

⁴⁴ Kalyalya, “History of Nakambala Estate”, p. 39.

have dealt with colonial African labour migration in general. This has left a glaring gap, in the post-colonial labour migration studies in Zambia, which requires to be filled up.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The three objectives of this study are:

1. to examine the reasons for ZSC's preference for men from the Western Province in the recruitment of cane cutters.
2. to investigate the socio-economic impact of labour migration on the cane cutters' sending communities.
3. to analyse the reaction of ZSC and Mazabuka town community to the migratory cane cutters.

1.4 Rationale of the Study

There is a great amount of literature on labour migration generally, but most of it focuses on the colonial labour migration. Very little of the literature deals with the labour migration system at NSE more especially on the preference ZSC had in the recruitment of migratory cane cutters from the Western Province and the impact of labour migration. This study intends to contribute to the literature on the labour migration system at NSE by exploring the recruitment and impact of labour migration on cane cutters' home communities and the reaction ZSC and Mazabuka town community had towards the migratory cane cutters. It is also hoped that the study will stimulate further research interest on the labour migration system at NSE and similar plantations.

1.5 Literature Review

A survey of literature available on labour migration, both globally and locally, shows a great amount of scholarly work on the subject. However, this literature has several gaps. The review also shows that most of the work on African labour migration is based on the colonial period. Similarly, it shows that many studies which discuss labour migration during the post-colonial period, do so in general. Furthermore, scholarly works specifically on NSE discuss labour migration in passing references. It also does not give detailed information pertaining to ZSC's preference for migrants from the Zambia's Western Province. In order to appreciate the labour

migration system at NSE in Zambia, this study engages some works on labour migration both beyond and within Africa. These include works on Europe, East and West Africa, South Africa, Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and Northern Rhodesia (Zambia).

Labour migration had been on an increase globally. Giving global statistics of labour migration, the International Labour Organisation (ILO) states that there were 150.3 million labour migrants worldwide by 2015. From that number, a total of 135.27 million labour migrants came from poor economic regions to seek employment in the high income regions of the world such as Arab States, North America, and Northern, Southern and Western Europe. Furthermore, 11.5 million of the labour migrants, mostly women, were employed as domestic workers. The remaining migrants, majority of whom were men, sought employment in segments other than domestic sector.⁴⁵ This work is important to this study because it acts as a reference point from which gender and economic disparities between labour migrants' sending and receiving communities at NSE can be explained in detail.

Europe being one of the major receiving continents for labour migrants globally, cannot be left out in this mobility study. In a joint study of labour migrants in Europe, Piotr Plewa and Marko Stermsek state that in 2015, the recruitment of labour migrants from outside the European Union (EU) member States was regulated by two legislations namely EU Blue Card and Seasonal Directives. The first legislation required migrants to be highly skilled in order to fill vacancies of highly paid jobs. To stay longer, labour migrants in that category were given ample rights among which was family reunion. The latter category demanded labour migrants to seek lowly paid jobs which lasted less than 12 months with limited labour and social rights. The scholars further argue that the EU legislations gave job opportunities first to the citizens of the host EU country, second to citizens of the other EU member States and last to people from non-EU member States.⁴⁶ This study helps to investigate the policies which govern the job of cane cutting at NSE in Zambia.

Labour migration work by Janet Dobson, Alan Lathan and John Salt on United Kingdom (UK) in Europe cannot be ignored in this study, too. The scholars jointly itemise intra-company transfers, citizens from other European countries who sought employment in UK and non-European job

⁴⁵ ILO, *Migrant Domestic Workers Access the World: Globe and Regional Estimates*, (Geneva: International Labour Organisation, 2016), pp. 1-3.

⁴⁶ Piotr Plewa and Marko Stermsek, *Labour Migration from China to Europe: Scope and Potential*, (Geneva: International Labour Organisation, 2017), pp. 4-6.

seekers in UK as factors for escalated number of migrants in UK between 1950 and 2009. The scholars also explain how UK tried to use the “buffer theory” to retrench and return labour migrants to their home countries during economic recession in order to create vacancies for her own citizens. However, the theory did not work as expected during recession as only labour migrants from countries with high Gross Domestic Product (GDP) returned home. Migrants from countries with low GDP and those who reunited with their families remained in UK even after retrenchment. They survived on social benefits from their employers. Moreover, people who were indigenous to UK shunned the jobs left by the migrants regarding them as low graded.⁴⁷ This work is significant because it can be applied to explain the local people’s attitude towards the job of cane cutting at NSE and also factors that influenced migrants to either settle in Mazabuka or return to their home communities at the end of the contract.

This study also employs labour migration works on various parts of Africa. Among such works, even though it deals with colonial labour migration in general but not at NSE, is that of Semakula M. Kiwanuka. The scholar explains how the colonial state in territories such as Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Congo, Rhodesia, South Africa and those in West Africa enacted labour, land and economic policies which caused labour migration. The colonial policies included creation of African reserves infested with tsetse-flies and water scarcity, and also remunerating Africans who aided the recruitment process. He further explains that it was a colonial state policy to pay low wages to labour migrants in order to reduce their ability to save money and compel them to seasonally seek employment on the white plantations. He argues that Africans were denied opportunities to grow cash crops as a strategy to prevent them from competing with white farmers for the market. This compelled Africans to rely on wage labour for their survival.⁴⁸ Kiwanuka’s study is important because it enables this study to investigate strategies ZSC used to keep cane cutters seek recruitment at the estate seasonally.

There are many labour migration studies on South Africa which are useful to this study. Amongst them is the work by Martin Fransman who argues that the imposition of taxation on South Africa by the colonial state compelled African able-bodied men to engage in labour

⁴⁷ Janet Dobson, Alan Lathan and John Salt, *On the Move? Labour Migration in Times of Recession*, (London: Barrow Cadbury Trust, 2009), pp. 5-7.

⁴⁸ Semakula M. Kiwanuka, *From Colonialism to Independence: A Reappraisal of Colonial Policy & African Reactions 1870-1960*, (Nairobi: Kenya Literature Bureau, 1982), pp. 38-40 and 45.

migration to raise cash for tax payment since agriculture did not do well. He states that Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (WENELA) and Native Recruiting Corporation were established to extend the recruitment of Africans beyond the borders of South Africa. Once brought into the host communities, African labour migrants were accommodated in poor dormitories.⁴⁹ Similarly, Alan Jeeves explains that the colonial state enacted laws which curbed African resistance to labour on the mines and desertion from one mine to another in South Africa. He also explains the conditions which made African migrants to stop work. These included expired contracts, ill-health and death. He further explains how the colonial state conducted frequent inspection in the mining compounds to maintain standards of health that would reduce mortality rate and desertion.⁵⁰ Independent works by Fransman and Jeeves are important to this study because they provide information which can be applied to explain the role the state played on the recruitment and stay of cane cutters at NSE.

The book, *The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry*, by Colin Bundy is one of the useful scholarly supplements on colonial labour migration in South Africa. In this book, Bundy explains how the once prosperous Africans in South Africa were transitionally changed into labour migrants. He argues that Africans lost their ancestral land and were made, by the colonial state, to live in overstocked and overcrowded reserves where agriculture was unproductive. As a result, they sought wage employment on white industries and farms for their survival.⁵¹ Bundy's study does not have a direct bearing on the labour migration system at NSE which is the focus of this study. However, it inspires this study to check Zambia's economic policies in relation to the migratory wage labour at the estate.

Ian M. Phimister's study on labour migration in Southern Rhodesia shows that the African peasantry earlier prospered by taking advantage of the available market opportunities at the advent of the mining industry. The Ndebele and Shona even resisted seeking wage labour because they were able to raise cash for their tax obligations and other needs through grain, livestock and beer sales, and prostitution at the mining compounds and along the routes used by the migrants. Phimister argues that the Ndebele and Shona only sought wage labour after the

⁴⁹ M. Fransman, "Capital Accumulation in South Africa," in M. Fransman (ed.), *Industry and Accumulation in Africa*, (London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd., 1982), pp. 235-36.

⁵⁰ Alan Jeeves, "The Control of Migratory Labour on the Southern African Gold Mines in the Era of Kruger and Milner", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 2, 1 (1975), pp. 10-11, 17-18 and 28.

⁵¹ C. Bundy, *The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry*, (London: Heinemann, 1979), p. 1.

colonial state undermined the market opportunities they earlier enjoyed by introducing mechanisms such as land tenure, banning the sale of locally brewed beer, and compelling them to sell their produce at low prices to the mining companies through European trade agents. These policies, coupled with taxation, forced able-bodied African males to migrate to the white farms and mines for wage employment.⁵² Phimister's work is relevant to this study which seeks to examine if the Tonga who earlier enjoyed agricultural prosperity later sought wage labour at NSE as cane cutters.

Another study which is informative on labour migration in Southern Rhodesia is M.F.C. Bourdillion's. The scholar acknowledges that the colonial state imposed taxation on the Africans to force them seek wage employment. He also shows that Africans embraced labour migration as part of their rural life because it enabled them to raise capital which helped in the purchase of farm equipment and inputs. He further states that Africans who remained home raised money by ploughing fields of those who left for wage labour. Additionally, he argues that the nature of the rural economy required people to spend some time in wage employment away from home even if they were economically sound.⁵³ Bourdillion's work is important to this study because it gives insights to explain reasons for labour migration; more so why men from economically sound homes sought employment as cane cutters at NSE.

The work by V.E.M. Machingaidze gives an account of the Native Land Husbandry (NLH) Act of 1951 in Southern Rhodesia. He explains that the Act was meant to restore the environmental degradation caused by cattle over-stocking and human overpopulation in the reserves. It was also intended to improve agriculture in the reserves through the engagement of agricultural demonstrators. However, the implementation of the Act involved denying Africans access to financial aid in order to make them unproductive. It also involved de-stocking the reserves by slaughtering and selling the African owned cattle at a give-away price to the white settlers. The scholar argues that, instead of improving living standards in the reserves, the Act compelled African men to flock to Southern Rhodesian towns as labour migrants.⁵⁴ Machingaidze's work

⁵² I.R. Phimister, "Peasant Production and Underdevelopment in Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1914", *African Affairs*, 73, 291 (1974), p. 217.

⁵³ M.F.C. Bourdillion, *The Shona People: An Ethnography of the Contemporary Shona with Special Reference to their Religion*, (Salisbury: Mambo Press, 1976), pp. 102-10.

⁵⁴ V.E.M. Machingaidze, "Agrarian Change from the above: The Southern Rhodesia Native Land Husbandry Act and African Response", *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 24, 3 (1991), pp. 557-58.

inspires this study to examine how land and livestock issues in Zambia contributed to the system of labour migration at NSE.

The study by Patrick Harries is another enlightening work on this study. His work shows that labour migration existed in both pre-colonial and colonial periods in Mozambique. He states that the migratory cane cutters faced snake bite risks at Natal Sugar Plantation. Harries argues that ecological and cultural factors led the Mozambican men to South Africa for wage labour on the sugar plantations, mines and white farms. Ecological factors such as droughts, cattle endemics and locust invasions uprooted the economies of people in the region, leaving them prone to poverty and starvation. To that effect, men left their homes for wage labour. Cultural factors like the need to find money to pay bride price and learn the white man's culture and civilisation also made people seek wage labour away from home.⁵⁵ This study hopes to draw insights from Harries' work to illuminate the factors which led to labour migration system at NSE and risks the migratory cane cutters faced in their work.

D. Malyn Newitt complements Patrick Harries' work on the movement of the Mozambican men to South Africa to seek wage labour during the colonial era. He states that the Mozambican men easily got wage employment in South Africa because of the local people's failure to meet the labour demands. He further states that the migrants used to be raided on the way back home from South Africa after the contract ended. He argues that labour migration led to the development of recruitment bases in Mozambique while in South Africa a lot of business persons and prostitutes took advantage of labour migration to better their lives.⁵⁶ Newitt's work helps this study to examine the extent to which labour migration to NSE contributed to the development of infrastructure, business and prostitution, and also risky attacks migrants faced in both the sending and host communities.

A journal article by Alicia H. Lazzarini shows how the colonial Sugar Estates of Mozambique utilised forced labour to conscript able-bodied men into migratory wage labour during the colonial period. It states that alongside local conscription, WENELA recruited men for South African mines. It argues that male migratory labour recruitment tied up women to domestic agricultural production in the reserves resulting into an impression that labour migration was a

⁵⁵ Harries, *Work and Migrant Labourers*, pp. 35-36, 196-97 and 226-27.

⁵⁶ Newitt, *History of Mozambique*, pp. 483-89.

masculine activity. The work explains that the Mozambican sugar company management preferred recruiting cane cutters from far places to having local ones. It further argues that the recruitment of males coupled with having migratory workers from remote places other than the estates' vicinities was a colonial strategy but continued to be used in the post-colonial Mozambique.⁵⁷ This work offers the study the insights to examine if ZSC's preference for the migrants from the Western Province and recruitment strategies had colonial ties.

Among the works that have given information about colonial labour migration is that of Lewis Gann. He explains that the European capitalists and colonialists needed African labour. He argues that when there was labour scarcity, taxation was a significant incentive the colonial state used to make Africans seek wage employment. He states that it was the need for money to pay tax that made Africans engage in labour migration. He also argues that if there was strong resistance, the colonial state coerced the Africans to work by beating them up and burning their huts.⁵⁸ Gann's work gives the study an inspiration to explore if some men were pushed into being recruited as migratory cane cutters at NSE by hostile treatment in their sending communities.

This study also hopes to draw great insights from Fergus Macpherson who argues that colonial policies led to the conscription of African men, from North-Eastern and North-Western Rhodesia, into wage labour on South African and Rhodesian white farms, mines and other projects. He explains that wives of tax defaulters were subjected to sexual abuse by the colonial messengers to force their husbands to come out of their hiding places. He also argues that African male youths in some parts of Northern Rhodesia were sometimes undressed publicly to check on their pubic hair in order to determine their eligibility to pay tax and go for wage labour. He also shows the effects of labour migration such as separation of migrants from their families, walking long distances into foreign territories with unfamiliar languages and sometimes even dying there.⁵⁹ Macpherson's work is significant because it influences this study to examine the

⁵⁷ Alicia H. Lazzarini, "Gendered Labour, Migratory Labour: Reforming Sugar Regime in Xinavane, Mozambique", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 43, 3 (2017), pp. 607-20.

⁵⁸ Lewis H. Gann, *A History of Southern Rhodesia: Early Days to 1934*, (London: Chatto and Windus, 1965), pp. 101-02.

⁵⁹ Fergus Macpherson, "The British Annexation of Northern Zambesia (1884-1924) Vol. 1& 2", MA Dissertation: University of Edinburgh, 1976, pp. 270-366.

strategies and qualifications that ZSC used to recruit cane cutters and the impact of labour migration on the cane cutters' sending communities.

Chipasha C. Luchembe's work is of importance to this study, too. It shows how the colonial state enacted some laws to coerce Africans to leave their villages for wage employment on the white farms and mines. According to him, the colonial state created a routine where Africans would return to the villages and back to the white farms and mines seasonally. He explains that in areas where the African peasantry hindered the recruitment of Africans as labour migrants, the colonial state discouraged the operation of traders so that Africans would not have market for their produce. This would, therefore, compel Africans to take wage employment as a reliable source of money for payment of tax.⁶⁰ This work inspires this study to investigate the push and pull factors that saw men from the Western Province employed as cane cutters at NSE.

Mebbiens C. Chabatama's work offers information about colonial labour migration. He states that during the colonial period, the British South Africa Company (BSACo) introduced taxation to compel Africans in Northern Rhodesia to engage in wage employment. He gives examples of the Lunda and Luvale people of the present-day North-Western Province of Zambia on whom the colonial state used brutal strategies to compel them embrace labour migration when they resisted it.⁶¹ Chabatama's work lays stress on colonial strategies which forced Africans to engage in wage labour. These strategies do not, however, suffice in the post-colonial labour migration system, hence the need to carry out the study at NSE to find out factors which compelled men from the Zambia's Western Province to be recruited as cane cutters at the estate.

The stimulating work by Yizenge A. Chondoka shows that able-bodied men left their homes, after the farming season, for far places to sell their labour for iron and salt during the pre-colonial era. After acquiring the needed items, they returned home before the beginning of farming season. Chondoka argues that as from 1904, African men were forced to engage in labour migration in order to raise money for colonial taxation.⁶² Chondoka's work influences this study to find out if the migratory labour recruitment at NSE interfered with the migrants' participation in farming in their sending communities.

⁶⁰ Luchembe, "Capital and Mine Labour", pp. 120-23.

⁶¹ C.M. Chabatama, "The Colonial State, The Mission and Peasant Farming in North-Western Province of Zambia: A Case of Zambezi District, 1907-1964", MA Dissertation: University of Zambia, 1990, pp. 25-26.

⁶² Chondoka, "Labour Migration", pp. 49-51.

The description of the Tonga people by Kenneth P. Vickery shows that they often left Northern Rhodesia during the colonial era for wage labour in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa in order to address the ecological devastations caused by droughts, locust invasions and cattle endemics. The need to acquire European goods and money for payment of colonial tax also contributed to the Tonga men's engagement in labour migration. Vickery argues that the Tonga men later resisted going for labour migration during the colonial era because of their prosperity in agriculture.⁶³ Vickery's work inspires this study to investigate if cattle rearing and crop growing still prevented the Tonga men from seeking employment as cane cutters at NSE up to 2017.

Another illuminating work to this study is that of Merle J. Davis. His work shows that African men engaged in labour migration because of the desire for white civilisation and material goods. They also wanted to acquire the prestigious recognition associated with the adventure of being labour migrants from among members of their own communities. Davis argues that the need to raise money for social services like education and health, and payment of bride price further made African men seek wage labour.⁶⁴ This work is useful to this study in terms of the factors which could have propelled men from the Western Province of Zambia to be recruited as cane cutters at NSE.

The work by Joy H. Kalyalya, among other works, gives the most informative history of NSE up to 1984 in Zambia. He argues that cattle endemics, lack of market for cattle, unproductive agriculture and lack of industries in Buluzi during the colonial period, and the closure of WENELA in 1966 were the main factors which compelled men from the Western Province to be recruited as cane cutters at NSE.⁶⁵ This study intends to extend labour migration activities at NSE beyond 1984 where Kalyalya's work stopped. His work influences this study to investigate the availability of cattle and its market and other socio-economic activities in the Zambia's Western Province in relation to the recruitment of labour migrants at the estate.

⁶³ K.P. Vickery, *Black and White in Southern Zambia: The Tonga Plateau Economy and British Imperialist, 1890-1939*, (New York: Greenwood Press Inc., 1986), pp. 53-54 and 149.

⁶⁴ J. Merle Davis, *Modern Industry and the African: An Inquiry into the Effect of the Copper Mines of Central Africa upon Native Society and the Work of the Christian Missions*, (London: Frank Cass and Company Ltd., 1967), pp. 54-56.

⁶⁵ Kalyalya, "History of Nakambala Estate", pp. 9-11 and 37-38.

Like Kalyalya's work, Phillimon Ndubani's study is based on NSE but his main concern is the prevalence of diseases and injuries at the estate. He also explains that Masstock, a large commercial farm in Chirundu that grew cotton, paprika and marigold during the Zambia's post-colonial period, recruited the majority of labour migrants who were Tonga.⁶⁶ Additionally, Peggy Muwanei Malesu states that the Nyengo people who were recruited as cane cutters by ZSC worked under hazardous conditions without Personal Protective Equipment (PPE) at the estate. She argues that both the migrants and their wives engaged in some risky behaviours during the time they were away from each other as socio-economic coping strategies.⁶⁷ Ndumbani's work influences this study to find out why the Tonga sought wage employment elsewhere but not at NSE and also how the cane cutters managed to live safely away from their wives for a longer period in an era of Human Immuno-deficiency Virus (HIV)/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) while Malesu's study influences this study to find out if ZSC still did not provide its cane cutters with PPE after 2013, the year her study ended.

In spite of all these works being based mostly on labour migration in general, and some on NSE specifically, they do not bring out much information why the majority if not all sugar cane cutters at NSE were sourced from the Western Province of Zambia from inception up to 2017. These sources are also devoid of information on the impact of labour migration on cane cutters' home communities. Moreover, they do not bring out enough information on the reaction of both ZSC and Mazabuka town community towards the migratory cane cutters. Therefore, this study hopes to contribute towards filling these lacunas.

1.6 Research Methodology

The study used the qualitative method to collect data. This approach led to successful collection of data on the reasons for the recruitment of labour migrants at NSE and the socio-economic impact of labour migration on the cane cutters' sending communities in the Western Province of Zambia. Likewise, it helped in the collection of data on the reaction of ZSC and Mazabuka town community to the migratory cane cutters.

⁶⁶ Ndubani, "Epidemiological Assessment", p. 10.

⁶⁷ Malesu, "Coping Strategies in Labour Migration", p. 2.

The data which forms this study was collected from both primary and secondary sources in various phases between November, 2017 and July, 2018. The initial phase of the research was done at the main Library of the University of Zambia (UNZA) where books, dissertations, theses, journal articles and newspapers were consulted. Some of these sources yielded information on general labour migration while others gave specific data about the labour migration system at NSE.

The second phase of the research was conducted at the National Archives of Zambia (NAZ). This is where various primary sources on labour migration in the Southern and Western Provinces of Zambia were consulted. These included information about WENELA and Zambia Industrial Mining Corporation (ZIMCO). The documents provided primary information on the labour migration system during the colonial and post-colonial periods, and the development of NSE in general.

The third phase of the study was done at NSE in Mazabuka, where ZSC reports and other documents on labour migration were consulted. Oral interviews with selected company management officials, cane cutters and residents of Mazabuka town were conducted, too. This enabled the collection of information which was not available in written sources, on the recruitment, impact of labour migration on cane cutters' sending communities, and how ZSC and Mazabuka town community reacted to the migratory cane cutters from the beginning up to 2017. Mazabuka town community was composed of business persons both small and large scaled, employed and unemployed persons, single and married persons and children.⁶⁸

Further research was conducted in the Zambia's Western Province. This is where the office of the Provincial Coordinator of the Ministry of Fisheries and Livestock in Mongu was consulted for data on the economic activities that the people of the Western Province engaged in between 1964 and 2017. Interviews were held with the Fisheries Technician and Senior Veterinary Officer, too. Research was also conducted at the office of the Branch Manager of Star Beef Company Limited in Mongu. The management supplied information on cattle availability and market in the province. This helped to establish why both men who owned cattle and those who did not, sought wage labour at NSE. Furthermore, research was conducted at Andrew, Peter and George (APG) Milling Company in Mongu. The information about the availability and market of

⁶⁸ Interview, Vincent Lilanda, Mayor of Mazabuka Municipal Council, Mazabuka, and 10th November, 2017.

rice was established though no company documents were available. Oral interviews with some indunas were also conducted on the role traditional rulers in the province played in the labour migration of men to NSE in Zambia.

Research was also conducted in selected parts of Kalabo district. The District Crops Officer was consulted on the farming activities the people of Kalabo engaged in from 1964 to 2017. The office of the District Commissioner (DC) for Kalabo was as well consulted on the recruitment of cane cutters and economic activities that took place in the post-colonial period. Moreover, Zambia Police (ZP) Service in Kalabo was visited for information on the use of unlicensed fire arms in the district which were connected to the attacks on cane cutters as they returned home from NSE at the end of the contract. Referrals were made to Mongu District Police Service Headquarters where the District Police Inspector who had lived longer in both Mongu and Kalabo was then based. Interviews with him were conducted and required data was yielded. Further research was conducted at Zambia Police Service Headquarters in Lusaka where the Public Relations Department was consulted for data on the usage of weapons without licence and attacks on people including cane cutters in the Western Province of Zambia.

Oral interviews were also conducted with selected former Nakambala labour migrants and their wives in the Western Province. Village heads and ordinary people who lived with migrants were interviewed orally, too. This aided the study to obtain data that reflected why cane cutters were sourced mainly from the Western Province and the impact labour migration had on the sending communities of cane cutters. The data equally showed how reactive ZSC and Mazabuka town community were towards the migratory cane cutters' presence.

Information was also collected from the office of the Area Manager of National Pension Scheme Authority (NAPSA) in Solwezi in the North-Western Province through oral interviews on seasonal workers' social security. This provided data on the role the state played in the recruitment of seasonal employees such as cane cutters.

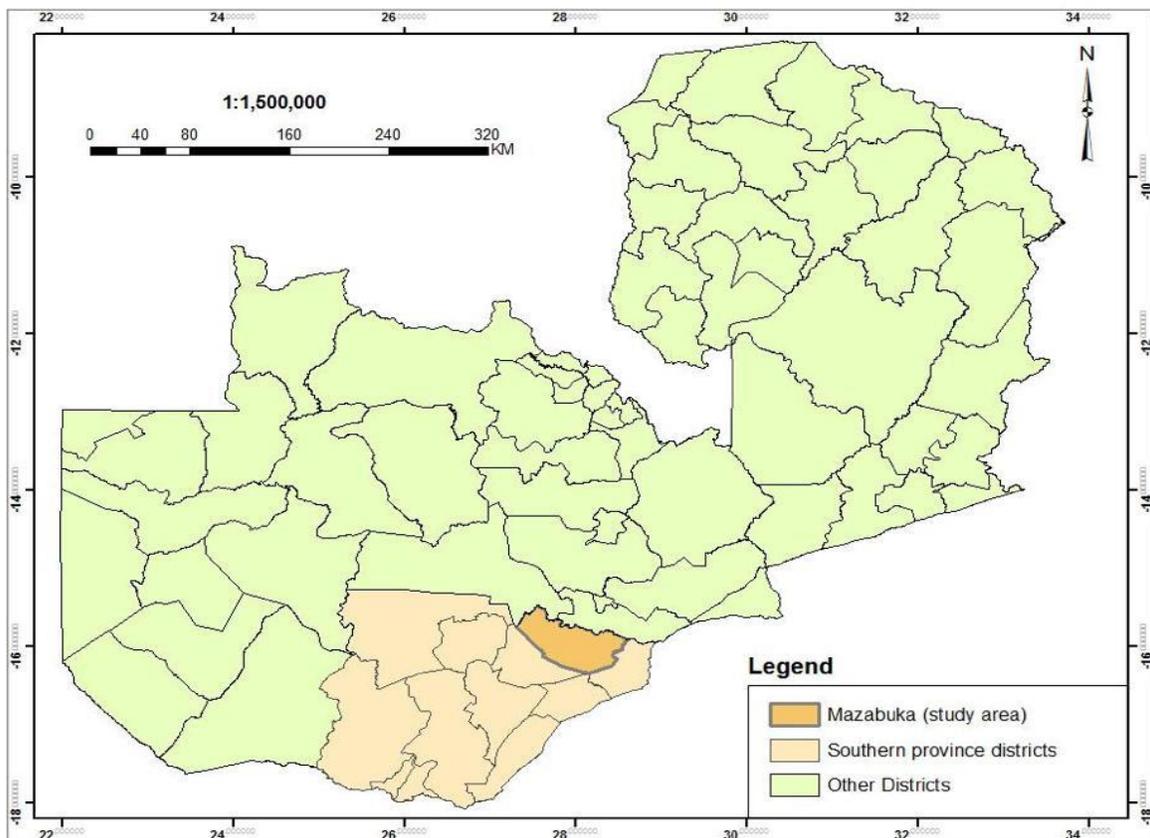
At the end of it all, the data gathered was thematically analysed. In addition, pictographic and statistical evidences were used together with qualitative information where available and applicable. This was followed by drafting, editing and production of the final dissertation. Last but not the least, the final work was submitted for Examination.

1.7 Area of the Study

This study is based on NSE, which is located in Mazabuka district of the Southern Province of Zambia as shown by the maps in figures 1, 2 and 3 below. Part of the estate is on the Lusaka-Livingstone main road, but the factory is off the road. The estate is about 128 Kilometres and 352 Kilometres from Lusaka and Livingstone respectively. It borders Mazabuka town to the south and Kafue River to the north.⁶⁹ It is found at about 975.31 to 1,036.27 metres above the sea level.⁷⁰

The map of Zambia below depicts Mazabuka district where NSE, the area of study, is situated among the Southern Province districts and those for the rest of the country.

Map 1: Location of Mazabuka



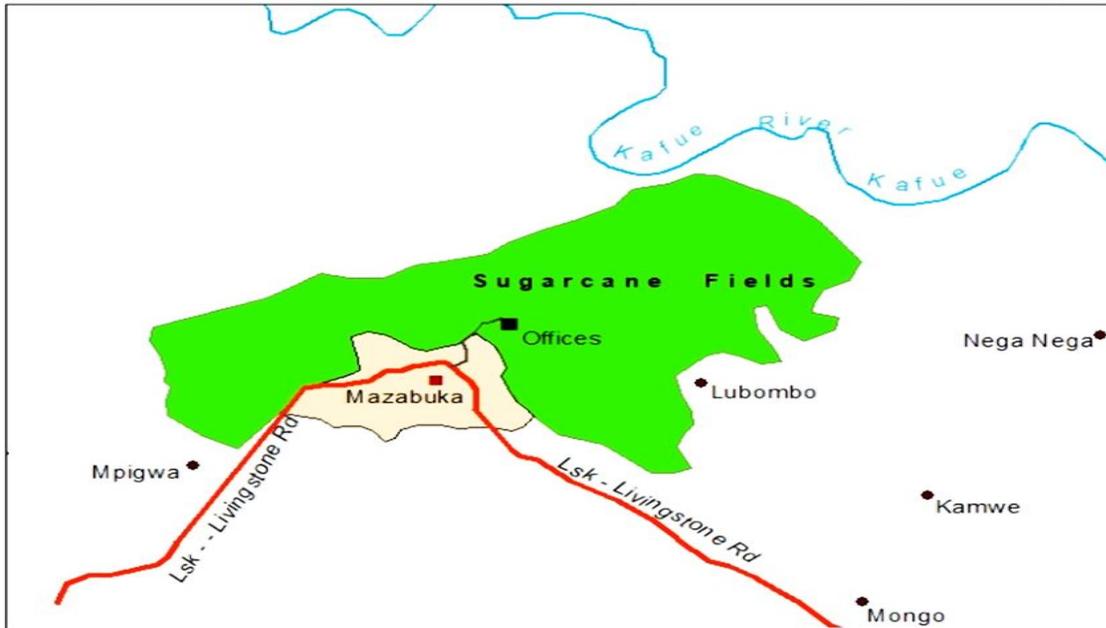
Source: UNZA, Cartographic Office of the University of Zambia, 2022.

⁶⁹ Kalyalya, "A History of Nakambala Sugar Estate", p. 6 and Ndubani, "An Epidemiological Assessment", p. 6.

⁷⁰ Ranger, Gulotti and Montagu, "Frost Damage at Nakambala Estate", p. 30.

The map 2 below shows the actual position of NSE, the area of study, in Mazabuka district of the Southern Province of Zambia. Besides, the map shows the physical features which are the Kafue River and Lusaka-Livingstone Road.

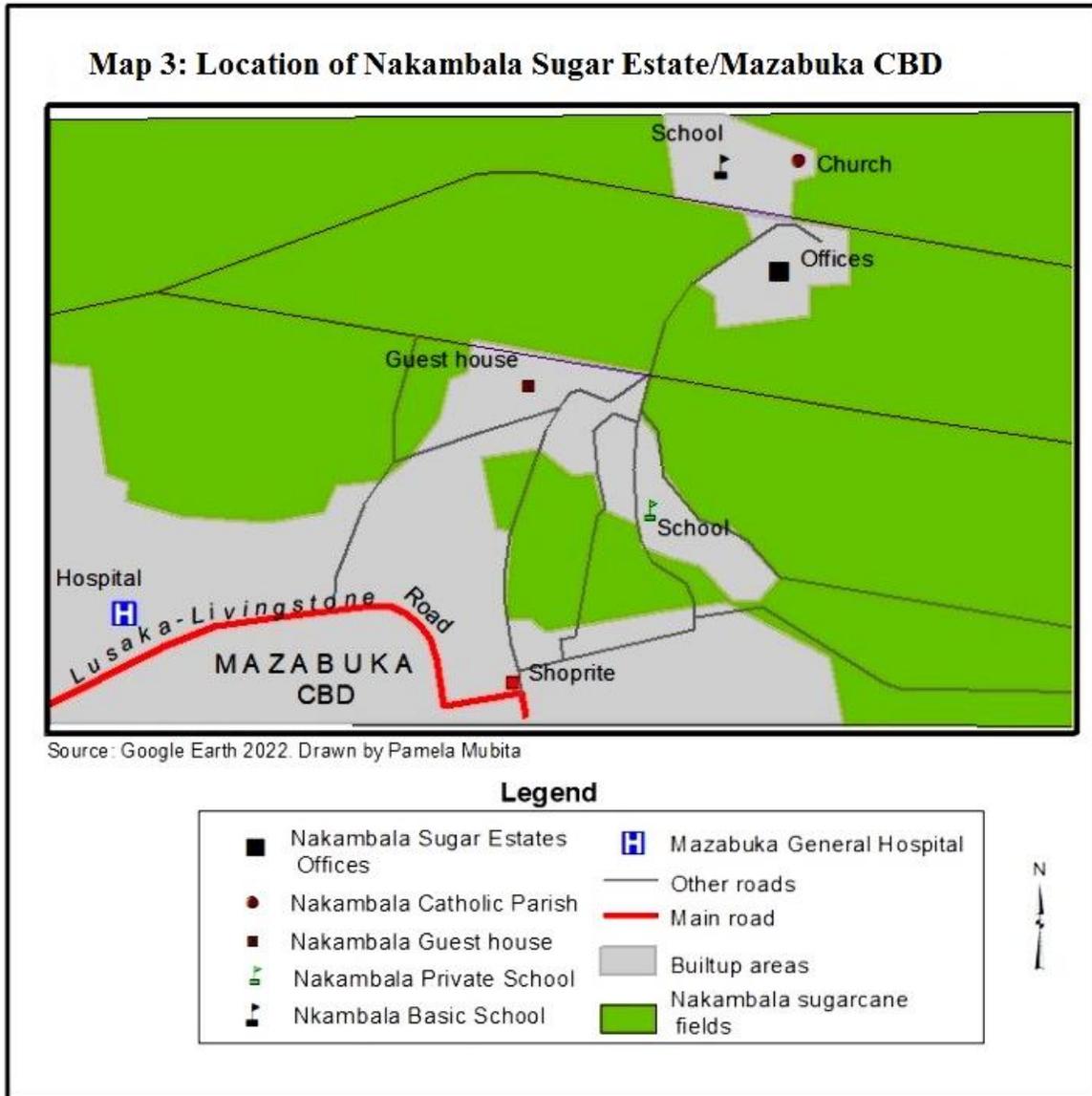
Map 2: Location of Nakambala Sugar Estate



Source: Google Earth 2022. Drawn by Pamela Sendoi Mubita



The map 3 below shows the location of NSE and Mazabuka Central Business District (CBD). It actually shows the built up structures on both the estate and part of the Mazabuka CBD.



Prior to the establishment of NSE, surveys were conducted in five different sites by the technical staff of the Tate and Lyle Company. The first survey among these was done at Lisitu on the north bank of the Zambezi River. The second survey was still done on the north bank of the Zambezi River but near Kariba Gorge while the third was at the confluence of the Zambezi and Kafue Rivers. The fourth and fifth surveys were conducted at Kafue flats and the area on the

north bank of Kafue River near Kafue town respectively. All the surveys conducted showed that the five sites were unsuitable for sugar cane plantation hence were avoided.⁷¹

In 1964, as indicated already, the site between Kafue and Mazabuka as shown by map 2 was settled on. This is the present day NSE. The site met most of the conditions necessary for the growing of sugar cane.⁷² It had a good climate and fertile soil supportive to sugar cane growing. It also had access to water for high-scale irrigation from the Kafue River which resulted in high content of sucrose in sugar cane at the estate.⁷³ Bordering both the railway and road networks, the site had access to transportation of sugar to the market. Besides, the site had vast land suitable for future expansion of the sugar plantation.⁷⁴ These conditions enabled the establishment of the NSE.

NSE was found appropriate for this study for a number of reasons. By 2017, the estate had been practising labour migration longer than the other existing sugar estates in the country.⁷⁵ For this reason, it had an apt time frame in which the study could be conducted. It was also the most well-known sugar estate in Zambia. Therefore, there were more reliable informants on labour migration both from within Mazabuka and outside. This in turn offered higher opportunities for cross examination of collected data. Furthermore, the majority of the migratory cane cutters at the estate stayed in the company barracks for approximately seven months; that is from April to November every year.⁷⁶ Subsequently, it was easy to collect information from them within a stipulated time. In addition, most of the cane cutters had been coming from the Western Province of Zambia from the inception of the sugar estate.⁷⁷ Therefore, in situations where they were not accessed for interviews at the estate, due to delayed permission by ZSC management, it was easy to trace them in the Western Province, their sending community, even during the off-crop period. Owing to all this, NSE was suitable for this study.

⁷¹ Kalyalya, "History of Nakambala Estate", pp. 7-9.

⁷² Kalyalya, "History of Nakambala Estate", p. 9.

⁷³ ZSC, Annual Report, 2010, p. 2.

⁷⁴ Kalyalya, "History of Nakambala Estate", p. 9.

⁷⁵ Thomas Kalinda and Brian Chisanga, "Sugar Value Chain in Zambia: An Assessment of the Growth opportunities and Challenges", *Asian Journal of Agricultural Science*, 6, 1 (2014), p. 13 and Kalyalya, "History of Nakambala Estate", p. 39.

⁷⁶ Wilma S. Nchito, "Migratory Patterns in Small Towns: The Case of Mazabuka and Kalomo in Zambia", *International Institute for Environment and Development*, 22, 1, (2010), p. 101.

⁷⁷ Dietz, Haastrecht and Scheffer, "Revisiting Capitalism", pp. 66-67; Nchito, "Migratory patterns in small towns", p. 101 and Kalyalya, "History of Nakambala Estate", p. 39.

1.8 Organisation of the Study

The study comprises five chapters and bibliography. Chapter one is the introduction which covers the historical background, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, rationale of the study and literature review. The chapter also looks at the research methodology which states the sources of data used to write the dissertation. It further discusses the area of the study which is NSE in Mazabuka. It ends with the organisation of the study, which gives the highlights of the entire study.

Chapters two to four are the main body of this study while chapter five is the conclusion. The second chapter of the study specifically examines the recruitment of cane cutters at NSE between 1964 and 2017. It discusses the beginning of the cane cutting employment and ZSC's recruitment policies and phases. It also examines ZSC's preference for recruiting cane cutters from the Western Province and the influx of able-bodied men from that province to seek the job of cane cutting at NSE. The chapter lastly looks at the engagement of the Tonga people in the job of cane cutting. Chapter three investigates the socio-economic impact of labour migration on the Western Province. It argues that the positive and negative impact of labour migration co-existed in the migrants' sending communities. The fourth chapter analyses the reaction of both ZSC and Mazabuka town community to the migratory cane cutters. Chapter five being the conclusion gives information on the key findings of the study. The study ends with the Bibliography, which is a list of references used in the study.

CHAPTER TWO

RECRUITMENT OF CANE CUTTERS AT NAKAMBALA SUGAR ESTATE, 1964-2017

2.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the recruitment of cane cutters at Nakambala Sugar Estate (NSE) between 1964 and 2017. The Zambia Sugar Company (ZSC) seasonally sourced cane cutters from the Western Province of Zambia in April. They were returned to their home communities at the end of the contract in November. The chapter also explores ZSC's recruitment practices. It divides these into decentralised and centralised phases. During the decentralised phase, the recruitment of cane cutters was done in the Western Province. The centralised phase, on the other hand, was the period when the recruitment of cane cutters was shifted to Mazabuka in the Zambia's Southern Province. The chapter singles out ZSC as an employer and migrants from the Western Province as seasonal employees, with reasons for their shared interest in the recruitment of cane cutters. In this case, the chapter examines ZSC's preference for sourcing the majority of its cane cutters from the Western Province. It further explores the influx of men from the Western Province to NSE to seek employment as cane cutters. It also looks at the new trends such as the recruitment of people from provinces other than Western as cane cutters with particular emphasis on the Tonga people of the Southern Province of Zambia.

2.2 Beginning of Cane Cutting Employment at NSE, 1964-1968

Although NSE was established in 1964, it could not immediately recruit cane cutters until 1968. The delay, according to Ephraim Mukwiza and Suwilanji S. Sinyangwe, was partly because ZSC in that period was still engaged in planting sugar cane on the estate up to 1968 when the sugar production seriously began.¹ The unfruitful search for local labour force for the job of cane cutting contributed to the delay, too.²

¹ Interview, Ephraim Mukwiza, Retired Official of Zambia Sugar Company, Simonga Village, Chikankata, 2nd November, 2017 and Suwilanji S. Sinyangwe, "Health and Nutritional Status of Young Zambian Children Residing on a Sugar Estate in Rural Zambia", MMed. Dissertation: University of Zambia, 1995, p. 1.

² Joy H. Kalyalya, "A History of Nakambala Sugar Estate, 1964- 1984", MA Dissertation: University of Zambia, 1988, p. 36.

From the beginning, ZSC intended to use the local labour force as cane cutters at NSE for three reasons. The company wanted to emulate the Federation-owned Chirundu Sugar Estate (CSE), which used locally sourced cane cutters from Gwembe valley within the southern part of Northern Rhodesia. It also wanted to provide employment opportunities to the local people in the province. Furthermore, the use of local labour force would lead to the minimisation of transport costs on the part of the company.³ However, when the call for the cane cutters was made, the Tonga people responded negatively due to their engagement in agriculture.⁴ As a result, the company was compelled to look elsewhere for labour. After the termination of the operations of Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (WENELA) in the Western Province in 1966, ZSC realised that there was labour force that laid about idly in the province.⁵ The company, therefore, turned to the Western Province for the recruitment of cane cutters.⁶ From 1968, the company developed a practice of recruiting the majority of its cane cutters from the Western Province.⁷

2.3 Ethnicity of Cane Cutters from Western Province at NSE

There was a disagreement among the informants on the ethnicity of the migratory cane cutters recruited from the Western Province by ZSC. Ephraim Mukwiza supported the view that the Nyengo but not the Lozi people were recruited as cane cutters at NSE.⁸ Peggy Muwanei Malesu, also states that the migratory cane cutters employed at NSE were Nyengo.⁹ This resulted in the generalisation that all cane cutters from the Western Province were Nyengo. On the contrary, Kashwashwa C. Kalimbwe argued that all the ethnic groups in the province freely sought employment as cane cutters at the estate, not the Nyengo alone.¹⁰

Those who argued that all the cane cutters were Nyengo, did not advance any reason for their argument. However, the respondents who opposed the view, like Kashwashwa C. Kalimbwe and Kwibisa F. Mukena, indicated that the generalisation developed from the fact that prior to 2002,

³ Interview, Mukwiza, Simonga Village, Chikankata, 2nd November, 2017.

⁴ Kalyalya, "History of Nakambala Estate", pp. 36-37.

⁵ Kalyalya, "History of Nakambala Estate", p. 38.

⁶ Kalyalya, "History of Nakambala Estate", p. 37.

⁷ Kalyalya, "History of Nakambala Estate", p. 39.

⁸ Interview, Mukwiza, Simonga Village, Chikankata, 2nd November, 2017.

⁹ Peggy Muwanei Malesu, "Livelihood and Coping Strategies of Men and Women in the context of male Labour Migration. A Gender Perspective: A Case of Mazabuka and Kalabo Districts", MA Dissertation: University of Zambia, 2013, p. 2.

¹⁰ Interview, Kashwashwa Chris Kalimbwe, Cane Cutter, Mumbanyu Village, Kalabo, 1st March, 2018.

ZSC used to draw the majority of cane cutters from Kalabo, the district where the Nyengo people also came from.¹¹ Other respondents such as Robinson M. Mulope added that among the recruited cane cutters from Kalabo were other ethnic groups such as the Makoma, Mwenyi, Liuwa and Imilangu who spoke languages very similar to the Nyengo. However, these went unnoticed. Therefore, the failure to detect these groups due to their language similarities with the Nyengo also misled people into generalising that all cane cutters at NSE were Nyengo.¹²

The study also shows that there was a wide spectrum of ethnic groups from which ZSC drew cane cutters in the province. Nyambe Sumbwa, describes these groups as Lozi who comprised the "... descendants of the Luyi ... people ... and their offshoots namely the Kwangwa, Kwandi, Mbowe, Makoma, Mwenyi, Nyengo, Imilangu, etc."¹³ Mukena Namwi and Lawrence S. Flint separately argue that these Luyi remnants in the province all still spoke languages very close to Siluyana, the original language of the Lozi people.¹⁴ The Nyengo were, therefore, part of the Lozi except that they were named after the snakes locally known as Nyengo which were common in the area which they occupied.¹⁵ However, it was still difficult to distinguish between the Nyengo and the rest of the Luyi remnants in the province due to the language similarities. As stated already, this resulted into a sweeping conclusion that from the Western Province only the Nyengo sought the job of cane cutting at NSE.

Other groups of the Lozi, according to Max Gluckman, included the Simaa, Ndundulu, Totela, Subiya and Mashi.¹⁶ There were also incorporated groups such as the Mbunda and Nkoya.¹⁷ The study as well shows that most of the cane cutters in 2007 were not drawn from Kalabo but Senanga,¹⁸ the present-day home district of the Lozi group originally called Kwandi.¹⁹ As a

¹¹ Interview, Kalimbwe, Mumbanyu Village, Kalabo, 1st March, 2018 and Interview, Kwibisa Francis Mukena, Former Cane Cutter, Greenwood Compound, Kalabo, 3rd March, 2018.

¹² Interview, Robinson M. Mulope, Retired Clinical Officer and Former Induna Mukulwamwandi, Mwandi Royal Village, Kalabo, 1st March, 2018.

¹³ Nyambe Sumbwa, "Traditionalism, Democracy and Political Participation: The Case of Western Province, Zambia", *African Study Monographs*, 21, 3 (2000), p. 138.

¹⁴ Mukena Namwi, "Comparative Analysis of Lozi Royal Praise Poetry between the Male and Female Litunga of Western Province of Zambia in Form, Content Function and Performance", MA Dissertation: University of Zambia, 2015, p. 14 and Lawrence S. Flint, "Historical Constructions of Postcolonial Citizenship and Subjectivity: The Case of the Lozi People of Southern Central Africa", PhD Thesis: University of Birmingham, 2004, p. 24.

¹⁵ Interview, Mulope, Mwandi Royal Village, Kalabo, 1st March, 2018.

¹⁶ Max Gluckman, "The Lozi of Barotseland in North-Western Rhodesia", in Elizabeth Colson and Max Gluckman, (eds.), *Seven Tribes of the British Central Africa*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1959), p. 14.

¹⁷ Sumbwa, "Traditionalism, Democracy and Political Participation", p. 138.

¹⁸ Zambia Sugar Company Ltd., Repatriation Lists of Cane Cutters for 2007, pp. 1-22.

result of these findings, cane cutters from the Western Province at NSE could be generalised differently, not as Nyengo. In fact, it would be fair to refer to them as Lozi, a collective Kololo given name, and their language as Silozi, the “lingua franca” for all the people in the province.²⁰

2.4 Recruitment Policies and Phases, 1968-2017

From its establishment, ZSC had no specific policy document on the recruitment of cane cutters. Like other sugar producing companies such as Kaleya Smallholders Company Limited (KASCOL), ZSC’s recruitment practices were guided by the state constitution²¹ and Employment Act Cap 268 of the Laws of Zambia.²² Furthermore, the company recruited the majority of cane cutters through its established centres in the Western Province between 1968 and 2002. However, as earlier explained, the recruitment was changed and shifted to Mazabuka after 2002. This practice remained so up to 2017, the year at which this study ends. Following these practices, the company’s recruitment of cane cutters could be classified into decentralised and centralised phases.²³

2.4.1 Decentralised Phase of Recruitment, 1968-2002

The decentralised phase of the recruitment at NSE commenced after ZSC successfully recruited 800 cane cutters from the Western Province and brought them to the estate for the first time in 1968. These were returned to their sending communities at the end of the cane cutting contract the same year.²⁴ Therefore, throughout this phase, the company recruited and transported cane cutters from the Western Province to the estate in Mazabuka at the beginning of the contract in April and back to the Western Province at the end in November.²⁵ The decentralised phase could

¹⁹ Interview, Mulope, Mwandi Royal Village, Kalabo, 1st March, 2018.

²⁰ Mutumba Mainga, *Bulozi Under the Luyana Kings: Political Evolution and the State Formation in Pre-colonial Zambia*, (Lusaka: Book World Publishers, 2010), p. 5; Bill Mufana, *The Lobola System and a Few Other Topics*, (Lusaka: Zambia Education Publishing House, 2006), p. 54 and National Archives of Zambia, BSE 1/10/06/5027, Barotse History: Circular Minute, MC1/22 by Sgt. J Rose, District Commissioner of Kalabo, 3rd March, 1949, p. 4.

²¹ Pamela White, G. Finnegan, E. Pehu, P. Poutiainen, and M. Vyzaki, *Agriculture Global Practice Technical Assistance Paper, Linking Women with Agribusiness in Zambia Corporate Social Responsibility, Creating Shared Value, and Human Rights Approaches*, (Washington: World Bank Group, 2015), p. 105 and Interview, Namasiku Anaba, Human Resource Manager, Zambia Sugar Company, Mazabuka, 19th July, 2018.

²² GRZ, The Employment Act, Cap 268 of the Laws of Zambia, Part iii: Contracts of Service Generally, Sections 13 and 14.

²³ Interview, Anaba, Human Resource Manager, Mazabuka, 19th July, 2018.

²⁴ Kalyalya, “History of Nakambala Estate”, p. 39.

²⁵ Interview, Mukwiza, Simonga Village, Chikankata, 2nd November, 2017.

also be referred to as the first phase of the recruitment of cane cutters. During this phase, the company concentrated the recruitment of cane cutters in the Western Province. This aided the company to recruit the best cane cutters from the various aspirants.²⁶ However, this practice changed in 2002 when the recruitment ceased being conducted exclusively in the Western Province, to include cane cutters from elsewhere.²⁷

In the early 1970s, there was a national outcry that ZSC was biased in its recruitment. It was blamed for concentrating the recruitment in the Western Province. In order to address that complaint, the company engaged people from the Eastern, Northern and Luapula Provinces as cane cutters on trial basis.²⁸ The newly recruited migratory cane cutters deserted immediately they reached the estate. They complained that the job they were employed to do, was difficult and hazardous. Consequently, the company decided to go back to its earlier practice of drawing most of its cane cutters from the Western Province.²⁹

At inception, the company had no permanent recruitment centre in Mongu in the Western Province but just announced the place of recruitment on Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC) radio.³⁰ However, the desertion of the people recruited from the Eastern, Northern and Luapula Provinces, forced ZSC to open a central recruitment base in Mongu, the provincial headquarters of the Western Province in the early 1970s.³¹ This and other steps were taken to consolidate the recruitment of the migratory cane cutters in the province. All the people in the province who sought recruitment as cane cutters were consequently expected to travel to Mongu.³² This practice continued up to the early 1990s when the recruitment was further decentralised with new centres established in other districts of the Western Province.³³

During this phase, ZSC kept on regarding the Western Province as a chief source of cane cutters. In that regard, it increased the hectares of its estate in order to offer matching employment to the growing number of sugar cane cutting job seekers in the province. By 1975, for example, the

²⁶ Kalyalya, "History of Nakambala Estate", p. 44.

²⁷ Interview, Anaba, Zambia Sugar Company, Mazabuka, 19th July, 2018.

²⁸ Kalyalya, "History of Nakambala Estate", p. 39.

²⁹ Kalyalya, "History of Nakambala Estate", p. 39.

³⁰ Interview, Mukwiza, Simonga Village, Chikankata, 2nd November, 2017.

³¹ Interview, Mukwiza, Simonga Village, Chikankata, 2nd November, 2017.

³² Interview, Mukwiza, Simonga Village, Chikankata, 2nd November, 2017.

³³ Interview, Mukena, Greenwood Compound, Kalabo, 3rd March, 2018.

company had about “7,000 hectares” of sugar cane fields that required to be harvested.³⁴ As a result, it continued to source most of its cane cutters from the Western Province and kept them on contract at the estate for about seven months yearly.³⁵

Below is a table showing the summary of the recruitment activities at NSE from 1968 to 1975. In some cases, the information of all the categories of the recruited workers was not available (n.a) while in other cases, only the total numbers of the seasonal and permanent workers were available. This led to difficulties in determining the specific recruited number of seasonal workers, both migratory and local labourers in the given years. The migratory category of labour included the cane cutters and other workers such as the sucker cutters, planters and irrigators.

Table 1: Recruited Workers at Nakambala Sugar Estate, 1968-1975

Year	Seasonal Workers				Permanent Workers	Grand Total of Workers
	Migratory Cane Cutters	Other migratory Workers	Local Seasonal Workers	Total of Seasonal Workers		
1968	800	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a
1967	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a
1869	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a
1970	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a
1971	n.a	n.a	n.a	621	2 170	2 791
1972	n.a	n.a	n.a	1 127	1 965	3 092
1973	n.a	n.a	n.a	1 259	2 416	3 675
1974	n.a	n.a	n.a	1 320	2 718	4 038
1975	1 033	00	50	1 083	3 085	4 168

Source: Kalyalya, “History of Nakambala Sugar Estate,” p. 35.

The number of recruited cane cutters by ZSC for the 1976 to 1979 period was not available. The information of other seasonal labourers such as sucker cutters, planters and irrigators and that of permanent employees was missing, too.

³⁴ Ton Dietz, Annemieke van Haastrecht and Rudolf Scheffer, “Revisiting Peripheral Capitalism in Zambia”, in Paul Hebinck, Sef Slootweg, and Lothar Smith, (eds.), *Tales of Development: People, Power and Space*, (Assen: Royal Van Gorcum, 2008), p. 66.

³⁵ Dietz, Haastrecht and Scheffer, “Revisiting Capitalism”, pp. 66-67.

In 1978, ZSC, for the first time involved government workers in the cane cutting programme. Particularly, in March, 1978, men from Zambia National Service (ZNS) arrived at NSE for cane harvesting. They camped and worked collaboratively with non-government cane cutters recruited in that year. The engagement of the service men was aimed at boosting the labour force for cane cutting so that the newly expanded factory could have a steady supply of cane daily which would, in turn, avert sugar scarcity in the country. The ZNS men did not only cut cane but also carried it from the fields to the main roads where it was finally transported by ZSC vehicles to the factory. This was because the heavy rainfall of that year made the feeder roads leading into the cane fields impassable by the haulage trucks that normally transported the cane from the fields to the factory.³⁶ In addition, during the “Humanism Week”, from 15th to 22nd October, 1978, the Ministry of National Guidance sent a group of governors and other ministry officials to take part in the NSE cane cutting operations. The unusual arrangement was in line with the United National Independence Party (UNIP) government’s endeavour to promote the philosophical ideology of humanism. This group also worked together with the recruited cane cutters from the Western Province for a week.³⁷ According to Ephraim Mukwiza, the Government sent its workers to participate in the cane cutting activities at the estate because it held some shares, through Industrial Development Corporation (INDECO), in ZSC at that time.³⁸

In 1979, it was reported that ZSC was able to draw an adequate number of migratory cane cutters. These aided the company to effectively work that year.³⁹ In 1980, there was an overwhelming population of men seeking employment as cane cutters, too. It was actually reported by the NSE Manager that there were “... thousands of people chasing ... few jobs in cane ... cutting. [Therefore,] ... labour availability will not be a problem for another five years.”⁴⁰ It was further reported that ZSC recruited some people from other provinces, particularly the Kaonde from Mumbwa district in the Central Province, in small numbers as cane

³⁶ *Times of Zambia*, 3rd March, 1978, p. 7.

³⁷ GRZ, Ministry of National Guidance, *Annual Report of the Year*, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1978), p. 6.

³⁸ Interview, Mukwiza, Simonga Village, Chikankata, 2nd November, 2017.

³⁹ NAZ, ZIMCO 1/02/325/8047, The 92nd Meeting of the Board of Directors, the Zambia Sugar Company Limited, 12th September, 1979, p. 11.

⁴⁰ NAZ, ZIMCO 1/02/344/8049, The Zambia Sugar Company Limited 96th Meeting of the Board of directors, 29th August, 1980: Estate Manager’s Report, for the period April to June, 1980, to Managing Director Reference: GM11/RCC/JBB, 13th August, 1980, p. 14.

cutters in 1982. Despite making such efforts, the majority and most dependable cane cutters at NSE were still sourced from the Western Province of Zambia.⁴¹

The table below shows the Nakambala recruitment activities for both seasonal and permanent workers for the 1980 to 1984 period. However, specific information of the recruited cane cutters and other seasonal workers, both migratory and local labour, was not available in certain years.

Table 2: Recruited Workers at Nakambala Sugar Estate, 1980-1984

Year	Seasonal Workers				Permanent Workers	Grand Total of Workers
	Migratory Cane Cutters	Other migratory Workers	Local Seasonal Workers	Total of Seasonal Workers		
1980	n.a	n.a	n.a	2 689	3 700	6 389
1981	n.a	n.a	n.a	1 985	3 559	5 544
1982	n.a	n.a	n.a	2 182	3 271	5 453
1983	n.a	n.a	n.a	2 539	3 262	5 801
1984	1 300	1 600	175	3 075	3 228	6 303

Source: Kalyalya, “History of Nakambala Estate”, p. 36.

The specific numbers of recruited cane cutters for the 1985 to 1995 period were also not available. However, Ton Dietz, Annemieke van Haastrecht and Rudolf Scheffer jointly explain that from 1985 to 1995, the size of the Nakambala cane fields was increased twice.⁴² Dietz, Haastrecht and Scheffer further argue that the expansion of the NSE forced ZSC to increase the labour force for seasonal workers, which included cane cutters, mainly recruited from the Western Province to 5 000.⁴³ Besides, Suwilanji S. Sinyangwe states that by 1995, ZSC had been annually recruiting about 1 200 cane cutters mainly from the Western Province.⁴⁴

The statistics of cane cutters recruited from 1995 to 2001 at NSE were lacking too. ZSC only reports a total of 6 535 workers employed in the year 1999 which was broken down into 3 078 permanent and 3 457 seasonal workers without giving a specific number of recruited cane

⁴¹ GRZ, *Official Verbatim Report of the Parliamentary Debates, National Assembly Issue 2; Issue 59*, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1982), p. 2278.

⁴² Dietz, Haastrecht and Scheffer, “Revisiting Capitalism”, p. 74.

⁴³ Dietz, Haastrecht and Scheffer, “Revisiting Capitalism”, p. 74.

⁴⁴ Sinyangwe, “Sugar Estate in Rural Zambia”, p. 1.

cutters.⁴⁵ Similarly, ZSC, in 2000 and 2001, reports a total number of 5 373 and 4 464 workers, respectively, both seasonal and permanent, employed at the estate.⁴⁶ Dietz, Haastrecht and Scheffer, however, clarify that between 1995 and 2002, the company continued to recruit “... about 1000 seasonal labourers (most of them cane cutters) ... in ... far away Western Province ...”⁴⁷ every year.

In the early 1990s, the company further decentralised the recruitment of cane cutters in the Western Province as already stated. The idea was to bring the recruitment closer to the communities of the job aspirants.⁴⁸ In addition to the already existing centre in Mongu, two other recruitment centres were established in Kalabo and Senanga districts.⁴⁹ The Senanga centre was expected to host men from Sesheke and Senanga itself while those from Kaoma and Lukulu were recruited at Mongu Stadium. Kalabo centre recruited only those from within Kalabo district because it was the biggest supplier of cane cutters in the province then. For this reason, Kalabo centre was allocated two days of recruitment while Mongu and Senanga centres had a day each.⁵⁰

2.4.1.1 Recruitment Stages and Procedures

During the first phase, the recruitment of cane cutters had many stages and procedures. The first was the selection stage. It involved the announcement of the names of the returning cane cutters with clean records; those who had served the company diligently the previous year.⁵¹ Then, there was random choice of men from the entire group seeking to be recruited as cane cutters for the first time.⁵² At the beginning, all the aspiring entrants were made to stand in a semi-circle with their National Registration Cards (NRCs) held up in their hands. Thereafter, an official from ZSC went round collecting the NRCs randomly.⁵³ Following that, the names of the contenders whose NRCs had been collected were called out. The candidates whose NRCs were not collected were told to leave as soon as their colleagues’ names were called out.⁵⁴ The informants stated

⁴⁵ ZSC Ltd., Annual Report, 2000, p. 3.

⁴⁶ ZSC Ltd., Annual Report, 2001, p. 3 and ZSC, Ltd., Annual Report, 2002, p. 4.

⁴⁷ Dietz, Haastrecht and Scheffer, “Revisiting Capitalism”, p. 67.

⁴⁸ Interview, Lufwendo Mwangala, Former Cane Cutter, Mulembi Village, Lukulu, 30th March, 2018.

⁴⁹ Interview, Mwangala, Mulembi Village, Lukulu, 30th March, 2018.

⁵⁰ Interview, Mukena, Greenwood Compound, Kalabo, 3rd March, 2018.

⁵¹ Interview, Mukena, Greenwood Compound, Kalabo, 3rd March, 2018.

⁵² Interview, Chasalila Manduwani, Former Cane Cutter, Wenela Compound, Kalabo, 3rd March, 2018.

⁵³ Interview, Mukena, Greenwood Compound, Kalabo, 3rd March, 2018.

⁵⁴ Interview, Manduwani, Wenela Compound, Kalabo, 3rd March, 2018.

that the candidates who dressed smartly were often left out on the assumption that they were economically sound. It was also argued that smart-looking men would not work, but desert the estate after sometime. The successfully selected candidates then proceeded to the next stage.⁵⁵

The second stage of the recruitment exercise involved medical examinations by medically certified personnel. The company conducted the examinations in private rooms.⁵⁶ This was unlike the colonial labour recruitment system in which the adolescent males would be undressed publicly in order to check on their pubic hair to determine their eligibility to be recruited and then subjected to taxation.⁵⁷ During the examinations, candidates were checked in the mouth and other parts of the body in order to ascertain their physical fitness. Those who were found physically fit were then transported from both Kalabo and Senanga to Mongu in readiness for the journey to Mazabuka.⁵⁸

The labourers recruited from Senanga travelled on hired buses to Mongu. Recruits from Kalabo district travelled to Mongu on a large barge owned by the Zambia Postal Services (ZPS). The barge operated between Kalabo and Mongu and made only one trip each day because of the slow speed at which it moved. It was actually this barge which necessitated ZSC to establish a recruitment centre for cane cutters in Kalabo in the 1990s because it enabled the company to safely transport the recruited men despite having the risky floods of the Bulozhi plains. From Mongu, all the recruited would-be-cane cutters were put on the hired buses and transported in a convoy to NSE in Mazabuka.⁵⁹

When the cane cutters reached the estate, they were inducted for a day on various aspects of their work. They were oriented on; safety at work; conditions of service; health matters, more especially Sexually Transmitted Infections (STIs) which included Human Immuno-deficiency Virus (HIV)/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) particularly from 1990 onwards.⁶⁰ All the departments of the company were called to facilitate during the inductions. The

⁵⁵ Interview, Manduwani, Wenela Compound, Kalabo, 3rd March, 2018.

⁵⁶ Kalyalya, "History of Nakambala Estate", p. 42.

⁵⁷ Fergus Macpherson, "The British Annexation of Northern Zambezia (1884-1924) Vol. 1& 2", MA Dissertation: University of Edinburgh, 1976, p. 324.

⁵⁸ Interview, Mukena, Greenwood Compound, Kalabo, 3rd March, 2018.

⁵⁹ Interview, Mukena, Greenwood Compound, Kalabo, 3rd March, 2018.

⁶⁰ ZSC Ltd., Annual Report, 2000, p. 6 and ZSC Ltd., Annual Report, 2001, p. 7.

inductions were intensified in order to make the cane cutters be aware of their conditions of service and health issues more especially HIV/AIDS.⁶¹

The cane cutters were then distributed among four barracks namely Chuula, Kaleya, Nakambala and Kawama where they were accommodated two per room. Nkabika barracks, on the other hand, were a preserve for the company's permanent employees.⁶² Towards the end of the decentralised phase, Kawama and Nakambala barracks were electrified, whereas Chuula and Kaleya were not. As a result, most cane cutters liked to be accommodated in the two electrified barracks.⁶³ Additionally, cane cutters were given company numbers and regalia such as work-suits, cane-knives and safety-boots. Demonstration on cane cutting was done by the supervisors on the first day of their work while safety talks were given every morning prior to the commencement of the process of cane cutting.⁶⁴

There was no discrimination based on ethnicity, gender and religion during the recruitment of cane cutters at NSE. However, some people did not seek this job because they believed it was unbearable.⁶⁵ Furthermore, the job of cane cutting was open to both female and male Zambians, but the cultural attitude of most people made men rather than women, seek this kind of employment.⁶⁶ The company management and other informants confirmed that there was a Tonga female who was once employed as a cane cutter in 1999. She was specially recruited from Mazabuka. She only worked for that year and did not return the following year. She complained that she would not return to NSE for the job of cane cutting the following year because it was unbearable.⁶⁷ Giving reasons for females' reluctance to seek the job of cane cutting, Alicia H. Mazzarini argues that females did not look for such employment because the colonial labour migration system had already created an indelible impression in them that migratory labour was a masculine job.⁶⁸ Due to such notions, women at NSE sought lowly paid jobs such as weeding,

⁶¹ Juan Palerm, Tonnis Sierevogel and Munguzwe Hichaambwa, "Strategic Environment Assessment of the Sugar Sector in Zambia", Lusaka: Agreco Consortium and European Union, January, 2010, pp. 25-26.

⁶² Interview, Anaba, Zambia Sugar Company, Mazabuka, 19th July, 2018.

⁶³ Interview, Mukena, Greenwood Compound, Kalabo, 3rd March, 2018.

⁶⁴ Interview, Mukena, Greenwood Compound, Kalabo, 3rd March, 2018.

⁶⁵ Kalyalya, "History of Nakambala Estate", p. 39.

⁶⁶ Interview, Anaba, Zambia Sugar Company, Mazabuka, 19th July, 2018.

⁶⁷ Interview, Anaba, Zambia Sugar Company, Mazabuka, 19th July, 2018.

⁶⁸ Alicia H. Lazzarini, "Gendered Labour, Migratory Labour: Reforming Sugar Regime in Xinavane, Mozambique", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 43, 3 (2017), p. 620.

leaving cane cutting which fetched more money to men.⁶⁹ This resulted into gender insensitivity and the Western Province's domination in the recruitment of cane cutters at NSE.

In 2001, Tate and Lyle Company Limited sold ZSC to Illovo Group of Companies.⁷⁰ The following year, the new company owners embarked on policy reforms, among which, was the pilot project of recruiting local people particularly from Sinazongwe and Munyumbwe of the Southern Province as cane cutters.⁷¹ These two valley areas were less productive economically. Subsequently, the job of cane cutting provided an alternative source of income to the able-bodied men in the areas.⁷² It was the success of that project which eventually led to the end of the decentralised phase and emergence of the centralised phase.⁷³

2.4.2 Centralised Phase of Recruitment, 2002-2017

As indicated earlier, ZSC "... began its second phase ... when the new owners announced [and implemented] the Nakambala expansion project ..." ⁷⁴ in the year 2002. This phase involved the centralisation of labour recruitment of cane cutters unlike the previous system in which cane cutters were recruited from several towns, but all in the Western Province.⁷⁵ Consequently, this phase could also be called a second phase. During the new phase, the company shifted the recruitment from the Western Province to Mazabuka in the Southern Province of Zambia. From 2002, all the people who wished to be recruited as cane cutters were expected to travel on their own to Mazabuka around April.⁷⁶ Owing to the new recruitment trend, many people were forced, sometimes, to return to Mazabuka a month before the commencement of the recruitment to await possible employment as sugar cane cutters.⁷⁷ However, at the end of the contract, the company still transported those returning to the Western Province. But for being few, the cane cutters

⁶⁹ Lrenzo Cotula, *Gender and Law: Women's rights in Agriculture. FAO Legislation Study 76 Rev. 1*, (Rome: FAO, 2006), p. 92.

⁷⁰ Wellington Sikuka, "Global Agricultural Information Network: The Supply and Demand for Sugar in Zambia", USDA Foreign Agricultural Service, Gain Report, 9th July, 2017, p. 3.

⁷¹ Interview, Anaba, Zambia Sugar Company, Mazabuka, 19th July, 2018.

⁷² Interview, Anaba, Zambia Sugar Company, Mazabuka, 19th July, 2018.

⁷³ Interview, Anaba, Zambia Sugar Company, Mazabuka, 19th July, 2018.

⁷⁴ Saturnino M. Borras Jr, Phillip MacMicheal and Ian Scoones, *Critical Agrarian Studies: The Politics of Biofuels, Land and Agrarian Changes*, (New York: Routledge, 2011), p. 353.

⁷⁵ Interview, Anaba, Zambia Sugar Company, Mazabuka, 19th July, 2018.

⁷⁶ Interview, Mukena, Greenwood Compound, Kalabo, 3rd March, 2018.

⁷⁷ Interview, Anaba, Zambia Sugar Company, Mazabuka, 19th July, 2018.

returning to provinces other than western were only given money for bus fares and asked to find their way home.⁷⁸

There were several reasons that necessitated the centralisation of the recruitment of cane cutters. Among the prominent ones, was the increasing demand for the job of cane cutting by the “local people” in the province.⁷⁹ This was coupled with ZSC’s desire to cut down on the cost of hiring buses to fetch the recruited cane cutters from the Western Province. The company also discovered that some of the cane cutters had migrated completely from the rural communities of the Western Province to Mazabuka together with their families. There were other cane cutters, especially the unmarried ones who, instead of returning to the Western Province, remained in Mazabuka doing piece-work during the off-crop period. This was so because during repatriation the 10 hired buses as well as 12 trucks to carry cane cutters and their property, respectively, only transported half of the cane cutters back to the Western Province.⁸⁰ Thus, the company decided to centralise the recruitment.

2.4.2.1 Recruitment Stages and Procedures

The recruitment stages and procedures during this phase were changed slightly. The company prepared lists of the selected returning cane cutters. Thereafter, it submitted them to the Mazabuka Community Radio Station for public announcement for more than a week. Those who were away from Mazabuka were informed by their friends and relatives if they had been selected. Some people from far places would return to Mazabuka in order to await the recruitment because they were aware of the company’s recruitment calendar.⁸¹ According to ZSC management, new entrants were only considered if there were vacancies created by some old cane cutters who did not either wish to renew their contract or were excluded from the recruitment list for bad record generated the previous year. In such situations, the aspiring candidates were advised to write application letters which, according to management, were

⁷⁸ Interview, Anaba, Zambia Sugar Company, Mazabuka, 19th July, 2018.

⁷⁹ Fison Munjenja and Charlotte Wonani, *Long-term Outcomes of Agricultural Investments: Lessons from Zambia*, (London: International Institute for Environment and Development, 2012), p. 40 and Fison Munjenja, *Dynamics of Large Scale Investment in Agriculture: Lesson from Kaleya Smallholders Company and Mpongwe Development Company*, (n.p., n.d.), p. 41.

⁸⁰ Interview, Anaba, Zambia Sugar Company, Mazabuka, 19th July, 2018.

⁸¹ Interview, Anaba, Zambia Sugar Company, Mazabuka, 19th July, 2018.

mostly done in local languages mainly Silozi, Citonga, Chinyanja and Icibemba.⁸² This implies that this kind of employment was mainly for lowly literate people. According to Chribone Mweene, the centralisation of the recruitment of cane cutters was extended to the other companies such as Kaleya Smallholders Company Limited (KASCOL).⁸³

The management at ZSC stated that the recruitment of the new entrants was complicated by the involvement of many stakeholders.⁸⁴ These included the local chiefs of the Southern Province, the Barotse Royal Establishment (BRE), District Commissioners (DCs), Members of Parliament (MPs) and the Mazabuka District Labour Office. The stakeholders usually submitted lists of people to the company soliciting that they be recruited as cane cutters. Therefore, this interfered with the normal recruitment process. Apart from the local radio station, the selected applicants were informed by phone using the numbers on their application letters.⁸⁵ But, Chris Mayamba, one of the informants, argued that the Labour Office did not play a big role in the recruitment of cane cutters during the second phase compared to the previous phase. Instead, Mayamba stated that, it was the ZSC, its unions, the BRE, local chiefs, DCs and MPs that were fully involved.⁸⁶

After recruitment, just like in phase one, both the returning cane cutters and new entrants were medically examined to ascertain their fitness. They were then allocated the barracks.⁸⁷ They stayed in the barracks from April up to the end of the cane harvesting season, usually at the end of November, when the contract was terminated.⁸⁸ Prior to the commencement of cane harvesting, the cane cutters were made to slash their surroundings in order to make it healthy for stay and also to be in line with the Government policy of “Keep Zambia Clean, Green and Healthy”.⁸⁹ Furthermore, they were inducted on various aspects of their work by the departments of ZSC.⁹⁰ They were also given company insignia and Personal Protective Equipment (PPE).⁹¹

⁸² Interview, Anaba, Zambia Sugar Company, Mazabuka, 19th July, 2018.

⁸³ Interview, Chribone Mweene, Tally Clerk, Kaleya Smallholders Company Limited, Mazabuka, 9th November, 2017.

⁸⁴ Interview, Anaba, Zambia Sugar Company, Mazabuka, 19th July, 2018.

⁸⁵ Interview, Anaba, , Zambia Sugar Company, Mazabuka, 19th July, 2018.

⁸⁶ Interview, Chris Mayamba, Staff from Labour Office, Mazabuka, 16th July, 2018.

⁸⁷ Interview, Sifanu Mwiya, Cane Cutter, Namaweshi Village, Mongu, 21st March, 2018.

⁸⁸ Sinyangwe, “Sugar Estate in Rural Zambia”, p. 1.

⁸⁹ Interview, Anaba, , Zambia Sugar Company, Mazabuka, 19th July, 2018.

⁹⁰ Palerm, Sierevogel and Hichaambwa, “The Sugar Sector in Zambia”, p. 26 and ZSC Ltd., Annual Report, 2011, p. 6.

⁹¹ Interview, Mandende Wamunyima, Cane Cutter, Loke Village, Kalabo, 25th March, 2018.

These comprised the body work-suit, knee and ankle metal-shield, eye-glasses, gloves, arm clothing and safety-boots.⁹² After all that, they were regarded ready for work.

The table below shows the labour recruitment during the centralised phase at NSE. In the table, the information of seasonal workers for the 2002 to 2017 period, was not available except for the cane cutters recruited in 2007. However, ZSC recruited about 1000 cane cutters annually.⁹³

Table 3: Recruited Workers at Nakambala Sugar Estate, 2002-2017

Year	Seasonal Workers				Permanent Workers	Grand Total of Workers
	Migratory Cane Cutters	Other Migratory Workers	Local Seasonal Workers	Total of Seasonal Workers		
2002	n.a	n.a	n.a	3 823	2 211	6 034
2003	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	5 223
2004	n.a	n.a	n.a	3 247	2 570	5 817
2005	n.a	n.a	n.a	2 949	2 879	5 828
2006	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	5 396
2007	873	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a
2008	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	6 000
2009	n.a	n.a	n.a	4 000	2 000	6 000
2010	n.a	n.a	n.a	2 151	2 708	4 859
2011	n.a	n.a	n.a	5 154	1 177	6 331
2012	n.a	n.a	n.a	3 525	1 789	5 314
2013	n.a	n.a	n.a	3 736	1 663	5 399
2014	n.a	n.a	n.a	4 528	1 919	6 447
2015	n.a	n.a	n.a	4 453	1 957	6 410
2016	n.a	n.a	n.a	4 331	1 979	6 310
2017	n.a	n.a	n.a	4 500	1 980	6 480

ZSC Ltd., Annual Reports, 2003-2018 and ZSC Ltd., Repatriation Lists, pp.1-22.

⁹² Interview, Mwiya, Namaweshi Village, Mongu, 21st March, 2018.

⁹³ Interview, Anaba, Zambia Sugar Company, Mazabuka, 19th July, 2018.

Although there was no specific data available for the recruited cane cutters from 2002 to 2017, except for 2007, the company management officials, the cane cutters and the residents of Mazabuka who were interviewed all confirmed that people from all the provinces were free to seek employment as cane cutters at NSE during that period.⁹⁴ Nosiku Anaba also stated that even though the Western Province was still leading in terms of the recruited cane cutters, the number of cane cutters drawn from there had somewhat reduced, while those from the Southern Province had increased.⁹⁵ This recruitment pattern remained so up to 2017.

2.5 Factors Influencing Migratory Labour Recruitment at NSE, 1964-2017

During the 1964 to 1968 period, as earlier stated, ZSC could not recruit cane cutters at NSE mainly because the local people it focused on were not interested in the offered job of cane cutting.⁹⁶ As from 1968, the offer was given to the Western Province of Zambia where men showed interest in the job. Therefore, between 1968 and 2017, there was mutual interest in the employment of cane cutters at NSE between ZSC and the cane cutters from the Western Province.⁹⁷ While ZSC was mostly interested in recruiting cane cutters from the Western Province, the able-bodied men from that province were equally interested in seeking employment as cane cutters at the estate.⁹⁸ After 2002, the other people, more especially the Tonga, who earlier did not seek wage labour as cane cutters at NSE, began to do so.⁹⁹ Various factors contributed to these developments at the estate.

2.5.1 ZSC's Preference for Migrants from Western Province, 1968-2017

The preference that ZSC had for recruiting cane cutters from the Western Province is historically oriented. It was developed in the early years of the company following the resistance, people indigenous to the Southern Province had towards the cane cutting employment prior to 1968. The preference was increased by the desertion from the estate by people ZSC recruited from the

⁹⁴ Interview, Anaba, Zambia Sugar Company, Mazabuka, 19th July, 2018; Interview, Mwiya, Namaweshi Village, Mongu, 21st March, 2018 and Interview, Mweene, Kaleya Smallholders Company Limited, Mazabuka, 9th November, 2017.

⁹⁵ Interview, Anaba, Zambia Sugar Company, Mazabuka, 19th July, 2018.

⁹⁶ Sinyangwe, "Health and Nutritional Status", p. 1.

⁹⁷ Interview, Mukwiza, Simonga Village, Chikankata, 2nd November, 2017.

⁹⁸ Interview, Anaba, Zambia Sugar Company, Mazabuka, 19th July, 2018.

⁹⁹ Munjenja, *Investment in Agriculture*, p. 41.

Eastern, Northern and Luapula Provinces in the early 1970s.¹⁰⁰ Several factors were responsible for the company's preference.

The failure by ZSC to locally source cane cutters at inception in 1968 led to the development of interest in recruiting men from the Western Province. The company was unable to recruit cane cutters from within the Southern Province because the local people had a good source of income from agriculture.¹⁰¹ They also regarded the job of cane cutting as a lowly graded and unattractive employment.¹⁰² For these reasons, they did not bother to seek the job of cane cutting. As a result of their negative attitude, the company lost interest in them and turned to the Western Province where the labour force was willing to be recruited as cane cutters.¹⁰³

The interest in recruiting men from the Western Province was increased by the failure to perform the job of cane cutting by the groups of people that ZSC had attempted recruiting from provinces other than Western in the early 1970s. As explained earlier, these deserted the estate complaining that the job of cane cutting was a hazardous and unbearable one.¹⁰⁴ According to Ephraim Mukwiza, the company became reliant on the labour migrants from the Western Province for the job of cane cutting.¹⁰⁵ It was that reliance which later made the company develop the preference for cane cutters from the Western Province.

ZSC developed more interest in recruiting men from the Western Province because of their positive work culture. Like similar estates in other countries such as Xinavane Sugar Estate of Mozambique, it was a common practice for sugar companies to employ men from districts far away from where the estates were situated.¹⁰⁶ This was because local men were regarded to be "... argumentative, complaining, lazy, unreliable and [would] ... leave immediately."¹⁰⁷ Similarly, at NSE, the strongest and most hardworking cane cutters were from Kalabo whereas the most reliable ones came from Senanga.¹⁰⁸ As for those indigenous to the Southern Province, in particular Mazabuka, on average worked for three months and deserted after acquiring the

¹⁰⁰ Kalyalya, "History of Nakambala Estate", p. 39.

¹⁰¹ Kalyalya, "History of Nakambala Estate", pp. 36-38.

¹⁰² Munjenja and Wonani, *Agricultural Investments*, p. 40.

¹⁰³ Interview, Mukwiza, Simonga Village, Chikankata, 2nd November, 2017.

¹⁰⁴ Kalyalya, "History of Nakambala Estate", p. 39.

¹⁰⁵ Interview, Mukwiza, Simonga Village, Chikankata, 2nd November, 2017.

¹⁰⁶ Lazzarini, "Gendered Labour", p. 618.

¹⁰⁷ Lazzarini, "Gendered Labour", p. 618.

¹⁰⁸ Interview, Anaba, Zambia Sugar Company, Mazabuka, 19th July, 2018.

cash they needed.¹⁰⁹ Additionally, Kwibisa F. Mukena attributed the strength of the cane cutters from the Western Province especially those from the Buluzi plains to the hard job of reed cutting they did, which was similar to the job of cane cutting. He also explained that the paddling of canoes used as means of transport mainly in the plains made those men even stronger.¹¹⁰ Due to that, ZSC had more liking for the cane cutters from the Western Province other than those from the rest of the country.

Cane cutters fetched from far places were also liked because they were associated with high levels of ethical conduct.¹¹¹ Most of the cane cutters from the Western Province were married men. Although there were some who left wives and children in the sending communities, others migrated either seasonally or permanently to Mazabuka with their families. These worked effectively and stably. Those, whose wives and children remained in the Western Province, whenever they wanted to visit their families, applied for leave and lawfully left.¹¹² On the contrary, the local cane cutters often reported late for work from their villages. Sometimes, they absconded without any formal reason and even stopped work without giving any notice to the company.¹¹³ Since each cane cutter was expected to meet a target of eight tonnes of cut-cane daily, the company management complained that, the unplanned absence of local cane cutters created losses for the company as it recorded deficits in harvested cane on daily basis. Because the migrants from the Western Province did not fall prey to such negative developments, they were the most liked by ZSC.¹¹⁴ Owing to all this, the company's preference for cane cutters from the Western Province slowly grew deeper over the years.

2.5.2 Influx of Labour Migrants from Western Province to NSE, 1968-2017

There were several factors which led to the inflow of energetic men from the Western Province into Mazabuka town to seek wage labour as cane cutters at NSE in the 1968 to 2017 period.

The closure of WENELA led to the labour migration system at NSE. After the abolition of the operations of WENELA in 1966 in the Western Province, the Government of the Republic of

¹⁰⁹ Interview, Anaba, Zambia Sugar Company, Mazabuka, 19th July, 2018.

¹¹⁰ Interview, Mukena, Greenwood Compound, Kalabo, 3rd March, 2018.

¹¹¹ Lazzarini, "Gendered Labour", p. 618.

¹¹² Interview, Anaba, Zambia Sugar Company, Mazabuka, 19th July, 2018.

¹¹³ Interview, Manduwani, Wenela Compound, Kalabo, 3rd March, 2018.

¹¹⁴ Interview, Anaba, Zambia Sugar Company, Mazabuka, 19th July, 2018.

Zambia (GRZ) engaged several organisations to absorb some of the returning migrants from South Africa.¹¹⁵ It also “... [implemented] the removal of hut tax and ... [introduced] free school and health services.”¹¹⁶ These strategies were meant to cushion the migrants’ economic problems which would result from the closure of WENELA and also prevent the migrants from seeking further external migration.¹¹⁷ However, the people of the Western Province had already integrated labour migration into their culture, like people of Mozambique had done in the nineteenth century. Labour migration became a “rite of passage” which each male in the community was expected to go through before entering marriage. Those who did not embrace it, received low socio-economic status.¹¹⁸ Consequently, government strategies did not fully serve the intended purpose. Therefore, when ZSC made a call for the job of cane cutting in 1968, the unused labour force in the province willingly sought employment as cane cutters and was then transported to NSE.¹¹⁹ Subsequently, the closure of WENELA and cultural attachment the people of the Western Province had to labour migration, pushed men to seek wage labour as cane cutters at the estate.

The desire to acquire cattle contributed to labour migration to NSE. Evidence shows that cattle were available in the Western Province because the government restocked them every time after disease outbreak. Cattle were also not evenly distributed among people in the province. There were people who had a lot of cattle while others had nothing at all.¹²⁰ To that effect, the cattle owning families sought employment as cane cutters to increase their herds where as those without, desired to acquire cattle as an indicator of wealth and a prestigious status symbol in society.¹²¹ Others wanted to acquire cattle for milk, kraal manure and draft power: ploughing and

¹¹⁵ NAZ, SP 3/24/3/4693, Purchase of WENELA Property, 1960-68, p. 1.

¹¹⁶ Adrian P. Wood, “Cattle and Development in Western Province Zambia”, Paper 28c, Department of Geographical Science, Huddersfield Polytechnic, August, 1989, p. 14.

¹¹⁷ NAZ, SP 3/24/3/4693, WENELA Property, 1960-68, p. 1.

¹¹⁸ Patrick Harries, *Work, Culture, and Identity Migrant Labourers in Mozambique and South Africa, c.1860-1910*, (London: James Currey Ltd, 1994), pp. 157-58.

¹¹⁹ Interview, V.M. Lisibani, Induna Nambula, Tungi Area, Mongu, 9th April, 2018.

¹²⁰ Wood, “Cattle and Development”, p. 1; CSO, *Post-Harvest Survey Report 2012/2013 Agricultural Season: Small and Medium Scale Farmers*, (Lusaka: Agriculture and Environment Statistics Division of Central Statistics Office, 2014), pp. 35-36; Interview, Naphy Banda, Senior Veterinary Office, Provincial Veterinary Office, Mongu, 10th April, 2018 and Interview, Liyalo Mwimwi, Branch Manager, Star Beef Company Limited, Mongu, 9th April, 2018.

¹²¹ Flint, “Historical Constructions”, pp. 29-30 and GOV. ZAM./02/1970/33, B. Challens, *Cattle Husbandry in Zambia: A Guide for Extension Workers*, (Monze: Zambia College of Agriculture, 1970), p. 1.

transportation.¹²² Because the people of the Western Province held cattle in high esteem, they hardly sold their cattle when faced with economic problems, but often looked for alternative solutions. Seeking wage labour at NSE was one of the alternatives in such situations.¹²³ The illegality of the pre-colonial methods of acquiring cattle such as raids which could not be used in modern society contributed to labour migration, too. For instance, the Lozi killed the Kololo men and got their cattle in 1864.¹²⁴ They also raided the Tonga society twice in 1882 and 1888 for 50,000 and 80,000 cattle, respectively.¹²⁵ Furthermore, they acquired cattle through *Kufunda*, where wealthy people tolerated relatives who got cattle without permission from their kraals. Some people were loaned cattle (Mafisa)¹²⁶ while others were given cattle as gifts (limpo) by friends and relatives.¹²⁷ Away from these illicit methods, men opted to seek wage labour at NSE, a more legal method, to raise cash for the purchase of cattle. Additionally, most young men left for wage labour for them to raise cash for the purchase of personal cattle because traditions denied them the rights over family cattle until their parents died; something they were too impatient to wait for.¹²⁸ Therefore, the need to acquire cattle compelled men from the Western Province to seek the job of cane cutting at NSE.

Some men left rural areas of the Western Province for wage labour as cane cutters at NSE in order to escape conflicts in the villages. According to Kawina B. Akakulubelwa, some young men who had cases of pregnancies and lacked means of settling them, fled the villages usually when the cases were at the peak. After being employed as cane cutters and raising money, they returned home and settled the cases.¹²⁹ However, some of them remained in Mazabuka at the end

¹²²Wood, "Cattle in Western Province", p. 7 and NAZ, BSE 1/10/69/5038, Barotse Cattle Industry 1954- 1956, The District Officer of Namushakende to the Resident Commissioner of Barotse Protectorate, Mongu, 30th August, 1954.

¹²³ Interview, Lisibani, Tungi Area, Mongu, 9th April, 2018.

¹²⁴ Mwananyanda Lutoombi, "Cattle Husbandry and Trade in Bulozhi, a Historical Perspective C. 1880-1973", MA Dissertation: University of Zambia, Lusaka, 2015, p. 18.

¹²⁵ Flint, "Historical Constructions", p. 108 and Lutoombi, "Cattle in Bulozhi", pp.17-18.

¹²⁶ Lutoombi, "Cattle in Bulozhi", pp. 19-25.

¹²⁷ Lutoombi, "Cattle in Bulozhi", pp. 27-28.

¹²⁸G.H.N. Haantobolo, "Ecology, Agriculture and Proletarianisation: A Study of the Sinazongwe Area in the Gwembe Valley of the Southern Province of Zambia: 1900 to 1989", MA Dissertation: University of Zambia, 1991, p. 62.

¹²⁹ Interview, Kawina B. Akakulubelwa, Former Cane Cutter and Induna Walubita, Loke Village, Kalabo, 21st March, 2018.

of the contract.¹³⁰ Thus, Mazabuka became a place of solace for some young men from the Western Province.

Labour migration was also undertaken in order to achieve personal independence. Some young men left their homes to escape parental interference and pressure.¹³¹ According to Sifanu Mwiya, some parents and other relatives controlled the homes of their younger men regardless of the marital status. Therefore, to protect themselves and their spouses, they sought wage labour at NSE as cane cutters. Depending on the extent of the pressure, some of the young men did not return to the Western Province.¹³² Consequently, the desire for freedom from family “oppression” pushed men to be recruited as cane cutters at NSE.

The need to pay bride price in cash forced some young men to migrate into towns to seek wage labour. Some families demanded that, bride price for their daughters be paid in the form of cash but not cattle. Therefore, some of the young men sought cane cutting employment at NSE to raise cash for that purpose.¹³³ According to Yambwa Yambwa, there was fear by some of the brides’ parents that if the cattle paid as bride price died, then it would be challenging for them to return cattle to the grooms’ families in an event where their daughters divorced the husbands. However, if the bride price was paid in the form of cash, it would be easier to pay it back because of the devaluation of money as years went by. The comparative advantage that cash had over cattle compelled most brides’ parents to demand bride price in monetary form. In order to raise the cash for payment of bride price, some young men from the Western Province sought the job of cane cutting at NSE.¹³⁴

The exaggerated stories by the returning migrants influenced some young men in the rural communities to embark on labour migration. Such stories aroused the desire for exposure among those who had never gone beyond the known towns of the Western Province. Some of these people did not even have relatives whom they could visit in towns. Therefore, the only way to

¹³⁰ Mirriam Celnarova, “Zambian Breadwinners Leave for City: Rural-Urban Migration and the Zambian Family”, Honors Essay: University of North Carolina, 2014, p. 32.

¹³¹ Celnarova, “Zambian Breadwinners”, p. 32.

¹³² Interview, Mwiya, Naweshi Village, Mongu, 21st March, 2018.

¹³³ Harries, *Work and Migrant Labourers*, p. 226 and D. Malyn Newitt, *A History of Mozambique*, (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1995), p. 484.

¹³⁴ Interview, Yambwa Yambwa, Acting District Local Court Officer, Kalabo, 6th April, 2018.

experience the fore-told stories was to seek wage employment.¹³⁵ More to this was the need to pass through Lusaka, the capital city of Zambia. Mandende Wamunyima narrated how such stories influenced him to sell his cow to raise money to enable him travel to Lusaka and finally reached Mazabuka where he was later employed as a cane cutter.¹³⁶ In a similar way, Mululu Kekelwa claimed that he had led good life at home except that he wanted to adventurously test being away from home, receiving monthly wages and not waiting for agricultural produce which took more than six months to yield returns. This forced him to seek wage labour as a cane cutter at NSE.¹³⁷ The desire for personal exposure and adventure compelled some young men from the Western Province to seek employment as cane cutters at the estate.

Some able-bodied men sought wage labour so that they could buy modern material goods and meet their families' social needs.¹³⁸ With the availability of electricity in some rural parts of the Western Province due to the Government policy of rural electrification and the presence of alternative sources of power on the market, like generators and solar panels, some young men got employed as cane cutters at NSE and raised cash to buy such items as well as radios, television sets, decoders and satellite-dishes for capturing television signals. In addition, out of their earnings, these men managed to remit some cash home to enable their families pay for social services like education and health.¹³⁹

Some of the men from the Western Province sought employment as cane cutters because of poverty. Even though there were people with some economic means of survival such as cattle in the province, there were many who had no domestic animals. According to Central Statistical Office (CSO), such people lived in abject poverty.¹⁴⁰ Those living in the cordon area even though they had cattle, were not allowed to take their animals out of the cordon for sale. As a result, they suffered economically.¹⁴¹ Worse-still, some crops could only do well in certain parts

¹³⁵ Charles M. Becker, Christopher N. deBodisco and Andrew R. Morrison, "Urban Africa in Macroeconomic and Microeconomic Perspective: Issues and Options", Discussion Paper, Report No. UPP-97, World Bank, April, 1986, p. 28.

¹³⁶ Interview, Wamunyima, Loke Village, Kalabo, 25th March, 2018.

¹³⁷ Interview, Mululu Kekelwa, Former Cane Cutter, Nayaka Royal Village, Kalabo, 21st March, 2018.

¹³⁸ Newitt, History of Mozambique, p. 484 and J.M. Davis, *Modern Industry and the African: An Inquiry into the Effect of the Copper Mines of Central Africa upon Native Society and the Work of the Christian Missions*, (London: Frank Cass and Company Ltd., 1967), pp. 54-56.

¹³⁹ Interview, Akakakulubelwa, Loke Village, Kalabo, 21st March, 2018.

¹⁴⁰ CSO, *2015 Living Conditions Monitoring Survey (LCMS) Report*, (Lusaka: Central Statistical Office, 2016), p. 105.

¹⁴¹ Interview, Banda, Provincial Veterinary Office, Mongu, 10th April, 2018.

of the province. For instance, tobacco only did well in some parts of present day Kaoma and Nkeyima while rice in parts of Kalabo, Limulunga, Lukulu, Mongu, Senanga, Shangombo and Sikongo districts.¹⁴² Crops like maize were often affected by floods in the Buluzi plains and droughts on the plateau areas. Drought resistant crops such as cassava and millet, on the other hand, had no steady market.¹⁴³ This situation, therefore, worsened the levels of poverty among people in the province. It would be, therefore, correct to state that since there was scarcity of industries, some energetic but poor men were forced to look for wage employment elsewhere including at NSE for their survival.¹⁴⁴ According to Jan M. Schupbach, scarcity of local employment opportunities coupled with poverty threw school leavers into labour migration, too.¹⁴⁵ Poverty resulting from unreliable agriculture and lack of wage employment in some parts of the Western Province contributed to labour migration to NSE.

Fishing activities in the Western Province also contributed to labour migration to NSE. In the early years of independence, people in the province did not take fishing as a reliable source of income. Though they sometimes locally sold fish for cash and also bartered some for the items they lacked, they mainly fished for domestic consumption.¹⁴⁶ Mabilia E. Kashimani adds that the people of the Western Province were occasional fishermen who only spent thirty percent of their time on fishing and the rest on other activities such as crop growing and pastoralism.¹⁴⁷ Therefore, men could embark on labour migration which was regarded as one of the good sources of income elsewhere earlier, and at NSE later, than 1968.¹⁴⁸ As time went by, they realised that fishing was a prominent source of income. According to Kashimani, fishing became a prosperous business. It provided an income to the unemployed and even supplemented the earnings of the formally employed people engaged in it.¹⁴⁹ As a result, villagers who did not have money to buy fish nets sought wage labour at NSE to raise cash for the purchase of nets.

¹⁴² CSO, *Post-Harvest Survey Report 2012/ 2013*, pp. 29-30 and Food Reserve Agency (FRA), *Rice Target*, 2014, p. 46.

¹⁴³ Interview, Matepeteta Kamilatu, Cane Cutter, Kaleya Smallholders Company Limited, Mazabuka, 10th November, 2017.

¹⁴⁴ Kalyalya, "History of Nakambala Estate", p. 37.

¹⁴⁵ Jan M. Schupbach, "Foreign Direct Agriculture: The Impact of Out Grower Schemes and Large-Scale Farm Employment on Economic Well-being in Zambia", PhD Thesis: University of Zurich, 2015, p. 111.

¹⁴⁶ Interview, Lisibani, Tungi Area, Mongu, 9th April, 2018.

¹⁴⁷ Mabilia Eric Kashimani, "Constraints on the Growth of the Fishing Industry in Western Province, 1924-1964", MA Dissertation: University of Zambia, 1987, pp. 41-42.

¹⁴⁸ Interview, Lisibani, Tungi Area, Mongu, 9th April, 2018.

¹⁴⁹ Kashimani, "Constraints on the Growth of the Fishing Industry", p. 42.

Dried fish was transported for sale to the mines on the Copperbelt Province of Zambia and Kasumbalesa at the border of Zambia and Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). Those who lived far from water bodies and could not shift to fishing areas, sought wage labour as cane cutters despite fishing booming. With the coming of bad fishing methods especially between 2000 and 2017, fish scarcity hit the province. Despite the government discouraging the bad fishing methods and introducing the fish ban policy, fish continued depleting in the water bodies. Because fishing could not enable people to meet their needs, most young men left the province for wage employment as cane cutters at NSE.¹⁵⁰

2.5.3 Tonga People and Wage Labour at NSE, 1964-2017

The history of the Tonga people shows that for some time, they often did not participate in labour migration during the colonial period because of their involvement in agriculture. They were involved in both crop production and cattle keeping. They were able to meet their tax obligations through farming.¹⁵¹ If they sought wage employment as labour migrants, then it was only meant to raise capital for agricultural investment.¹⁵² It was against this background that from the inception of NSE, the Tonga people paid little or no attention to being recruited as cane cutters.¹⁵³ However, their active involvement in agriculture was not the only reason which made them not seek wage labour at the estate. Between 2002 and 2017, the Tonga people began to seek wage employment as cane cutters at NSE. There were various factors which influenced them.

2.5.3.1 Tonga Non-participation in Wage Labour at NSE, 1964-2002

Key amongst the factors for the non-participation of the Tonga people in wage labour at NSE was the embarrassment attached to the job of cane cutting. Just like men living in the vicinity of Xinavane Sugar Estate of Mozambique viewed cane cutting as an embarrassing job,¹⁵⁴ so did the Tonga people of the Southern Province of Zambia to the job of cane cutting at NSE between 1964 and 2002. Any person in the Tonga society who attempted to seek wage labour as a cane

¹⁵⁰ Interview, Modern Malako, Assistant Fisheries Technician, Provincial Fisheries Office, Mongu, 9th April, 2018.

¹⁵¹ K.P. Vickery, *Black and White in Southern Zambia: The Tonga Plateau Economy and British Imperialist, 1890-1939*, (New York: Greenwood Press Inc., 1986), p. 149

¹⁵² Kalyalya, "History of Nakambala Estate", p. 37.

¹⁵³ Kalyalya, "History of Nakambala Estate", p. 36.

¹⁵⁴ Lazzarini, "Gendered Labour", p. 620.

cutter became a laughing-stock. Besides cane cutting being an embarrassing job, the Tonga regarded it to be a job for poverty-stricken people. They, therefore, teased cane cutters and generalised them as poor people.¹⁵⁵ Even the so-called poor among the Tonga people could not seek wage labour as cane cutters for fear of being embarrassed. Instead, they sought jobs such as constructing fences and ploughing fields for cash on the white-owned farms, which their society did not view as shameful.¹⁵⁶ The embarrassment attached to the job of cane cutting completely discouraged the Tonga people from seeking employment at the estate.

The Tonga did not seek employment as cane cutters because they took it to be too hard and difficult a job to be managed normally. This was the same perception people from provinces other than the Western had, at the time of deserting NSE in the early 1970s, after ZSC had attempted to recruit them.¹⁵⁷ To that end, some of the Tonga people believed that this job could only be managed by people from the Western Province who had magical powers which enabled them to complete the cane cutting tasks assigned daily. It was the ability to complete the cane cutting tasks which led to the conclusion that men from the Western Province used charms.¹⁵⁸ The ash which smeared the cane cutters, making them appear dirty and un-admirable combined with the accidents and injuries which occurred during the cane cutting process made the Tonga people regard this job as unbearable and hazardous, too.¹⁵⁹ For that reason, some Tonga people who were recruited as cane cutters at that time only worked for a short period of time of about three months. They deserted after raising the cash they needed.¹⁶⁰ Alternatively, some of the Tonga people preferred seeking migratory wage labour at other companies, in the 1990s, where they did lighter work of picking cotton and paprika to cutting sugar cane at NSE.¹⁶¹

The non-participation of the Tonga people in seasonal wage labour at NSE between 1964 and 2002 was also associated with lack of the knowledge of the economic value of the job of cane cutting. While the people from the Western Province were already aware of the economic benefits of the job of cane cutting, the Tonga people did not have regards for the financial

¹⁵⁵ Interview, Mukwiza, Simonga Village, Chikankata, 2nd November, 2017.

¹⁵⁶ Interview, Mukwiza, Simonga Village, Chikankata, 2nd November, 2017.

¹⁵⁷ Kalyalya, "History of Nakambala Estate", p. 39.

¹⁵⁸ Interview, Mweene, Kaley Smallholders Company Limited, Mazabuka, 9th November, 2017.

¹⁵⁹ Interview, Mukwiza, Simonga Village, Chikankata, 2nd November, 2017.

¹⁶⁰ Interview, Wamunyima, Loke Village, Kalabo, 25th March, 2018.

¹⁶¹ Phillimon Ndubani, "An Epidemiological Assessment of the Prevalence of Sickness and Injuries Among workers in Zambian Industry: The Case of Nakambala Sugar Estate," MMed. Dissertation: University of Zambia, 1998, p. 25.

benefits of the cane cutting employment.¹⁶² They were also not aware of the skills such as training in guidance and counselling, which ZSC offered alongside the monthly wages in the course of the cane cutting season which helped some of the cane cutters even after the termination of their contract.¹⁶³ Therefore, lack of awareness made them not seek wage labour as cane cutters at NSE.

2.5.3.2 Tonga Participation in Wage Labour at NSE, 2002-2017

Towards the end of the 1990s and up to 2002, some new trends in the recruitment of cane cutters emerged. During that period, the Tonga people gradually began to participate in wage labour as cane cutters at NSE. This development which finally led to the second phase of the recruitment of cane cutters in 2002 at NSE was caused by various factors.¹⁶⁴

The decline in agricultural production influenced the participation of the Tonga people in wage labour at NSE. Being mainly located in region one of the three “agro-ecological regions” of Zambia, the Southern together with Western Province was susceptible to poor rainfall, short farming season and probability of medium to high drought risks.¹⁶⁵ This ecological situation resulted into the province having unpredictable and uneven rainfall patterns.¹⁶⁶ The repeatedly unstable weather also led to adverse climatic changes that mainly affected region one. In the 1990s, therefore, the province was affected by the drought which destroyed crops. This uprooted people’s socio-economic fabric leaving them prone to famine. The people in towns were not affected very much because they were able to buy food to sustain them.¹⁶⁷ Before these climatic changes, Zambia had placed heavy reliance on the Southern Province. Subsequently, the “... Southern Province ... was ... [even] called the maize-belt and food basket of the nation due to its high maize ... production before the mid-1980s.”¹⁶⁸ However, the frequently occurring droughts robbed the province of this esteemed title. The Tonga people, therefore, lost the source of income

¹⁶² Interview, Anaba, Zambia Sugar Company, Mazabuka, 19th July, 2018.

¹⁶³ Interview, Akakakulubelwa, Loke Village, Kalabo, 21st March, 2018.

¹⁶⁴ Interview, Anaba, Zambia Sugar Company, Mazabuka, 19th July, 2018.

¹⁶⁵ P.H. Nyanga, “Impact of Agricultural Policy Changes on Household Food Security among Small Scale-Farmers in Southern Zambia”, MA Dissertation: Norwegian University of Life Science, 2006, p. 39.

¹⁶⁶ R. Baumle, C. Neukum, J. Nkhoma, and O. Silembo, *The Ground Water Resources of Southern, Zambia (Phase I) 4 Vol. Technical Report*, Lusaka, Technical Co-operation, Project No. BMZ PN 2003. 2024. 2, p. 14.

¹⁶⁷ Mary Tiffen and M.R. Mulele, *The Environmental Impact of the 1991-92 Drought on Zambia: Report*, (Lusaka: IUCN- The World Conservation Union, 1994), pp. 1-2.

¹⁶⁸ Nyanga, “Impact of Agricultural Policy”, p. 39.

they had depended on for several years.¹⁶⁹ To that effect, some of them migrated northwards into parts of Central Province and later to Copperbelt and North-Western, and even Luapula and Northern Provinces where rainfall patterns were still favourable to agriculture. Those who could not migrate looked for wage employment as cane cutters at NSE.¹⁷⁰

The death of cattle in the Southern Province also led to the Tonga people's participation in wage labour as cane cutters.¹⁷¹ The outbreak of the Contagious Bovine Pleuro-Pneumonia (CBPP) locally called *Denkete*, wiped out huge numbers of cattle in the province in the early 1990s and 2000s. This reduced many Tonga pastoralists to undesirable positions where some of them were left with few herds of cattle while others with nothing at all.¹⁷² The province which was once agriculturally reliable and a "... [pillar] of the nation due to ... cattle production before the mid-1980s ...",¹⁷³ drastically became economically unstable. This affected the livelihood of the Tonga people as activities such as application of manure, milking, transportation, ploughing and selling of cattle to meet some basic life needs became impossible.¹⁷⁴ This, likewise, forced some of the Tonga people to migrate to other provinces while others sought the job of cane cutting among wage employment provided by ZSC at the estate.¹⁷⁵ Therefore, cattle depletion compelled the local men to seek employment as cane cutters at NSE.

The influence from the local leadership in the Southern Province also made the Tonga people to take part in wage labour at NSE as from the year 2002. Some local chiefs such as Mwanachingwala and Naluama often requested ZSC to employ their subjects as cane cutters since the estate was partly in their chiefdoms.¹⁷⁶ Additionally, the company management stated that some of the political leaders in the province advocated for their people to be employed by ZSC.¹⁷⁷ As a result of the advocacy, many local people were offered employment as cane cutters by ZSC at the state.

¹⁶⁹ Tiffen and Mulele, *Impact of the Drought*, pp. 2-3.

¹⁷⁰ Interview, Mweene, Kaleya Smallholders Company Limited, Mazabuka, 9th November, 2017.

¹⁷¹ Munjenja and Wonani, *Agricultural Investments*, p. 40.

¹⁷² Interview, Mweene, Kaleya Smallholders Company Limited, Mazabuka, 9th November, 2017.

¹⁷³ Nyanga, "Impact of Agricultural Policy", p. 39.

¹⁷⁴ Tiffen and Mulele, *Impact of the Drought*, pp. 2-3 and GRZ, *Zambia Human Development Report 2016: Industrialisation and Human Development Poverty Reduction through Wealth and Employment Creation*, (Lusaka: United Nations Development Programme, 2016), pp. 51-52.

¹⁷⁵ Interview, Mweene, Kaleya Smallholders Company Limited, Mazabuka, 9th November, 2017.

¹⁷⁶ Interview, Mweene, Kaleya Smallholders Company Limited, Mazabuka, 9th November, 2017.

¹⁷⁷ Interview, Anaba, Zambia Sugar Company, Mazabuka, 19th July, 2018.

The need for wage labour by local people who had low levels of education contributed to the Tonga participation in wage employment at NSE. The job of cane cutting was known to be for people with low literacy levels as the requirements were only physical fitness and NRC to ascertain their citizenship and age. School certificates, both for junior and senior secondary school, were not requirements for entry into the job of cane cutting. Because of that, local people with low formal education, who had no opportunities to be employed by companies which demanded high academic achievement, flocked to NSE to be recruited as cane cutters between 2002 and 2017.¹⁷⁸

The realisation of the economic benefits of wage labour at NSE made the Tonga people seek employment as cane cutters. The local people saw some of the cane cutters especially those who permanently settled in Mazabuka excel. Some of these cane cutters acquired pieces of land and built houses in Mazabuka whilst they continued to work as cane cutters at the estate. This influenced some of the Tonga people to seek employment as cane cutters.¹⁷⁹ Besides, some of the local Tonga people heard stories while others saw for themselves the cane cutters from the Western Province leaving Mazabuka, at the end of the contract, with various modern items packed in booked trucks by ZSC. This created an intrinsic motivation which later pushed some Tonga people into cane cutting employment at the estate.¹⁸⁰ It was also significant to note that the employment of a Tonga female as a cane cutter in 1999 impacted positively on the recruitment of the Tonga men as cane cutters. It presented a challenge as well as a model to Tonga males who finally got attracted to the job of cane cutting at NSE.¹⁸¹

The company's experimental project of sourcing cane cutters from within the Southern Province also contributed to the recruitment of the Tonga men as cane cutters. This pilot project, especially where it was conducted, showed the local people that the job of cane cutting was just as normal as other jobs. The project created a new mind set where the local people stopped looking down on the job of cane cutting. As a result, the Tonga and even people from provinces other than Western began to increasingly seek employment as cane cutters at NSE.¹⁸² The only recruitment statistics available for the second phase was the "Repatriation Lists of cane cutters

¹⁷⁸ Lazzarini, "Gendered Labour", p. 618.

¹⁷⁹ Interview, Vincent Lilanda, Mayor of Mazabuka Municipal Council, Mazabuka, 10th November, 2017.

¹⁸⁰ Interview, Comfort Siangazi, Cashier, ARK Investments, Mazabuka, 8th November, 2017.

¹⁸¹ Interview, Anaba, Zambia Sugar Company, Mazabuka, 19th July, 2018.

¹⁸² Interview, Anaba, Zambia Sugar Company, Mazabuka, 19th July, 2018.

for 2007".¹⁸³ It shows that out of the 873 cane cutters recruited, the Southern Province contributed 329 with Mazabuka recording 120 cane cutters, the majority of whom had permanently migrated from the Western Province. Munyumbwe and Sinazongwe, where the project was piloted recorded 93 and 102 cane cutters respectively. Maamba and the surrounding areas contributed one cane cutter probably because most men were employed by the Maamba Collieries Limited (MCL), Zambia's largest coal mine. People in Namwala, in particular, despite CBPP killing cattle in the province, still had large herds of cattle which was their source of income. Consequently, Namwala had three men employed as cane cutters at NSE. The remaining 10 cane cutters came from the other Southern Province districts. The Southern Province was the second from the Western Province which had 539 cane cutters. The Eastern and Northern Provinces contributed two cane cutters each while Central Province had only one.¹⁸⁴

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the recruitment of cane cutters at NSE between 1964 and 2017. It has shown that between 1964 and 1968, ZSC did not recruit any cane cutter mainly because of its fruitless effort to engage the local people whose interest was in agriculture but not the job of cane cutting. However, in 1968 the company turned to the Western Province for the recruitment of cane cutters. The availability of cane cutters in the Western Province coupled with the failure of people from the Eastern, Luapula and Northern Provinces to perform the job of cane cutting in the 1970s, made ZSC to develop preferences for cane cutters from the Western Province. The company, therefore, repeatedly recruited cane cutters from their home province between 1968 and 2002. The chapter has also pointed out that men from the Western Province embraced migratory labour because it was their cultural heritage and also a source of cash for poverty alleviation, payment of bride price, purchase of cattle and modern goods. The chapter has further indicated that in 2002, the recruitment of cane cutters was shifted to Mazabuka mainly because the local people had begun to seek the job of cane cutting. Lastly, the chapter has argued that although the number of local cane cutters increased, the majority of cane cutters at NSE still came from the Western Province by 2017.

¹⁸³ ZSC Ltd., Repatriation Lists, pp.1-22.

¹⁸⁴ ZSC Ltd., Repatriation Lists, pp.1-22.

CHAPTER THREE

SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPACT OF NAKAMBALA MIGRATORY CANE CUTTING ON WESTERN PROVINCE

3.1 Introduction

The issue of whether labour migration impacted well on the migrants' sending communities or not has become a topic of contention among scholars. The scholars have either argued for or against labour migration depending on the school of thought they belong to. As earlier stated, scholars from the "Pro-labour migration" school of thought emphasise the positive impact of labour migration while those from the "Anti-labour migration" school of thought lay stress on the negative impact of the phenomenon of labour migration.¹ However, some neutral scholarly literature highlights the "mixed" impact of labour migration on the communities where the migrants came from.² This chapter states that the positive and negative socio-economic impact of the phenomenon of labour migration had co-existed in the sending communities. The chapter, therefore, presents both the negative and positive impact of labour migration on the Nakambala cane cutters and their sending communities in the Western Province of Zambia.

3.2 Positive Impact of Labour Migration

The labour migration system at Nakambala Sugar Estate (NSE) was beneficial because it provided job opportunities to some people with low levels of formal education who otherwise could not easily find employment.³ Like Andre Leliveld states, in his study of rural Swaziland, that labour migrants were luckily offered employment without considering their educational levels,⁴ this was also true about some of the cane cutters at NSE. According to the Zambia Sugar Company (ZSC), the job of cane cutting only required the candidates' physical fitness, Zambian citizenship and being aged at least 18. The applicants' fitness was ascertained by medical

¹ Yizenge A. Chondoka, "Labour Migration and Rural Transformation in Chama District, Northeastern Zambia, 1890- 1994", PhD Thesis: University of Toronto, 1992, p. III.

² Thomas S. Jakobsen, "Impacts of Labour Migration for Rural Households in particular Setting in Southwest China: Resource Distribution and Second-Generation Migration", MA Dissertation: NTNU, Trondheim, 2009, p. 25.

³ Zambia Sugar Company Ltd., Annual Report, 2000, p. 15; ZSC Ltd., Annual Report, 2001, p. 3; ZSC Ltd., Annual Report, 2002, p. 4; ZSC Ltd., Annual Report, 2010, p. 2 and ZSC Ltd., Annual Report, 2014, p.15.

⁴ Andre Leliveld, "The Effects of Restrictive South African Migrant Labour Policy on the Survival of Rural Households in Southern African: A Case Study from Rural Swaziland", *World Development*, 25, 11 (1997), p. 1844.

examinations conducted by medical practitioners.⁵ The National Registration Cards (NRCs), on the other hand, ascertained the applicants' Zambian citizenship and ensured that they were aged 18 and above.⁶ As earlier indicated, some application letters for the job of cane cutting were written in local languages. This implied that a good number of the people who sought this job were unable to read and write in English. Barclays Bank management confirmed that some cane cutters had difficulties in filling in forms during the time of opening bank wage accounts because of their low literacy levels. In most cases, they were aided by some bank officials who understood the local languages that these clients spoke.⁷ This, therefore, was a benefit to both the cane cutters and their home communities.

Men who sought wage labour at NSE were provided with social security. Between 1966 and 2000, employees' social security issues were handled by the Zambia National Provident Fund (ZNPF).⁸ By the National Pension Scheme Act Number 40 of 1996 of the Laws of Zambia, the National Pension Scheme Authority (NAPSA) was established to take over issues of social security. However, this institution did not operate until the closure of ZNPF in 2000.⁹ According to the above Act, 10 percent monthly contribution, which was a combination of five percent of employees' earnings and mandatory five percent from the employers, was submitted to NAPSA.¹⁰ ZSC, like other employers, submitted the 10 percent contributions of its employees including that of the cane cutters.¹¹ At the attainment of 60 years, the employees with a minimum of 180 contributions were put on monthly pension which lasted for their life time. On the other hand, those with fewer contributions were only paid a lump sum. The incapacitated or invalid employees were paid invalid pension after being ascertained by medical personnel. In an event where some employees died before the age of 60, the beneficiaries such as the wives and children or the registered relatives for the unmarried, were paid the dues of the deceased.¹² ZSC

⁵ Joy H. Kalyalya, "A History of Nakambala Sugar Estate, 1964- 1984", MA Dissertation: University of Zambia, 1988, p. 42.

⁶ Interview, Namasiku Anaba, Human Resource Manager, Zambia Sugar Company, Mazabuka, 19th July, 2018.

⁷ Interview, Robert Mutale, Bank Manager, Barclays Bank PLC, Mazabuka, 20th July, 2018.

⁸ GOV. ZAM./02/1970/17, Government of the Republic of Zambia, *The Employer's Guide to the Zambia National Provident Fund, Revised May, 1970*, (Lusaka: The National Provident Fund Board, 1970), p. 5.

⁹ Interview, Elijah Mahamba, Area Manager, National Pension Schemes Authority, Solwezi, 20th April, 2018.

¹⁰ GRZ, The National Pension Scheme Act, Cap 256 of the Laws of Zambia, Part iv: Contributions, Section 14 and Sub section 1, 1996.

¹¹ Interview, Anaba, Zambia Sugar Company, Mazabuka, 19th July, 2018.

¹² Libby Cha and Mira Ramesh, "Provision for Protection Review of Social Protection in Zambia and Namibia, Occasion Papers Series", Southern African Institution for Policy and Research, October, 2017, pp. 16-17.

assisted its employees who met the conditions to claim their benefits from NAPSA. It issued them with documentations like introductory letters which they took to NAPSA.¹³ Consequently, the social security of cane cutters and their families was guaranteed through wage labour at NSE.

The phenomenon of labour migration enabled the cane cutters to have high levels of exposure. The young men who had no relatives to visit in towns, through labour migration, got opportunities of experiencing town life beyond the borders of the Western Province.¹⁴ Their interaction with other cane cutters and ZSC staff added to their exposure. The company inductions and general Nakambala environment, both at work and in the barracks, gave them new perception of issues. The safety lessons at work and during inductions increased their security consciousness. Residing in electrified barrack-rooms with beds and mattresses for each one of them also contributed to their levels of personal exposure.¹⁵ Generally, when they returned home at the end of the season, they brought some of the items that they were exposed to, in Mazabuka. Some of them were also different in the way they dressed and perceived issues.¹⁶

Through labour migration, cane cutters managed to overcome socio-economic problems faced by the relatives who remained home. They remitted part of their wages to the sending communities in order to absorb the shocks resulting from droughts and floods which caused famine.¹⁷ Using the remitted cash, relatives at home bought essential commodities like food, cooking oil and soap.¹⁸ Some of the migrants met their relatives' cost of social services such as education through the remittances of cash. They sent school fees and bought uniforms and other necessities for their school going family members.¹⁹ The vulnerable relatives such as the aged, widows and orphans who were not on the government social cash transfer also received remitted assistance from the labour migrants.²⁰ Concerning the way the money was remitted, some informants stated that it was brought by trusted relatives who visited Mazabuka. Sometimes, the migrants went

¹³ Interview, Anaba, Zambia Sugar Company, Mazabuka, 19th July, 2018.

¹⁴ Interview, Mandende Wamunyima, Cane Cutter, Loke Village, Kalabo, 25th March, 2018.

¹⁵ Interview, Sifanu Mwiya, Cane Cutter, Namaweshi Village, Mongu, 21st March, 2018.

¹⁶ Interview, Mwiya, Naweshi Village, Mongu, 21st March, 2018.

¹⁷ Chihiro Ito, "The Role of Labour Migration to Neighbouring Small Towns in Rural Livelihoods: A Case Study in Southern Province, Zambia", *African Studies Quarterly*, 12, 1 (2010), p. 54.

¹⁸ Ito, "The Role of Labour Migration", p. 56.

¹⁹ Jakobsen, "Impacts of Labour Migration", p. 24.

²⁰ Mirriam Celnarova, "Zambian Breadwinners Leave for the City: Rural-Urban Migration and the Zambian Family", Honors Essay: University of North Carolina, 2014", pp. 20-21.

with the money home at the end of the contract. As time went by, remittances were done through the Zambia Postal Services (ZPS). By 2017, some migrants sent money through Zoono, a mobile based African company launched in 2009 to provide, through its agents, money transfer and other digital services such as wallets, savings and credit products to people without bank accounts and phones including those in rural communities.²¹ Better-still, others opened mobile accounts with MTN and Airtel for their rural families for easy transfer of money through mobile banking.²² This is because “... mobile money transfers [became] ... an attractive option for ... rural areas where cell phones are widespread among remittance recipients.”²³

The job of migratory cane cutting was a good way of strengthening relationships between the migrants and the people at home. Some relatives back home felt connected to their migrant relatives when they received gifts such as cash and other goods through remittances. This was an indication that their migrant relatives still loved them despite being away from home.²⁴ Labour migrants also made strong ties by visiting their rural homes during the course of the contract. The cane cutters at NSE were entitled to two and half leave days per month in a seasonal contract of about seven months. They had three types of leave namely paid, unpaid and compassionate. They used the accrued leave days to visit their families back home.²⁵ Occasionally, their wives and other close relatives visited them in Mazabuka.²⁶ Sitali L. Mwiya, a wife of a cane cutter, explained that “if, for any reason, my migrant husband fails to pay a visit home, in these modern times, he gets in touch with us through cell phone.”²⁷ This broke the problem of time, space and distance and aided the migratory cane cutters to maintain ties with relatives in the sending communities.

It can be justifiable to state that labour migration empowered people who remained in the sending communities. When some men left their communities for wage labour, their families equally reduced in terms of size. This led to budgetary advantages to the rural families. First, the

²¹ Kiendel Burritt, “CGAP Case Study: Zoono’s Journey to Customer Centricity in Africa”, 1st June, 2018, p. 3.

²² Interview, Wamunyima, Loke Village, Kalabo, 25th March, 2018.

²³ Laura Deotti and Elisenda Estruch, *Addressing Rural Young Migration at its Root Causes: A Conceptual Framework*, (Rome: Food Agricultural Organisation, 2016), p. 35.

²⁴ Charles M. Becker, Christopher N. deBodisco and Andrew R. Morrison, “Urban Africa in Macroeconomic and Microeconomic Perspective: Issues and Options”, Discussion Paper, Report no UDD–97, World Bank, April, 1986, p. VI and Celnarova, “Zambian Breadwinners Leave for the City”, p. 20.

²⁵ Interview, Anaba, Zambia Sugar Company, Mazabuka, 19th July, 2018.

²⁶ Interview, Wamunyima, Loke Village, Kalabo, 25th March, 2018.

²⁷ Interview, Sitali L. Mwiya, Cane Cutter’s Wife, Namaweshi Village, Mongu, 21st March, 2018.

families' expenditures became smaller due to the absence of the migrant members. Second, the produce from agriculture and fishing became more than the families' normal levels of consumption.²⁸ In addition, the migrants' remittances could not be used up completely. There was surplus which was either saved or invested by the families.²⁹ Besides, Rachel Murphy, in the study done in China, states that "... labour migration ... enabled family members who remained at home to generate extra income from the absentees' land."³⁰ Similarly, in the Western Province some relatives of the migrants grew crops for sale from the migrants' land.³¹ The informants further stated that some people benefited from inheriting the belongings of migrant relatives who did not return home. Equally, the property of the single migrants, who only returned at the end of the contract in November was utilised by their relatives in the sending communities for their own benefit.³² Subsequently, these relatives' lives improved economically. According to Namakando Mukena, some people who remained in the home communities were former migrants who had invested their money in some projects and were doing fine. Others had never gone for labour migration but, as already specified, benefited from the migrants' property. Some of these people even bought items that were similar to that of the migrants.³³ Mwala Salinde, an informant, acknowledged that "I enjoyed using my cousin's cattle for kraal manure, sale of milk and ploughing other people's fields at a fee."³⁴ Another informant, Daniel Tawila, boasted that "I raised cash by selling fish caught using my brother's fish nets while he was away working at NSE."³⁵ Therefore, labour migration helped to empower people in the home communities.

Through wage labour at NSE, some people raised money for their tertiary education. After successfully completing grade 12, some people could not further their formal education due to financial constraints. These were young men who understood the financial problems faced by their families. Some of them were orphaned and lacked sponsorship.³⁶ Testimonies of three such young men who could not go for tertiary education due to lack of money were given. They worked as cane cutters at NSE for some years and raised enough money. Thereafter, they went to

²⁸ Jakobsen, "Impacts of Labour Migration", p. 24.

²⁹ Jakobsen, "Impacts of Labour Migration", p. 24.

³⁰ Rachel Murphy, *How Migrant Labour is Changing Rural China*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 79.

³¹ Interview, Wamunyima, Loke Village, Kalabo, 25th March, 2018.

³² Interview, Namakando Mukena, Subsistence Farmer, Mwandi Royal Village, Kalabo, 30th March, 2018.

³³ Interview, Mukena, Mwandi Royal Village, Kalabo, 30th March, 2018.

³⁴ Interview, Mwala Salinde, Subsistence Farmer, Mwandi Royal Village, Kalabo, 1st March, 2018.

³⁵ Interview, Daniel Tawila, Fisherman, Mashwana Village, Kalabo, 6th April, 2018.

³⁶ Interview, Anaba, Zambia Sugar Company, Mazabuka, 19th July, 2018.

colleges. At the time of this study, one worked for the Ministry of Agriculture as a Camp Officer, another as a Clinical Officer for the Ministry of Health (MoH) and the third as a Pastor in the Seventh-Day Adventist Church (SDA).³⁷ As a result of labour migration, the old and economically humble parents in rural communities were "... relieved ... from the burden of paying for their grown-up children's education."³⁸

Labour migration was a possible way of amassing wealth by able-bodied men. The returning migrants usually came back with cash and items from the receiving communities where they worked.³⁹ According to Comfort Siangazi, at the end of the contract in November, some cane cutters from NSE came with modern household items such as television sets, video players, radios, decoders and signal-dishes. They also bought power supplying instruments like batteries, inverters, solar-panels and sometimes, generators to be used with the above stated appliances where rural electrification had not yet reached. In addition, they purchased sofas, display-cabinets, beds, mattresses, blankets and clothing. Kitchen utensils such as pots and plates were also bought.⁴⁰ Some migrants arrived home with building materials like iron sheets and constructed big modern houses although those houses mostly had muddy walls.⁴¹ Besides the agricultural implements, for example ploughs bought in Mazabuka, others purchased livestock especially cattle upon returning home.⁴² Consequently, the socio-economic status improved in the communities where the migratory cane cutters came from.

Migratory wage employment at NSE promoted agriculture in the migrants' own communities. The calendar for the job of cane cutting compatibly fitted in that of the farming season. In the Western Province, this allowed some migrants to participate in farming upon returning from NSE although it was sometimes hindered by the floods and droughts.⁴³ Like cane cutters at

³⁷ Interview, Anaba, Zambia Sugar Company, Mazabuka, 19th July, 2018 and Interview, Doreen Mweetwa, Subsistence Farmer, Mala Village, Namwala, 10th June, 2018.

³⁸ Jakobsen, "Impacts of Labour Migration", p. 58.

³⁹ Jonathan Crush, Vincent Williams and Sally Peberty, "Migration in Southern Africa: A paper prepared for the Policy Analysis and Research Programme of the Global Commission on International Migration", September, 2005, p. 17.

⁴⁰ Interview, Comfort Siangazi, Cashier, ARK Investments, Mazabuka, 8th November, 2017.

⁴¹ Interview, Mukena, Mwandi Royal Village, Kalabo, 30th March, 2018.

⁴² Jakobsen, "Impacts of Labour Migration", p. 23.

⁴³ Interview, Mwiya, Namaweshi Village, Mongu, 21st March, 2018.

Triangle Sugar Estate (TSE) in Chiredzi invested their money into agriculture,⁴⁴ so did some migrants at NSE invest part of their earnings into farming.⁴⁵ This was possible because the migrants' families that remained in the sending communities, maintained ownership and usage of the ancestral land. So, land grabbing hardly existed.⁴⁶ According to Comfort Siangazi, every year some cane cutters bought agricultural inputs such as fertilizer and maize seed from shops in Mazabuka before leaving for their home communities at the end of the contract.⁴⁷ The agricultural implements and cattle bought through the wages promoted farming in the sending communities, too. In their home communities, some cane cutters also grew cassava and millet on the plateau as supplements to maize. Because maize did not do well in some parts of the province, some of the cane cutters invested their money in the growing of rice.⁴⁸ This, therefore, allowed some migrants to have doubled income: one from wage labour and another from agriculture.⁴⁹

Wage labour improved the migrants' accessibility to cash. Apart from the wages they earned monthly, migratory cane cutters easily accessed two types of financial aid. One of these was the wage advance which they obtained from their employer, ZSC, more especially at the beginning of the contract to enable them settle.⁵⁰ The other was the loan facility which they accessed from Bayport Financial Service (BFS), one of the micro financial lending institutions.⁵¹ However, they were only allowed to obtain loans that were payable within three months. This was because any loan beyond that period, risked not being recovered as the cane cutters' contract and payroll system only ran from April to November every year.⁵² It is, therefore, correct to state that the job of cane cutting gave the labour migrants better and faster cash access than entirely depending on income from subsistence agriculture which would take long to be accessed.

⁴⁴ Gukurume Simbarashe and Alimos Mushuku, "Surviving on the Margins: Experience of cane cutters working at Triangle Sugar Estate in Chiredzi, Masvingo", *International Journal of Politics and Good Governance*, 3, 3.2 Quarter II, (2012), p. 13.

⁴⁵ Interview, Samuel Simusamba, District Crop Officer, Kalabo, 4th April, 2018.

⁴⁶ Crush, Williams and Peberdy, "Migration in Southern Africa", p. 17.

⁴⁷ Interview, Siangazi, ARK Investments, Mazabuka, 8th November, 2017.

⁴⁸ Interview, Simusamba, Kalabo, 4th April, 2018 and G.M Inambao, Marketing Manager, APG Milling Company Limited, Mongu, 10th April, 2018.

⁴⁹ Simbarashe and Mushuku, "Surviving on the Margins", p. 13.

⁵⁰ Interview, Anaba, Zambia Sugar Company, Mazabuka, 19th July, 2018.

⁵¹ ZSC Ltd., Payslip for Sifanu Mwiya, June, 2014 and ZSC

⁵² Interview, Anaba, Zambia Sugar Company, Mazabuka, 19th July, 2018.

The recruitment and demobilisation of the migrants gave some groups of people in the sending communities the opportunities to benefit from labour migration. During recruitment, as earlier specified, owners of speed boats raised money by transporting cane cutters from Kalabo to Mongu. In the 1990s, the Zambia Postal Services (ZPS) owned barge also joined in the transportation of cane cutters from Kalabo to Mongu. It was safe and had the capacity to carry more people than the small ordinary speed boats. Despite being slow, customers preferred using the Post-boat to travelling by the small speed boats. Subsequently, ZPS benefited from labour migration even though this business led to a hostile competition between ZPS and the owners of the small boats.⁵³ Others raised money by selling foodstuffs to the aspirants of the job of cane cutting during the period of recruitment. The ritualists also took advantage of the desperation of the young men who sought the job of cane cutting and gave them lucky charms at a fee.⁵⁴ During the second phase of recruitment, migrants took advantage of the market opportunities in Mazabuka town. They realised cash from the sale of dried fish, rice and traditional mats which they carried as they went to Mazabuka for recruitment.⁵⁵ At the end of the contract, the returning migrants booked vehicles and boats while others, ox-charts to take them home after disembarking from the company hired buses in Mongu, depending on the location of their homes. This also benefited the local transporters.⁵⁶ Consequently, it is tenable to state that the job of cane cutting impacted positively on both the cane cutters and their home communities.

Migrant wage labour resulted into productive competition between the migrants and community members who remained home. Some informants stated that the households which had labour migrants acquired more property than those without.⁵⁷ However, in some cases, this was not true because there were households that possessed much property and yet they never participated in labour migration. Some members of such households were motivated by the items the migrants brought home on their return. As a result, they engaged in business ventures such as catching and selling of fish. Sometimes, they took fish for sale to other parts of Zambia like Copperbelt, Solwezi and Kasumbalesa (Zambia-Congo border) where fish sales were booming. On their

⁵³ Interview, Mukena, Greenwood Compound, Kalabo, 3rd March, 2018.

⁵⁴ Interview, Kawina B. Akakakulubelwa, Former Cane Cutter and Induna Walubita, Loke Village, Kalabo, 21st March, 2018.

⁵⁵ Peggy Muwanei Malesu, "Livelihood and Coping Strategies of Men and Women in the context of male Labour Migration. A Gender Perspective: A Case of Mazabuka and Kalabo Districts", MA Dissertation: University of Zambia, 2013, p. 40.

⁵⁶ Interview, Mukena, Greenwood Compound, Kalabo, 3rd March, 2018.

⁵⁷ Interview, Kekelwa, Nayaka Royal Village, Kalabo, 21st March, 2018.

return, they emulated the migrants by buying the same household items the migrants had. Other times, the non-migrants bought items from some cane cutters who were fond of selling items just before they went back for wage labour to NSE.⁵⁸ This, too, was a positive impact labour migration had on the home areas of cane cutters in the Western Province up to 2017, the year this study ended.

The developments in the mode of payment of wages at NSE gave the migrants increased security and access to wages. Even though some banks such as Zambia National Commercial (ZANACO) Bank introduced Automated Teller Machines (ATMs) as early as 1992, Mazabuka had none because they were still scarce in the country. Besides, ZSC had not yet begun paying wages to its cane cutters through the bank until 2013.⁵⁹ Therefore, throughout the first phase, cane cutters queued up for their wages at the company offices during the pay days. However, in the second phase, there was a shift in the mode of payment of cane cutters' wages. They were all asked to open wage accounts with banks of their choice. They were then given visa cards which enabled them to withdraw cash from the ATMs.⁶⁰ The visa cards also enabled them to draw their wages from any bank and place provided there were ATMs. The use of bank accounts and visa cards secured migrants from robbery and general loss of money. During off-crop, the cane cutters' accounts did not attract any maintenance charges. The charges resumed, the following year, after the renewal of the contract, without any accumulation.⁶¹ Some of the cane cutters travelled from the rural villages to towns to withdraw money from their bank accounts using the visa cards during the off-crop period.⁶²

Labour migration positively permeated all the aspects of people's lives in the sending communities. The integration of labour migration into the African culture had begun during the pre-colonial period, continued during the colonial era, and into the post-colonial times.⁶³ During the post-colonial period, "... labour migration ... [was deeply] integrated in [African] rural society."⁶⁴ During recruitment, most men passed through rituals to enable them be contracted for

⁵⁸ Interview, Mukena, Mwandu Royal Village, Kalabo, 30th March, 2018.

⁵⁹ Interview, Mukena, Greenwood Compound, Kalabo, 3rd March, 2018.

⁶⁰ Interview, Robert Mutale, Bank Manager, Barclays Bank, Mazabuka, 20th July, 2018; Interview, Anaba, Zambia Sugar Company, Mazabuka, 19th July, 2018.

⁶¹ Interview, Mutale, Barclays Bank, Mazabuka, 20th July, 2018.

⁶² Interview, Wamunyima, Loke Village, Kalabo, 25th March, 2018.

⁶³ Chondoka, "Labour Migration", pp. 53-54.

⁶⁴ Ito, "The Role of Labour Migration", p. 46.

the job of cane cutting.⁶⁵ Leadership based on typical model of African village administration was seen in the barracks, too. At Kaleya Smallholders Company Limited (KASCOL) there were some indunas who settled disputes among the cane cutters. At NSE, there were captains, but they had the same responsibilities with the indunas at KASCOL.⁶⁶ As seen from previous studies undertaken, labour migration became a rite of passage for all young men.⁶⁷ In the Western Province, the returning migrant youths commanded a lot of respect and had a raised socio-economic status in the communities more especially in the 1980s and 1990s. They were also no longer regarded as young but fully grown-up men upon returning home. As a result, they easily found young women to marry. For the migrant husbands, the period of absence from their wives helped in terms of family planning and child spacing.⁶⁸ According to Kwibisa F. Mukena, songs praising NSE and the migrants were sung and played widely on Xylophones, *Tung'ombio* (Tulimba) and drums in the province during the 1980s and 1990s. The songs were accompanied by night dances during leisure time, girls' initiation ceremonies, weddings and when traditional healers and diviners performed.⁶⁹ Sifanu Mwiya gave two examples of such Lozi songs and their translations as follows:

Song number 1:

Silozi	English
Bo mulatiwa habayo; baile kwa Nakambala.	My lover is not here; he has gone to Nakambala.
Habana kuyo cona onafa bayo kuta.	He has not gone forever, soon he will be back.
Bo mulatiwa habayo; baile kwa Nakambala.	My lover is not here; he has gone to Nakambala.
Habana kuyo cona onafa bayo kuta.	He has not gone forever, soon he will be back.

Song number 2:

Silozi	English
(Mitangana mwayawa, mwayawa shuka kwa Mazabuka.) x 2	(Young men you are missing, you are missing sugar in Mazabuka.) x 2

⁶⁵ Interview, Akakakulubelwa, Loke Village, Kalabo, 21st March, 2018.

⁶⁶ Interview, Matepeta Kamilatu, Cane Cutter, Kaleya Smallholders Company Limited, Mazabuka, 10th November, 2017; Interview, Mukena, Greenwood Compound, Kalabo, 3rd March, 2018.

⁶⁷ Patrick Harries, *Work, Culture, and Identity Migrant Labourers in Mozambique and South Africa, c.1860-1910*, (London: James Currey Ltd, 1994), p. 157.

⁶⁸ Interview, Akakakulubelwa, Loke Village, Kalabo, 21st March, 2018.

⁶⁹ Interview, Mukena, Greenwood Compound, Kalabo, 3rd March, 2018.

(Mitangana mwayawa, mwayawa shuka,
mwayawa shuka kwa Mazabuka.) x 2

(Young men you are missing, you are missing
sugar, you are missing sugar in Mazabuka.) x 2⁷⁰

In addition to the songs, materials brought by cane cutters such as cane knives or swords, Nakambala work-suits and words like *Nzimbe* in reference to sugar cane were commonly used in the Western Province.⁷¹ This, subsequently, shows how the Lozi culture was positively infiltrated with features of labour migration.

3.3 Negative impact of Labour Migration

Labour migration negatively affected the sending communities as most of the labourers returned home with barely any skill or knowledge acquired from where they had worked. This was because the majority of the labour migrants were employed to do low jobs that hardly offered them opportunities to learn any skill. Although scholars like Tine Davids and Ruerd Ruben jointly refer to labour migration as “brain gain”⁷² while Manolo Abella as “conduit” for new ideas and knowledge,⁷³ other scholars refute these views. Savina Ammassori, for instance, argues that labour migrants did not acquire any essential skill or knowledge. However, if they did, then it was of less benefit to their communities of origin because it could not be applied to improve the living standards.⁷⁴ Furthermore, labour migrants often failed to find jobs when they returned because the work they did in the far communities was not corresponding to the jobs offered in their sending communities.⁷⁵ Due to this, Rachel Murphy argues that “... it is difficult to assess accurately the extent to which a migrant ... obtained skills ... [and] knowledge”⁷⁶ In addition, some informants stated that at NSE only few cane cutters with school certificates acquired skills in guidance and counselling services. Therefore, only these few migrants benefited from the skills as some of them were employed by the MoH in clinics as already explained. The rest were men with low levels of formal education whose area of concentration

⁷⁰ Interview, Mukena, Greenwood Compound, Kalabo, 3rd March, 2018.

⁷¹ Interview, Mubita Mulope, Resident of Lusaka, Lusaka, 11th April, 2018.

⁷² Tine Davids and Ruerd Ruben, “Return Migration and Development: A Complicated Arriage (Migration Trajectories)”, p. 93. <http://hdl.handle.net/2066/68720> ... [Accessed on 20. 05. 2018].

⁷³ Manolo Abella, et al., *Labour Migration Policy and Management: Training Modules*, (Geneva: International Labour Organisation, 2005), p. 12.

⁷⁴ Savina Ammassori, *International Migration Papers 72E, Migration Management and Development Policies: Maximizing the benefits of International Migration in West Africa*, (Geneva: International Labour Office, 2006), p. 7.

⁷⁵ Ammassori, *International Migration*, p. 7.

⁷⁶ Murphy, *Migrant Labour*, p. 126.

was only the job of cane cutting which had skills that could not be applied in the home communities. Therefore, the only thing they commonly could do was either to farm, fish, sell second-hand clothes or repeatedly seek the job of cane cutting at NSE.⁷⁷

Cane cutting was a difficult and hazardous job. The labour migrants employed to do that job faced unbearable working conditions. It was because of such conditions that in the early 1970s, the recruited cane cutters from Zambian provinces other than Western deserted NSE soon after their arrival.⁷⁸ During the cane harvesting process, cane cutters were subjected to a prolonged working period of about eight hours daily under the scorching sun. They only broke off for breakfast and lunch in the morning and afternoon, respectively.⁷⁹ According to the management, at NSE, each cane cutter was expected to harvest eight tonnes of sugar cane daily,⁸⁰ which was unbearable, too. Although cane cutters were provided with Personal Protective Equipment (PPE), they usually removed it. They complained that the kit was uncomfortable to work with. As a result, they experienced pain in the eyes due to ash, blisters on the hands and other body injuries coming from the machetes. Working under the sun for a longer time also led to fatigue.⁸¹ Because the standard cane harvesting demanded that cutting be done from the ground level, cane cutters throughout the day were compelled to bend between the spinal column and the lower limbs at degrees less than the right angle. This put them at a high risk of having muscle-skeletal pains and even swollen backs sometimes.⁸² Besides, lodged sugar canes rendered difficulties during harvesting. Cane cutters suffered picking such canes during the cutting process. Therefore, their movement and rate of harvesting canes were affected.⁸³ According to some studies conducted elsewhere, cutting cane for a continued period of more than eight months increased the risk of stress for cane cutters.⁸⁴ Further research on the amount of stress suffered has shown that:

⁷⁷ Interview, Akakakulubelwa, Loke Village, Kalabo, 21st March, 2018.

⁷⁸ Kalyalya, "History of Nakambala Estate", p. 39.

⁷⁹ G.B. Spur, M. Barac-Nieto and M.G. Maksud, "Efficiency and Daily work effort Sugar cane cutter", *British Journal of Industrial Medicine*, 34, (1997), p. 137.

⁸⁰ Interview, Anaba, Zambia Sugar Company, Mazabuka, 19th July, 2018.

⁸¹ Peter Braithwaite, "Harvest and Haulage", in Jan Meyer (ed.), *Good Management Practices Manual for the Cane Sugar Industry (Final)*, (Johannesburg: PGBI Sugar and Bio Energy, 2011), pp. 404-05.

⁸² Interview, Kamilatu, Kaleya Smallholders Company Limited, Mazabuka, 10th November, 2017.

⁸³ P. Dzapatsva, "The Effects of Precipitation on the Sugar-Cane Supply Chain of Sezela and Umzimkulu", Master of Science Dissertation: University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 2015, p. 20.

⁸⁴ R.M.A. Priuli, M. Silvia de Moraes and R.M. Chiaravalloti, "The Impact of Stress on the Health of Sugar Cane Cutters", *Saude Publica*, 48, 2, (2014), p. 4.

... a higher proportion of sugar cane cutters were in the exhaustion phase in the post-harvest period, indicating that their work ... produce[d] increased physical and mental attrition ... The consequences of excessive stress range[d] from gastric ulcers), dermatological problems (herpes, dermatitis, urticarial psoriasis and vitiligo) arterial hypertension, early ageing, depression, anxiety and, in rare cases sudden death.⁸⁵

With health problems, cane cutters would not perform some socio-economic activities at home the way they did during the years preceding their engagement in the job of cane cutting.

Some labour migrants had a tendency of not returning back to their sending community after the expiry of their contract. They even lost ties with their families and married local women in Mazabuka and yet some of them had left wives where they came from.⁸⁶ Celine Mazars, Reiko Matsuyama, Jo Rispoli and Jo Vearey, in the study they jointly conducted in South Africa, argue that some migrants did not go back to their original homes except when they became sick mainly due to Human Immuno-deficiency Virus (HIV)/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS). The scholars argue that, such migrants gave a huge burden of being nursed and buried after dying, to the people in the home community whom they earlier had abandoned.⁸⁷ Similarly, at NSE, some cane cutters did not return to their villages at the end of their contract until they faced a problem or sickness which compelled them to go back to the sending communities.⁸⁸ Therefore, it would be correct to state that some of the men who sought wage labour at NSE abandoned and made their families back home suffer severely.

As young men who sought wage labour in the colonial era suffered from covering long journeys on foot into unknown lands away from their homes,⁸⁹ so did the migratory cane cutters walk long distances from their villages to the recruitment centres in the Western Province. This mainly happened during the first phase where the recruitment was concentrated on the Western Province. At first when Mongu was the only recruitment centre, men who wished to be recruited

⁸⁵ Priuli, Moraes and Chiaravalloti, "The Impact of Stress", p. 4.

⁸⁶ Interview, Akakakulubelwa, Loke Village, Kalabo, 21st March, 2018.

⁸⁷ Celine Mazars, Reiko Matsuyama, Jo Rispoli and Jo Vearey, *The Well-Being of Economic Migrants in South Africa: Health, Gender and Development, Working Paper for the World Migration Report*, (Geneva: International Organisation for Migration, 2013), p. 32.

⁸⁸ Interview, Wamunyima, Loke Village, Kalabo, 25th March, 2018.

⁸⁹ Kiwanuka, Semakula, *From Colonialism to Independence: A Reappraisal of Colonial Policy and African Reactions 1870-1960*, (Nairobi: Kenya Literature Bureau, 1982), p. 40 and Fergus Macpherson, "The British Annexation of Northern Zambesia (1884-1924) Vol. 1& 2", MA Dissertation: University of Edinburgh, 1976, p. 365.

as cane cutters walked from their remote homes in their districts and then travelled to Mongu by vehicles while others by either canoes or speed-boats. There were also some men who directly walked to Mongu from their villages. When the recruitment was decentralised further into Kalabo and Senanga, some young men who sought the job of cane cutting travelled from rural areas to these district recruitment centres.⁹⁰ A supplementary story on such suffering given by Lufwendo Mwangala was as follows:

In 1991, after listening to the radio and getting the information that Zambia Sugar Company was going to recruit cane cutters in Mongu at the stadium, my two friends and I left Mulembi village in Lukulu district for Mongu. We passed through some places where we were not known. With painful and swollen legs, we arrived in Mongu after walking for two days. Although we were physically exhausted, we had no option but to walk right to the stadium to join others who were also seeking the job of cane cutting. Finally, we were recruited and transported to Nakambala Sugar Estate.⁹¹

Seeking the job of cane cutting subjected some young men to severe suffering as they covered long journeys on foot from their villages to centres of recruitment in the Western Province sometimes for days.

The job of migratory cane cutting affected the activeness of village life in the migrants' communities. Socially, the absence of the young men resulted into moments of boredom and loneliness.⁹² When the resourceful and innovative young men left for wage labour to NSE especially in the years between 1970 and 2000, the rate of social activities in the villages declined. The contributions by some gifted young men who coined songs and played musical instruments such as xylophones, *tung'ombyo* and drums during leisure dances at night, girls' initiation ceremonies and weddings were missed when they left for wage labour.⁹³ When they went back home, they were no longer interested in participating in some cultural activities. Communal night drumming, playing of xylophones and dancing were replaced by music from radios and watching television and video films in some migrants' homes. Economically, labour migration created remittance dependency syndrome in some villages. Both migrants' and their

⁹⁰ Interview, Lufwendo Mwangala, Former Cane Cutter, Mulembi Village, Lukulu, 30th March, 2018.

⁹¹ Interview, Mwangala, Mulembi Village, Lukulu, 30th March, 2018.

⁹² G.H.N. Haantobolo, "Ecology, Agriculture, and Proletarianisation: A Study of the Sinazongwe Area in the Gwembe Valley of the Southern Province of Zambia: 1900-1989", MA Dissertation: University of Zambia, 1991, p. 65.

⁹³ Interview, Interview, Mukena, Greenwood Compound, Kalabo, 3rd March, 2018.

relatives' reliance on wages prevented craft activities such as pottery, basket and mat-making in some villages. There were slim opportunities of passing the crafts to the younger generations, too.⁹⁴ This, therefore, affected the traditional culture and industry in the sending communities.

Child development and education in the sending communities were undermined by labour migration. Fathers acted as models of what sort of husbands their girl children were going to have in future. To boys, fathers were models that prepared them into responsible men in the communities. Therefore, fathers' absence deprived the children of the models that were supposed to assist them be well nurtured.⁹⁵ Furthermore, fathers were needed because they fostered the moral development of the children. The period they were out for wage labour retarded children's moral development process which had a negative bearing on the children's education.⁹⁶ The absence of fathers also offered adolescent children chances of emulating unwanted behaviour which did not fit education. They did not only become too difficult for their mothers to control at home but also unruly at school. This compromised their performance at school.⁹⁷ Worse-still, school going children were sometimes left behind in the hands of relatives who did not properly take care of them when their mothers visited the migrant husbands in Mazabuka.⁹⁸

The seasonal migration of men for wage labour affected family life in the sending communities. The migrants themselves were also not spared by that. They were faced with continued pain of leaving their belongings in the hands of people who misused and destroyed them. They equally had unrelieved pain of missing their homes and families.⁹⁹ As earlier stated by Ronald P. Mazibuko, in the study he did in South Africa, the moral nurturing and development of the children of migrants were affected. They grew as if they were single orphaned children who only had mothers.¹⁰⁰ The husbands' absence also robbed marriage of its happiness. Labour migrants' wives lacked moral and social support when faced with difficult times and situations; hence some became stressed and depressed. The loneliness they faced also made them feel as though

⁹⁴ Interview, Interview, Akakakulubelwa, Loke Village, Kalabo, 21st March, 2018.

⁹⁵ Ronald P. Mazibuko, "The Effects of Migrant Labour on the Family", M Ed. Dissertation: University of South Africa, 2000, pp. 81-82.

⁹⁶ D.B. Linny, *The Father. His Role in Child Development*, (Monterey: Broos/ Cole Publishing Co., 1974), p. 199.

⁹⁷ Mazibuko, "The Effects of Migrant Labour", p. 121.

⁹⁸ Interview, Mwiya, Cane Cutter's Wife, Namaweshi Village, Mongu, 21st March, 2018.

⁹⁹ Abella et al, *Labour migration Policy*, p. 12.

¹⁰⁰ Mazibuko, "The Effects of Migrant Labour", p. 112.

they were widowed or divorced.¹⁰¹ This was also true about labour migration system at NSE. To be with their spouses, migrants needed to ask their wives to travel to Mazabuka. However, the company did not allow migrants' wives in the barracks. Therefore, they needed to rent houses outside the barracks, which was an extra expenditure on their part.¹⁰² When going to Mazabuka, the migrants' wives faced the problem of where to leave their children. Subsequently, this sometimes hindered the visits from materialising.¹⁰³ The difficulties in visiting each other led to prolonged periods of couples not being together. This situation further resulted into cases of infidelity at both ends. It also led to high risks of spreading STIs including HIV/AIDS.¹⁰⁴ Juan Palerm, Tonnis Sierevogel and Munguzwe Hichaambwa jointly argue that there are no statistics for the prevalence of HIV/AIDS at NSE. However, it is estimated that 75 percent of death at NSE, was HIV/AIDS related.¹⁰⁵ Stories of migrants who cohabited in Mazabuka and labour migrants' wives who had sexual affairs with their husbands' close relatives at home and others who became pregnant and had babies, with men other than their husbands, at the time their husbands returned from Mazabuka were common at the time of this study. The infidelity and related cases especially on the part of wives of migrants resulted into divorces.¹⁰⁶

Labour migration led to momentary rural-urban drifts. Some of the young men remained in towns after finding wage labour. At NSE, some of the cane cutters did not return to their home communities at the end of the contract. Instead, they settled in Mazabuka town permanently.¹⁰⁷ Those who were married, only went to fetch their families from the villages. Upon returning home at the end of the contract, other migrants shifted to the urban areas of the Western Province where they acquired pieces of land and built houses. They claimed that they were no longer comfortable with rural life.¹⁰⁸ Some of them shifted because they had problems with their relatives over the property left behind by their late parents. This ignited some conflicts among

¹⁰¹ Mazibuko, "The Effects of Migrant Labour", p. 117.

¹⁰² Wilma S. Nchito, "Migratory Patterns in Small Towns: The Case of Mazabuka and Kalomo in Zambia", *International Institute for Environment and Development*, 22, 1, (2010), p. 102.

¹⁰³ Interview, Mwiya, Namaweshi Village, Mongu, 21st March, 2018.

¹⁰⁴ Juan Palerm, Tonnis Sierevogel and Munguzwe Hichaambwa, "Strategic Environment Assessment of the Sugar Sector in Zambia", Lusaka: Agreco Consortium and European Union, January, 2010, p. 25.

¹⁰⁵ Palerm, Sierevogel and Hichaambwa, "The Sugar Sector in Zambia", p. 24.

¹⁰⁶ Interview, Mumeka, Ng'unyama Primary School, Kalabo, 1st March, 2018.

¹⁰⁷ Nchito, "Migratory Patterns in Small Towns", p. 102.

¹⁰⁸ Interview, Mukena, Greenwood Compound, Kalabo, 3rd March, 2018.

the families, which compelled some of the young men to return to Mazabuka or settle permanently in any town in the Western Province.¹⁰⁹

The absence of some men in the rural communities affected the decision-making process. When men left for wage labour, children, women and the aged, in some cases, assumed decision making positions such as household heads.¹¹⁰ They had difficulties in handling issues which required urgency and migrants' attention. Reliance on correspondence through letter writing or waiting for the migrants' return at the end of the contract became late and hardly redeemed the situations in the times precedent to the introduction of the cellular networks.¹¹¹ In modern times, people in sending communities received guidance and permission to act on some matters by their migrant leaders through cellular phones.¹¹² However, the use of cellular phones was sometimes unreliable because of unavailability of talk time, network and means of charging phone batteries in some rural areas. Despite being guided through the cellular phones, labour migrants complained that some women did not carry out the assignments according to the instructions given by the migrant husbands.¹¹³ Mandende Wamunyima, a cane cutter, bemoaned that:

I left the building plan and materials for the construction of a house before going to Nakambala Sugar Estate for wage labour. I kept on phoning both my wife and the builder until the completion of the house. Surprisingly, when I came back home at the end of the contract, I found a house which was different from the one on the plan. My wife said that she asked the builder to make alterations to the house in order to save some materials for the construction of another house which was contrary to the programme. I was disappointed and concluded not to be involving her in serious projects in my absence.¹¹⁴

Due to the blame received from their migrant husbands, some wives stated that decision-making, at either household level or beyond, should be a male responsibility.¹¹⁵ Therefore, in the absence of men, labour migration subjected weak members of the sending communities to a burden of decision-making of which they did not do effectively.

¹⁰⁹ Interview, Interview, Wamunyima, Loke Village, Kalabo, 25th March, 2018.

¹¹⁰ Peggy Muwanei Malesu, "Livelihood and Coping Strategies of Men and Women in the context of male Labour Migration. A Gender Perspective: A Case of Mazabuka and Kalabo Districts", MA Dissertation: University of Zambia, 2013, p. 3.

¹¹¹ Interview, Mwangala, Mulembi Village, Lukulu, 30th March, 2018.

¹¹² Nchito, "Migratory Patterns in Small Towns", p. 102.

¹¹³ Interview, Mwiya, Namaweshi Village, Mongu, 21st March, 2018.

¹¹⁴ Interview, Wamunyima, Loke Village, Kalabo, 25th March, 2018.

¹¹⁵ Interview, Mwiya, Cane cutter's Wife, Namaweshi Village, Mongu, 21st March, 2018.

The seeking of wage labour away from home by the energetic men increased the workloads of the people who remained in the sending communities. Since the workloads in some households were not proportionate to the available human resource, work targets were not promptly completed. This reduced productivity in some communities. This situation also led to the abuse of the available community members. Instead of leaving the share of work which used to be done by the labour migrants un-attended to, the non-migrants took it over. This increased the labour loads for the people at home.¹¹⁶ In a study conducted in South Africa, Ronald P. Mazibuko argues that "... when the husband-father is absent ... the wife-mother often finds it necessary to assume some of his tasks."¹¹⁷ This was also true about some of the Nakambala cane cutter's wife in the Western Province.¹¹⁸ Taking over such tasks, increased women's work loads. Alongside the burden of taking care of the children, they headed the households, as stated already. However, they did insufficient work more especially in the farming fields.¹¹⁹ In addition, the aged, children and women suffered more from the evils of labour migration. They did work that was beyond their capabilities.¹²⁰ According to Sitali L. Mwiya, the aged, children and women sometimes herded cattle in the absence of the male migrants. This exhausted them and specifically affected the children's education. In some cases, women were also forced to divide their time between tending cattle, working in the farming fields and handling the kitchen issues. This saw them returning from the farming fields late.¹²¹

It can also be argued that labour migration contributed to high rates of crime in the Zambia's Western Province in the 1990s and 2000s. Because of the Western Province's proximity to Angola, a country in which there was a civil war, the province recorded instances where armed criminals terrorised the communities. The criminals illegally acquired military weapons from the late Jonas Savimbi's UNITA rebels and other Angolans such as refugees. Though the firearms were mainly the Automat Kalashnikova 47 (AK 47), there were also some home-made

¹¹⁶ Jakobsen, "Impacts of Labour Migration", p. 57; Crush, Williams and Peberly, "Migration in Southern Africa", p. 15.

¹¹⁷ Mazibuko, "The Effects of Migrant Labour", p. 115.

¹¹⁸ Malesu, "Coping Strategies in Labour Migration", p. 3.

¹¹⁹ Pamela White et al, *Agriculture Global Practice Technical Assistance Paper, Linking Women With Agribusiness in Zambia Corporate Social Responsibility, Creating Shared Value, and Human Rights Approaches*, (Washington: World Bank Group, 2015), p. 30; J.H.A. Van den Akker, "Zambia: Energy in the Rural Economy: A Pilot Study of Possibilities of Improving the Energy Infrastructure of Farming Households in Magoye area", MSc Dissertation: Eindhoven University of Technology, 1989, p. 97.

¹²⁰ Jakobsen, "Impacts of Labour Migration", p. 57.

¹²¹ Interview, Mwiya, Cane Cutter's Wife, Namaweshi Village, Mongu, 21st March, 2018.

firearms.¹²² The acquired Angolan firearms were commonly known as *Karavinas*. With these weapons, the province faced increased cases of robbery, killings and poaching. Amongst the targets were game rangers, suspected witches and wizards, business persons and cane cutters. Prior to the year 2016, people living between Mongu and Kalabo, commonly used paddled boats which took two to three days to reach the destinations because there was no road connecting the two districts yet. The armed criminals waylaid along rivers, robbed and killed people at night. In the villages, various people including former cane cutters were attacked for cattle and modern household goods. The most vulnerable people were the returning cane cutters. They were followed along the water routes and robbed of their items. Cane cutters who safely reached their destinations, met their fate at home. They were robbed at their homes.¹²³ Chasalila Manduwani, an informant, who survived such attacks at home explained that:

My younger brother and I, both single, were attacked at night by armed robbers a few days after we returned from Nakambala Sugar Estate. After shooting three times in the air, the robbers broke the window and shot severally in our house through the window. Assuming that we were dead, they opened the window to collect the items we laboured for. We defended ourselves using the spears which we kept in the house for our security. The criminals fled after realising that they had no more bullets remaining. We, then, reported the matter to the police. Soon after that incident, for our safety, we permanently shifted to Kalabo town.¹²⁴

To address this issue, various solutions were sought. At individual level, some people acquired the same weapons the criminals had.¹²⁵ In addition, the already existing African tradition of keeping spears and axes in the houses at night for people's security was reinforced in the villages. Furthermore, the Barotse Royal Establishment (BRE) requested the Zambia Police (ZP) Service to secure people's lives in the province.¹²⁶ For the area between Mongu and Kalabo, ZP conducted daily day-time patrols using speed-boats except on weekends. Returning cane cutters as well as business persons were advised by the state police to move in groups along Mongu-Kalabo water routes to guard against the risky attacks on the way.¹²⁷ In a continued fight against crime, ZP in the province engaged the Amnesty "... buy-back programme where [money] ...

¹²² Peter Cross et al., *The Law of Guns: An audit of firearms Control legislation in the SADC region*, (Pretoria and London: Safer Africa and Safer World, 2003), p. 8

¹²³ Interview, Thomas Mpongwe, District Inspector, District Police Service Headquarters, Mongu, 9th April, 2018.

¹²⁴ Interview, Chasalila Manduwani, Former Cane Cutter, Wenela Compound, Kalabo, 3rd March, 2018.

¹²⁵ Cross et al., *The Law of Guns*, p. 8.

¹²⁶ Interview, V.M. Lisibani, Induna Nambula, Tungi Area, Mongu, 9th April, 2018.

¹²⁷ Interview, Mpongwe, District Police Service Headquarters, Mongu, 9th April, 2018.

was paid [to possessors] per firearm [surrendered].”¹²⁸ A total of 1,202 illegally owned guns were recovered from the Western Province by ZP between the year 2010 and 2017.¹²⁹ The reduction in the illegal possession of firearms made the communities in the province safer places for all people including the cane cutters.¹³⁰ Besides the strategies above, the opening of Mongu-Kalabo road in 2016 aided to reduce crime. Using the new road, cane cutters and business persons reached their destinations the same day unlike in the previous years when they used water routes.¹³¹ Owing to these efforts, cane cutters and other persons in the province were able to travel safely.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter has traced the impact of labour migration, both positive and negative, on the cane cutters and their sending communities. Positively, the chapter has shown that labour migration enabled migrants to find employment which served as a source of income. They also obtained loans and wage advances from BFS and ZSC, respectively. Through the remittances of the monthly 10 percent of their wages to NAPSA by ZSC, their social security was guaranteed. On the negative impact, the chapter has indicated that the majority of cane cutters did not obtain any essential skill to benefit their home communities except few who were trained in guidance and counselling. The hazardous job of cane cutting also made the migrants susceptible to ill-health which affected their performance when they returned home. The migrants’ separation from their wives resulted into infidelity and spread of HIV/AIDS. Additionally, some momentary attacks on cane cutters, experienced in some parts of the Western Province, made them feel insecure in their home communities. Lastly, this study has shown that although the job of cane cutting was a beneficial source of income, it also negatively impacted on the cane cutters and their home communities in various ways.

¹²⁸ Cross et al., *The Law of Guns*, p. 8.

¹²⁹ Zambia Police Service, Department of Public Relations’ Report on Firearms Recovery, 2017, p. 1.

¹³⁰ Interview, Assitant Superintendent Godfrey Chilabi, Assistant Public Relations Officer, Zambia Police Service Headquarters, Lusaka, 13th July, 2018.

¹³¹ Interview, Fridah Luhila, District Commissioner, Kalabo, 4th April, 2018.

CHAPTER FOUR

REACTION OF ZAMBIA SUGAR COMPANY AND MAZABUKA TOWN COMMUNITY TO THE MIGRATORY CANE CUTTERS

4.1 Introduction

There has been some scholarly advocacy on the reaction of both the employing organisations and people in the host communities to labour migrants. Scholars such as Jonathan Crush and Vincent Williams together show that in most of the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) countries, the host employing companies and their supervising officers often reacted to the migrants' presence by ill-treating them.¹ The International Labour Organisation (ILO) adds that people in some host communities exhibited xenophobic reactions towards labour migrants whom they regarded as competitors in many areas of life.² Similarly, when the migrants came to Mazabuka to seek employment as cane cutters, they became actors in various aspects of life. Their activities and presence influenced the major employer, Zambia Sugar Company (ZSC) and also the host Mazabuka town community to be reactive. The chapter analyses the reaction of both ZSC and Mazabuka town community to the migratory cane cutters from 1968, the year ZSC began to recruit cane cutters.³ The chapter states that the reaction of ZSC and Mazabuka town community was a way of responding to both the migrants' activities and presence in Mazabuka.

4.2 Zambia Sugar Company's Reaction to the Migratory Cane Cutters

Between 1968 and 2017, there were many activities in which the migratory cane cutters employed by ZSC at Nakambala Sugar Estate (NSE) engaged. These activities created stimuli to which ZSC had reacted to in different ways. The following are some of them.

¹ Jonathan Crush and Vincent Williams, "Southern African Migration Programme: Labour Migration Trends and Policies in Southern Africa", Samp Policy Brief No. 23, March, 2010, pp. 35-36.

² ILO, *How Immigrants Contribute to South Africa's Economy*, (Paris: OECD Publishing, 2018), p. 55.

³ Joy H. Kalyalya, "A History of Nakambala Sugar Estate, 1964- 1984", MA Dissertation: University of Zambia, 1988, p. 39.

4.2.1 ZSC's Partiality for Cane Cutters from the Western Province

Key in the chain reactions of ZSC towards the labour migrants it recruited was the development of the policy of preference. Manolo Abella and others jointly explain that employers in some host communities had relied on migrants to meet labour shortages.⁴ In Mazabuka, the local people and those from provinces other than Western shunned the job of cane cutting. As earlier stated, ZSC turned to the Western Province where from inception, men had been a reliable source of man power for the job of cane cutting.⁵ In reaction to the reliability and commitment of men from the Western Province, ZSC developed a policy of preference in which it offered them more job opportunities during the recruitment of cane cutters. It also maintained a database for the same experienced cane cutters.⁶ During the first phase of recruitment, the company even repeatedly recruited cane cutters from that province and then transported them to NSE. At the end of the contract, they were returned on hired buses. Even in the centralised phase where the local people were engaged, more recruitment opportunities were still given to migrants from the Western Province. They were also the only ones taken back home on hired buses during the centralised phase of recruitment. The rest of the cane cutters were just given money for bus fares.⁷ It is, therefore, tenable to argue that the preference which ZSC had for cane cutters from the Western Province was an appreciative response to their commitment and willingness to work.

4.2.2 Restricted Entry of Females into ZSC Barrack-rooms

ZSC introduced a strict rule which declared the cane cutters' residential barracks out of bounds for females in reaction to migrants who had a habit of sneaking in sexual partners into the barracks.⁸ The company designed each barrack-room to only accommodate two cane cutters. However, some cane cutters' levels of compliance to the rule put in place were low. They abrogated the rule by bringing in some sexual partners into the barrack-rooms. As a result, they

⁴ Manolo Abella et al, *Labour Migration Policy and Management: Training Modules*, (Geneva: International Labour Organisation, 2005), p. 13.

⁵ Fison Mujenja and Charlotte Wonani, *Long-term Outcomes of Agriculture Investments: Lessons from Zambia*, (London: International Institute for Environment and Development, 2012), pp. 40-41.

⁶ Chrispine R. Matenga and Munguzwe Hichaambwa, "Impacts of Land and Agricultural Commercialisation on Local Livelihoods in Zambia: Evidence from three model", *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 44, 3, (2017), p. 585.

⁷ Interview, Namasiku Anaba, Human Resource Manager, Zambia Sugar Company, Mazabuka, 19th July, 2018.

⁸ Wilma S. Nchito, "Migratory Patterns in Small Towns: The Case of Mazabuka and Kalomo in Zambia", *International Institute for Environment and Development*, 22, 1, (2010), p. 102.

disturbed the colleagues they shared the rooms with.⁹ To curb such a disturbing practice, the company management reacted by declaring instant dismissal of cane cutters who were caught with sexual partners in the rooms.¹⁰ According to Comfort Siangazi, cane cutters who wished to stay with their wives or local sexual partners left the company barracks on their own to rent houses in Mazabuka town.¹¹ Therefore, the stance taken by the company management led to order among the cane cutters in the barracks.

4.2.3 Industrial Unrest at NSE

The migratory cane cutters' participation in strikes at NSE starting in the 1970s often contributed to industrial unrest.¹² This compelled ZSC to react to the strikers in different ways. For example, in 1979, there were cane cutters' stoppages caused by the grievances over the daily assigned tasks.¹³ Coupled with ZSC's failure to agree with the union officials over the K60.00 increment, cane cutters went on strike.¹⁴ The company reacted to the labour withdrawal by dismissing 12 cane cutters, suspected to be ring leaders.¹⁵ Furthermore, in March, 1980, the striking cane cutters damaged ZSC office windows, blocked and stoned the estate Managing Director's car badly. The violent strike was caused by lack of consensus between the employees and ZSC on the implementation of the new wage rate of K156.00 per annum or K13.00 per month.¹⁶ As an arbitrator, the Ministry of Labour asked ZSC to pay arrears to the workers at a new rate effective January, 1980. However, ZSC was reluctant to effect the agreement. This led to the strike.¹⁷ The management engaged the union leaders to convince the strikers to come to terms with the company. When the efforts proved futile, it involved the Zambia Police (ZP) Service that tried to stop the strikers using tear gasses but that did not help. Worse-still, the cane cutters went ahead to burn the company's cane field of about 65 hectares amounting to K60, 000.00, then. Seeing

⁹Interview, Kashwashwa C Kalimbwe, Mumbanyu Village, Kalabo, 1st March, 2018 and Interview, Anaba, Zambia Sugar Company, Mazabuka, 19th July, 2018.

¹⁰ Interview, Sifanu Mwiya, Cane Cutter, Namaweshi Village, Mongu, 21st March, 2018.

¹¹ Interview, Comfort Siangazi, Cashier, ARK Investments, Mazabuka, 8th November, 2017 and Nchito, "Migratory patterns in small towns", p. 102.

¹² Adrienne Lebas, *From Protest to Parties: Party Building and Democratisation in Africa*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 92.

¹³ NAZ, ZIMCO 1/ 02/325/8047, The 92nd Meeting of the Board of Directors, the Zambia Sugar Company Limited, 12th September, 1979, p. 11.

¹⁴ NAZ, ZIMCO 1/ 02/325/8047, The 92nd Meeting of the Board of Directors, p. 15.

¹⁵ NAZ, ZIMCO 1/ 02/325/8047, The 92nd Meeting of the Board of Directors, p. 15.

¹⁶ NAZ, ZIMCO 1/02/344/8049, The Zambia Sugar Company Limited 96th Meeting of the Board of Director, 29th August, 1980, p. 7.

¹⁷ Beatrice B. Liato, "Organised Labour and the State in Zambia", PhD Thesis: University of Leeds, 1989, P. 170

the magnitude of the strike, the state police decided to use live bullets which left some cane cutters seriously injured with one dead.¹⁸ Other strikers were arrested and prosecuted.¹⁹

In 1985, NSE recorded two wildcat strikes resulting from the different wage payment rates for general agricultural workers and cane cutters. In response to the strikes, it was resolved that if cane cutters did general agricultural work, they would be paid a minimum amount payable to general agricultural workers. Although the agreement was made, the company management kept monitoring the cane cutters because of the worries that a strike would resurface.²⁰ In 1991, there was another strike by cane cutters which contributed to the company harvesting 852 124 tonnes instead of the budgeted 909 267 tonnes of sugar cane.²¹ The strike resulted from the failure of the company management to increase the workers' wages, among whom were cane cutters. In reaction to that, the company dismissed the initiators of the strike.²² Between 1991 and 2012, there was no available record of strikes at NSE. However, Mululu Kekelwa and Nosiku Anaba explained that in 2012, there was a strike at the estate. The workers demanded for 35 percent wage increment which ZSC did not honour. They withdrew their labour to compel the company to respond to their demands. Each day of the strike, ZSC lost about 2000 tonnes of sugar cane production. The company reacted by granting 12 percent wage rise to the seasonal workers which included cane cutters while 15 percent went to the permanent ones. As for the ring leaders, the company banned them from seeking employment at NSE for a period of five years, thus from 2012 to 2017.²³

For the 2012 to 2017 period, ZSC did not record any strike because of the positive reaction it had towards the employees' conditions of service. It engaged the union leaders in the monthly consultative meetings through its Human Resource Management Team (HRMT). In addition, wages and related allowances were negotiated annually and in compliance with the Zambian

¹⁸ Lebas, *From Protest to Parties*, p. 92 and NAZ, ZIMCO 1/02/344/8049, The 96th Meeting of the Board of Director, p. 7.

¹⁹ Liato, "Organised Labour", p. 171

²⁰ NAZ, ZIMCO 1/02/442/8056, The Zambia Sugar Company Limited 16th Meeting of the Board of Directors, 5th September, 1985, p. 22.

²¹ NAZ, ZIMCO 1/02/567/8067, The Zambia Sugar Company Limited 142nd Meeting of the Board of Directors, 19th March, 1992, p. 9.

²² Interview, Lufwendo Mwangala, Former Cane Cutter, Mulembi Village, Lukulu, 30th March, 2018.

²³ Interview, Mululu Kekelwa, Former Cane Cutter, Nayaka Royal Village, Kalabo, 21st March, 2018 and Interview, Anaba, Zambia Sugar Company, Mazabuka, 19th July, 2018.

legislative requirements.²⁴ Engaging the union leaders, ZP and instituting disciplinary measures such as dismissing and banning some wildcat strikers from seeking cane cutting employment at the estate were the deterrent tools which ZSC used to react to the industrial unrest at NSE between 1970 and 2017.

4.2.4 Labour Marketing Strategies

The opening of other sugar cane growing companies in Mazabuka and elsewhere in Zambia increased the demand for cane cutters on the labour market. These included Kaleya Smallholders Company Limited (KASCOL), established in 1983 in Mazabuka²⁵, Kalungwishi Sugar Estate, opened in 2001 in Kasama and Kafue Sugar Estate, set up in 2005 in Kafue district.²⁶ The cane cutters had a wider opportunity to choose a sugar company to work for. This led to a competition for cane cutters between ZSC and the emerging companies.

Reacting to that, ZSC developed labour marketing strategies that enabled it to attract more cane cutters than the other companies did.²⁷ Among these was the provision of better conditions of service than the other sugar companies had done. The wages paid to the cane cutters at NSE were higher than those of cane cutters from other companies. In 2012, for example, a cane cutter at NSE earned an average monthly net income of Zambian Kwacha 2,213,000.00. This was after an average monthly income tax of Zambian Kwacha 25,500.00 from the basic wage plus the overtime and bonus allowances totaling to Zambian Kwacha 2, 238,500.00.²⁸ Although some cane cutters complained, the daily workload at NSE was fair and manageable. Each cane cutter was assigned to cut eight tonnes of sugar cane at NSE compared to nine or ten tonnes at other companies.²⁹ Moreover, the company particularly provided transport to the cane cutters returning to the Western Province at the end of the contract as already indicated. In addition, all cane cutters were given allowances to book either vehicles or oxcarts from the disembarking

²⁴ Zambia Sugar Company Ltd., Annual Report, 2016, p. 13 and Illovo Sugar, “Zambia Sugar Plc Socio-Economic Assessment, International Management Report”, October, 2017, pp. 14-16.

²⁵ Illovo Sugar, Socio-Economic Assessment, p. 20.

²⁶ Thomas Kalinda and Brian Chisanga, “Sugar Value Chain in Zambia: An Assessment of the Growth opportunities and Challenges”, *Asian Journal of Agricultural Science*, 6, 1 (2014), p. 13.

²⁷ Interview, Anaba, Zambia Sugar Company, Mazabuka, 19th July, 2018.

²⁸ Mike Lewis, Pamela Chisenga, Martin Hearson, Chris Jordan, Kryticous Nshinadano, Asha Tharoor and Paul Wu, “Sweet Nothing: The Human Cost of a British Sugar Giant Avoiding Taxes in Southern Africa”, February, 2013, p. 30 and ZSC Ltd., Payslip for Sifanu Mwiya, September, 2012.

²⁹ Interview, Anaba, Zambia Sugar Company, Mazabuka, 19th July, 2018.

centres to their homes.³⁰ For these reasons, Matepeta Kamilatu, a cane cutter from KASCOL stated that:

I have been struggling all along to leave the company I work for, as a cane cutter, for Zambia Sugar Company but failed. My friends were luckily recruited by Zambia Sugar Company to replace the cane cutters who were fired and banned from seeking recruitment for five years, for staging a strike in 2012 at Nakambala Sugar Estate. Zambia Sugar Company is good because it pays well and transports its cane cutters back home at the end of the contract. But in our case, we just team up and contribute money to book some trucks to take us home at the end of the contract.³¹

The reaction gave ZSC a comparative advantage over the other sugar companies like KASCOL, Kafue Sugar Estate and Nanga farms on men who sought the job of cane cutting. Consequently, the company received more cane cutting job seekers than the other sugar companies during recruitment.

4.2.5 Sugar Cane Harvesting Methods at NSE

There was an attempt by ZSC to harvest green sugar cane as a response to environmental concerns, modernity and human resource issues in the late 1990s at NSE. From inception, the company engaged cane cutters to harvest burnt sugar cane manually.³² However, Chribone Mweene explained that, the company made an attempt to replace cane cutters by the use of combine harvesters towards the end of the 1990s.³³ There were a number of factors responsible for that decision. Paramount among them was the argument, from the environmentalist point of view, that the burning of sugar cane fields in preparation for the manual harvesting destroyed organic matter, remitted nitrogen into the air and polluted the atmosphere.³⁴ Additionally, Juan Palerm, Tonnis Sierevogel and Munguzwe Hichaambwa argue that, the fire which the company used to burn the cane fields prior to cane cutting negatively affected the quality of sugar cane during the milling process.³⁵ Moreover, in most developed countries, green sugar cane was

³⁰ Interview, Mandende Wamunyima, Cane Cutter, Loke Village, Kalabo, 25th March, 2018.

³¹ Interview, Matepeta Kamilatu, Cane Cutter, Kaleya Smallholders Company Limited, Mazabuka, 10th November, 2017.

³² Kalyalya, "History of Nakambala Estate", p. 39

³³ Interview, Chribone Mweene, Tally Clerk, Kaleya Smallholders Company Limited, Mazabuka, 9th November, 2017.

³⁴ Mujenja and Wonani, *Long-Term Outcomes of Agricultural Investments*, p. 50.

³⁵ Juan Palerm, Tonnis Sierevogel and Munguzwe Hichaambwa, "Strategic Environment Assessment of the Sugar Sector in Zambia", Lusaka: Agreco Consortium and European Union, January, 2010, p. 32.

mechanically harvested using combine harvesters.³⁶ Therefore, to avoid the drastic effects of the burning of the cane fields on the environment and sugar cane quality during the milling process, and also to keep up with the modern standards of harvesting sugar cane, the company procured combine harvesters.³⁷ The negative impact of cane cutters' strikes, and that of the expenses on cane cutters' wages and repatriation, also contributed to that move.³⁸

Unfortunately, the acquired harvesters did not meet the desired standard of work as cane cutters did,³⁹ argued Kababu Chimbinde. He further argued that, the combine harvesters cut the canes which were in the furrows in the middle leaving some stamps while those on the ridges were uprooted destroying even the parts which would germinate the other season.⁴⁰ Kwibisa F. Mukena added that the canes which had lodged down were crushed as the combine harvesters trampled on them where as those in the corners of the cane fields could not be harvested at all.⁴¹ Furthermore, Chribone Mweene stated that the use of combine harvesters was expensive because they needed refueling and continuous maintenance.⁴²

The pressure which the Government of the Republic of Zambia (GRZ) and other stakeholders exerted on ZSC to take manual cane harvesting as an activity for job creation, made the company to attempt employing cane cutters to harvest green sugar cane. However, it was discovered that the green sugar cane was harder to manually harvest than the burnt ones. Due to its hardness, green sugar cane also required more cane cutters to harvest than did the burnt ones. Therefore, the employment of many cane cutters would incur extra cost on ZSC.⁴³ In addition, the risks of snake bites associated with the thick un burnt sugar cane fields discouraged the company from engaging cane cutters to harvest green sugar cane.⁴⁴ These factors compelled the company to rescind its decision. It, therefore, continued with the manual method which engaged cane cutters to harvest burnt sugar cane.

³⁶ Republic of South Africa, *Production Guideline Sugarcane*, (Pretoria: Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, 2014), p. 21 and Deborah W. Cornland, Francis X. Johnson, Francis Yamba, E.N. Chidumayo, Maria M. Marales, Oscar Kalumiana and S.B. Mtonga-Chidumayo, "Sugar Resource for Sustainable Development: A Case Study in Luena, Zambia", Stockholm Environment Institute, Sweden, April, 2001, p. 37.

³⁷ Interview, Mweene, Kaleya Smallholders Company Limited, Mazabuka, 9th November, 2017.

³⁸ Interview, Anaba, Zambia Sugar Company, Mazabuka, 19th July, 2018.

³⁹ Interview, Kababu Chimbinde, Seasonal Factory Worker, Zambia Sugar Company, Mazabuka, 19th July, 2018

⁴⁰ Interview, Kababu Chimbinde, Zambia Sugar Company, Mazabuka, 19th July, 2018.

⁴¹ Interview, Kwibisa Francis Mukena, Former Cane Cutter, Greenwood Compound, Kalabo, 3rd March, 2018.

⁴² Interview, Mweene, Kaleya Smallholders Company Limited, Mazabuka, 9th November, 2017.

⁴³ Palerm, Sierevogel and Hichaambwa, "The Sugar Sector in Zambia", p. 43.

⁴⁴ Interview, Mukena, Greenwood Compound, Kalabo, 3rd March, 2018

The figure below shows the burnt sugar cane field at NSE in 2013. The act of setting fire on the cane fields for the safety of cane cutters before the commencement of the process of harvesting continued at NSE. As already stated, the burning of the cane fields protected the cane cutters from snake bites and stinging by wasps. It also made the process of cane harvesting easy as the trash which made the fields thick and affected the cane cutters' movement was bunt.⁴⁵

Figure 1: A Picture of Burnt Sugar Cane Being Harvested at NSE in 2013



Source: Mike Lewis, Pamela Chisenga, Martin Hearson, Chris Jordan, Kryticous Nshinadano, Asha Tharoor and Paul Wu, "Sweet Nothing", 2013, p. 30

The figure below shows cane cutters in one of the fields at NSE harvesting sugar cane in 2015, a validation that ZSC still employed cane cutters to harvest sugar cane manually.

⁴⁵ Palerm, Sierevogel and Hichaambwa, "The Sugar Sector in Zambia", p. A-B.

Figure 2: A Picture of Cane Cutters in Work Attire in 2015



Source: Zambia Sugar Company Limited, Annual Report, 2015, p. 11.

The picture above shows cane cutters lining up as they manually harvested burnt sugar cane. As explained already, this confirmed that ZSC rescinded its reaction in order to maintain the recruitment of cane cutters who offered a more reliable cane cutting method than the use of combine harvesters up to 2015 and even to 2017, the year this study terminated.

4.2.6 Personal Protective Equipment at NSE

ZSC conducted inductions and provided Personal Protective Equipment (PPE) in reaction to cane cutters' injuries and risks at work. After the recruitment process, the Training Centre of the company organised inductions for all cane cutters. During the inductions, cane cutters were taught skills of cane cutting, safety at work, life and survival skills by various departments of the company.⁴⁶ The inductions were mandatory because lawfully ZSC like any other employer was

⁴⁶ Interview, Wamunyima, Loke Village, Kalabo, 25th March, 2018; Palerm, Sierevogel and Hichaambwa, "The Sugar Sector in Zambia", p. 26 and ZSC Ltd., Annual Report, 2011, p. 6.

expected to offer sufficient knowledge and skills to its employees for them to work efficiently.⁴⁷ In addition, it was compulsory for employers to ensure that the many risks to the health and safety of the employees at work were combated by the use of a combination of items of PPE. It was also a requirement for employers to provide well-matched and effective PPE to the employees.⁴⁸ In reaction to that, ZSC provided PPE to the cane cutters for protection against injuries. After that, the cane cutters were regarded ready for work and their safety guaranteed. The PPE was supposed to be worn at work daily. Besides, the supervisors held safety talks with the cane cutters to remind them about the importance of the PPE and safety in general every morning before starting work. In spite of having the inductions and safety talks, the cane cutters still complained that they were uncomfortable to work while wearing the PPE. As a result, some of them did not wear some of the PPE during the process of harvesting cane.⁴⁹

In the 1960s and 1970s, ZSC provided body work-suits as PPE to the cane cutters. The company, however, did not provide protective clothing for the feet, hands and eyes. Some cane cutters worked with bare feet while others put on their own shoes to protect their feet during the process of cane cutting.⁵⁰ In the 1980s and 1990s, ZSC provided body work-suits, safety-boots and head-socks for the safety of the cane cutters during cane harvesting.⁵¹ Between 2000 and 2017, the company provided its cane cutters with the body work-suits, knee and ankle metal-shields, eye-glasses, gloves, arm clothing and safety-boots as earlier stated.⁵² Therefore, more efficient items of PPE were provided in the 2000s than in the precedent decades.

Against the argument that ZSC did not provide its cane cutters with PPE, below are figures 3 and 4 showing pictures of cane cutters wearing work-suits. Figure 3, in particular, shows a cane cutter in a full protective gear at Nakambala Barracks in readiness for work.

⁴⁷ *Personal Protective Equipment at Work*, 2nd ed., (Norwich: Health and Safety Executive, 2005), p. 13 and *Personal Protective Equipment (PPE) at Work: A Brief Guide*, Health and Safety Executive, 2013, p. 4. <http://www.hse.gov.uk>pubs>indg174> [Accessed on 20/07/2018].

⁴⁸ UK, *Statutory Instruments No. 2966, Health and Safety, The Personal Protective Equipment at work Regulations*, 1992, p. 3.

⁴⁹ Interview, Kalimbwe, Mumbanyu Village, Kalabo, 1st March, 2018 and Interview, Anaba, Zambia Sugar Company, Mazabuka, 19th July, 2018.

⁵⁰ Interview, Ephraim Mukwiza, Retired Official of Zambia Sugar Company, Simonga Village, Chikankata, 2nd November, 2017.

⁵¹ Interview, Mukena, Greenwood Compound, Kalabo, 3rd March, 2018.

⁵² Interview, Mwiya, Namaweshi Village, Mongu, 21st March, 2018.

Figure 3: A Picture of a Cane Cutter in a Work Suit at the Barracks



Courtesy of Sifanu Mwiya, Cane Cutter, Nakambala Barracks, NSE, Mazabuka, 10th November, 2017.

The cane cutter in the picture above was provided with the PPE. He wore the knee and ankle metal-shield only on the left leg because it was more exposed to the risk of cane-knife injuries than the other leg since he used the right hand to cut sugar cane. This implied that cane cutters who used the left hand to cut sugar cane wore protective metals on the right legs. He also wore eye-glasses to protect the eyes from ash and injuries from sugar cane. To protect himself from hand-blisters and other hand-injuries, the cane cutter wore gloves. Besides, he wore arm clothing on the left arm in order to protect himself from arm injuries as he used the left arm to hold sugar

cane during the cutting process. Furthermore, his feet and entire body were protected by the safety-boots and work-suit respectively. As earlier stated, the picture confirms that ZSC provided PPE to its cane cutters. All cane cutters were encouraged to wear PPE at work for their own protection.⁵³ Therefore, it would be correct to argue that any insufficiency in the wearing of the PPE, was negligence on the part of the cane cutter but not ZSC.

Figure 4 below, specifically, shows a picture of a cane cutter in PPE harvesting sugar cane in the cane field at NSE.

Figure 4: A Picture of a Cane Cutter in PPE at Work at NSE



Courtesy of Mandende Wamunyima, Cane Cutter, in the Cane Field at NSE, Mazabuka, 12th November, 2017.

⁵³ Interview, Anaba, Zambia Sugar Company, Mazabuka, 19th July, 2018.

Unlike figure 3, the cane cutter in figure 4 had wrongly worn part of the PPE. He correctly wore the safety-boots, knee and ankle metal-shields, gloves, arm clothing and body work-suit. Unfortunately, he did not wear the eye-glasses correctly. Instead, the glasses were on his forehead. This could make the cane cutter's eyes vulnerable to ash of burnt cane leaves and injuries by sugar cane during the cane harvesting process. As stated earlier, this could be because he was not comfortable with the eye-glasses.

The figure also shows the cane cutter holding a bunch of sugar cane using the left arm, on which he wore the protective arm clothing while the right hand cut the sugar cane with a cane-knife. The picture further shows the cane cutter's body work-suit smeared by the ash of burnt sugar cane leaves. As a result, most of the parts of the work-suit looked black instead of blue, its real colour. As already explained, ZSC provided its cane cutters with PPE in response to the occurrence of injuries and accidents at work. However, if cane cutters used them wrongly or did not use them at all, during the cane cutting process, then they did that on their own accord.

4.2.7 Electronic Fund Transfer for Cane Cutters

The cane cutters at NSE used to receive their monthly wages from ZSC offices from inception. This situation used to attract money lenders who interrupted the company's official operations during the pay days. Reacting to the interruption, the company compelled all the cane cutters to receive their wages through Electronic Fund Transfer (EFT) effective 2013.⁵⁴ Sifanu Mwiya acknowledged that the migratory cane cutters engaged in Kaloba, a system where the borrower paid back the sum borrowed with huge interest on it. According Sifanu Mwiya, cane cutters who engaged in Kaloba used to be followed every month by the money lenders on the pay days at the company offices.⁵⁵ The company management further explained that the money lenders overcrowded the office corridors and quarreled with the cane cutters who were not ready to pay back the borrowed money with high interest rates.⁵⁶ In reaction to the disturbing noisy and quarrels, the company instructed all the cane cutters to open wage accounts at the banks of their own choice. ZSC then transferred money into their accounts as wages monthly.⁵⁷ Therefore, the

⁵⁴ Interview, Anaba, Zambia Sugar Company, Mazabuka, 19th July, 2018.

⁵⁵ Interview, Mwiya, Namaweshi Village, Mongu, 21st March, 2018.

⁵⁶ Interview, Anaba, Zambia Sugar Company, Mazabuka, 19th July, 2018.

⁵⁷ Interview, Anaba, Zambia Sugar Company, Mazabuka, 19th July, 2018.

introduction of cane cutters to EFT was ZSC's way of reacting to the disturbances resulting from Mazabuka money lenders' quarrels with cane cutters during pay days.

4.2.8 Strategies of Combating HIV/AIDS at NSE

The presence of migratory cane cutters in Mazabuka influenced ZSC to intensify its strategies of combating Human Immuno-deficiency Virus (HIV)/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS). This is because Mazabuka town and NSE in particular was well-known for the wide spread of HIV/AIDS due to labour migration.⁵⁸ The "... company ... [had] taken some steps to prevent the spread of HIV/AIDS ..."⁵⁹ These included the training of some cane cutters, who specifically had school certificates, in guidance and counselling. After the training, these cane cutters disseminated the information about Sexually Transmitted Infections (STIs) among which was HIV/AIDS to their fellow cane cutters in the barracks through drama and poems.⁶⁰ The company also encouraged its workers to go for Voluntary Counselling and Testing (VCT) for HIV/AIDS at the clinics which were in the company premises.⁶¹ Through its clinics, ZSC also put HIV positive employees on Ant-Retroviral Treatment and encouraged them to practise healthy lifestyle as life-saving strategies.⁶² It further encouraged its workers, among whom were cane cutters, to practise safer sex by using condoms if they failed to abstain.⁶³ Besides, the company opened various distribution points, within the estate, where different people including cane cutters accessed condoms.⁶⁴ Comfort Siangazi stated that ZSC put posters about HIV/AIDS at various key points of the estate to warn and educate the estate residents as an additional response to HIV/AIDS and other STIs.⁶⁵

Figures 5 and 6 below are posters showing part of ZSC's reaction to the spread of HIV/AIDS among its workers and residents at NSE. The posters were paired according to the information

⁵⁸ Pamela White et al, *Agriculture Global Practice Technical Paper, Linking Women with Agribusiness in Zambia Corporate Social Responsibility, Creating Shared Value, and Human Rights Approaches*, (Washington: World Bank Group, 2015), p. 99.

⁵⁹ Ben Richardson, *Sugar Cane in Southern Africa: A Sweeter Deal for the rural poor*, (Coventry: University of Warwick, 2010), p. 10.

⁶⁰ Interview, Kawina B. Akakakulubelwa, Former Cane Cutter and Induna Walubita, Loke Village, Kalabo, 21st March, 2018; ZSC Ltd., Annual Report, 2003, p. 7 and ZSC Ltd., Annual Report, 2008, p. 8.

⁶¹ Palerm, Sierevogel and Hichaambwa, "The Sugar Sector in Zambia", p. 26; ZSC Ltd., Annual Report, 2003, p. 7 and ZSC Ltd., Annual Report, 2008, p. 8.

⁶² ZSC Ltd., Annual Report, 2008, p. 8 and ZSC Ltd., Annual Report, 2011, p. 8.

⁶³ Interview, Kalimbwe, Mumbanyu Village, Kalabo, 1st March, 2018.

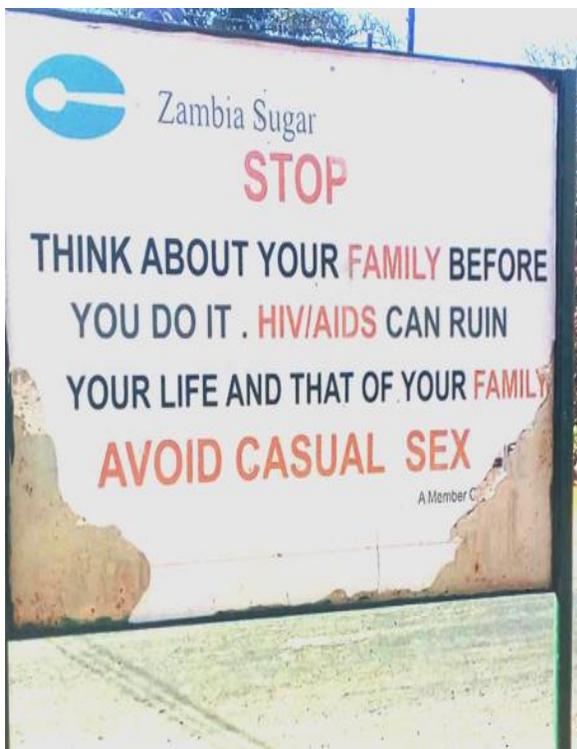
⁶⁴ Palerm, Sierevogel and Hichaambwa, "The Sugar Sector in Zambia", p. 26.

⁶⁵ Interview, Comfort Siangazi, Cashier, ARK Investments, Mazabuka, 8th November, 2017.

they carried to the general public. Each pair had one poster in English and another in Citonga, the local language of Mazabuka and the rest of the Southern Province. This was done to allow everyone access the HIV/AIDS message being disseminated. As already stated, the posters were strategically located. They were mostly put at cross roads, along the roads and in densely populated areas of the estate.

Figure 5: Posters Warning People about how HIV/AIDS can Ruin Lives

(i) English Poster



(ii) Citonga Poster

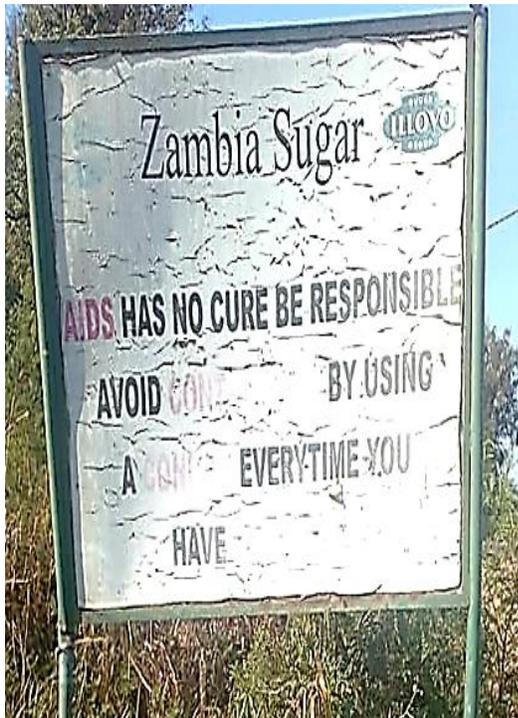


Location: Kawama Barracks, Nakambala Sugar Estate, Mazabuka, 8th November, 2017.

The posters above were self-explanatory. They reminded people about the significance of their families every time they were tempted to have sexual encounters outside or before marriage. The posters further warned people about the destructiveness of HIV/AIDS to both their own lives and that of their families. The posters concluded by discouraging people from engaging in casual or unprotected sexual acts.

Figure 6: Posters Reminding People of AIDS Having no Cure

(i) English Poster



(ii) Citonga Poster



Location: Nakambala Barracks, Nakambala Sugar Estate, Mazabuka, 8th November, 2017.

The posters above informed people about HIV/AIDS not having any cure. They directly warned that “AIDS has no cure be responsible, avoid contracting AIDS by using a condom every time you have sex.” Since the warning was in both English and Citonga, many people read and understood it. It is, therefore, correct to state that ZSC reacted to the spread of HIV/AIDS at NSE to protect its employees among whom were the migratory cane cutters.

4.3 Mazabuka Town Community’s Reaction to the Migratory Cane Cutters

The migratory cane cutters faced a number of reactions from various groups of people in Mazabuka town between 1968 and 2017. The following were some of the ways in which the host Mazabuka town community reacted to the presence and activities of the migratory cane cutters.

4.3.1 Mazabuka Business Community

The presence of the migratory cane cutters at NSE and elsewhere in Mazabuka created market opportunities for the business community in the Central Business District (CBD) of Mazabuka. The community saw cane cutters as potential consumers.⁶⁶ Some of the cane cutters who were joined by their families from the Western Province rented houses outside ZSC barracks. The increase in the size of the households of these cane cutters led to a high demand for goods and services in the Mazabuka CBD.⁶⁷ In reaction to that, the business community increased the supply of goods and services in order to meet the high demand.⁶⁸ The small-scale traders sold perishable goods at various markets and along the streets of the town.⁶⁹ Wilma S. Nchito adds that the large-scale traders supplied household goods and agricultural implements and inputs.⁷⁰ Juan Palerm, Tonnis Sierevogel and Munguzwe Hichaambwa argue that, the high demand for goods and services, mainly caused by the coming of the cane cutters, attracted some business people, from other parts of the Southern Province as well as Indians from other Zambian towns, to Mazabuka to provide the equitable supply to the demand.⁷¹ Furthermore, Wilma S. Nchito states that due to the cane cutters' buying power, by the end of the contract, most of their earnings were already ploughed back in Mazabuka town community.⁷²

People from the peripheries of Mazabuka also responded to the booming market by supplying agricultural produce to the town marketeers who also sold them to the cane cutters.⁷³ While some individuals responded by lending money to cane cutters, financial institutions like Bayport Financial Services (BFS) provided them with loans arranged through ZSC payroll.⁷⁴ Banks such as Barclays and First National Bank (FNB) charged monthly maintenance fees on the wage accounts which cane cutters opened.⁷⁵ Furthermore, some companies in the food industry daily provided breakfast and lunch meals to the migratory cane cutters at work on contract whereas

⁶⁶ Interview, Vincent Lilanda, Mayor of Mazabuka Municipal Council, Mazabuka, 10th November, 2017.

⁶⁷ Palerm, Sierevogel and Hichaambwa, "The Sugar Sector in Zambia", p. 26.

⁶⁸ Interview, Bevlyn Siamangaba, Stores Officer, Bakuzi Investments, Mazabuka, 8th November, 2017.

⁶⁹ Interview, Mainza Kaala, Cashier, H and W Enterprise, Mazabuka, 8th November, 2017.

⁷⁰ Nchito, "Migratory patterns in small towns", pp. 102-103.

⁷¹ Palerm, Sierevogel and Hichaambwa, "The Sugar Sector in Zambia", p. 26.

⁷² Nchito, "Migratory patterns in small towns", pp. 102-103.

⁷³ Interview, Lilanda, Municipal Council, Mazabuka, 10th November, 2017.

⁷⁴ Interview, Teddy Moonga, cashier, Bayport Financial Services, Mazabuka, 19th July, 2018 and Lewis, Chisenga, Hearson, Jordan, Nshinadano, Tharoor and Wu, "Sweet Nothing", p. 30

⁷⁵ Interview, Robert Mutale, Bank Manager, Barclays Bank PLC, Mazabuka, 20th July, 2018; Interview, Anaba, Zambia Sugar Company, Mazabuka, 19th July, 2018 and Nchito, "Migratory patterns in small towns", p. 100.

those in the transport industry were engaged in taking back cane cutters and their luggage to the Western Province at the end of the harvesting season.⁷⁶ The supplies were reduced annually when the cane cutters left Mazabuka at the end of the contract.⁷⁷ Therefore, the escalating number of business entities and increase of supply of goods and services in Mazabuka were the business community's reaction to the high market opportunities created by cane cutters' presence.

4.3.2 Infrastructural Development in Mazabuka Town

Mazabuka town community embarked on infrastructural development as a reaction to the migratory cane cutters' presence. Vincent Lilanda explained that some wealthy people put up some buildings in Mazabuka town to provide both direct and indirect services to cane cutters and other workers. He further stated that amongst the buildings were guest houses which scholars who went to Mazabuka and NSE to conduct research on the migratory cane cutters and ZSC in general also used.⁷⁸ According to Wilma S. Nchito, there were also other buildings such as personal houses constructed to target cane cutters who, for certain reasons, wanted to stay outside ZSC barracks.⁷⁹ Their desire to rent houses outside the estate led to a scramble for accommodation and exorbitant rentals which encouraged the landlords to put up more buildings in order to raise more money.⁸⁰

Some residents of low status built un-authorized structures in some parts of Mazabuka town in reaction to the scarcity of accommodation and high rentals mainly caused by the incumbent cane cutters' demand for accommodation. Subsequently, shanty places such as *Ma-Lozi-lozi*, *Chiulu* and *Zambia* compounds emerged in Mazabuka town.⁸¹ As already indicated, some people built some shops which likewise increased the number of buildings in Mazabuka town.⁸² In support of this, Thomas Kalinda and Brian Chisanga argue that the development of infrastructure in Mazabuka was mainly a reaction to the needs of labour migration and sugar industry.⁸³

⁷⁶ Interview, Anaba, Zambia Sugar Company, Mazabuka, 19th July, 2018

⁷⁷ Interview, Siamangaba, Bakuzi Investments, Mazabuka, 8th November, 2017.

⁷⁸ Interview, Lilanda, Municipal Council, Mazabuka, 10th November, 2017.

⁷⁹ Nchito, "Migratory patterns in small towns", p. 102.

⁸⁰ Interview, Siangazi, ARK Investments, Mazabuka, 8th November, 2017.

⁸¹ Nchito, "Migratory patterns in small towns", p. 102.

⁸² Interview, Lilanda, Municipal Council, Mazabuka, 10th November, 2017.

⁸³ Kalinda and Chisanga, "Sugar Value Chain in Zambia", p. 11.

4.3.3 Single Women in Mazabuka

Some single women in Mazabuka married the migratory cane cutters. Mazabuka was one of the towns with a high prevalence of cultural practice of polygamous marriages.⁸⁴ However, Chribone Mweene argued that cane cutters, but not traditional practices such as polygamy and elopement, offered more marriage opportunities to the single women in Mazabuka.⁸⁵ Chribone Mweene further stated that when the labour migrants came to Mazabuka, some local women made themselves available to them. Thereafter, they married and settled with their cane cutter husbands in Mazabuka town and even in the peripheries.⁸⁶ Tukali Twambo cited an example of two of his aunts who married migratory cane cutters and settled with them in Mazabuka town.⁸⁷ Just like Gukurume Simbarashe and Alimos Mushuku confirm the existence of intermarriages of migratory cane cutters and some local women at the Triangle Sugar Estate (TSE) in Zimbabwe,⁸⁸ Vincent Lilanda affirmed the same situation at NSE in Mazabuka. Lilanda asserted that most people in Mazabuka had mixed ethnicities of especially Tonga and Lozi.⁸⁹ This implied that the local women commonly married cane cutters from the Western Province. Furthermore, there were local women who married migrants who left spouses in the sending communities. Although this turned into polygamy, it sometimes made the local women to be abandoned by the cane cutters at the end of the contract. Reacting to that, affected women kept on searching for other migrant suitors or joined prostitution as a coping strategy.⁹⁰ Since some women married cane cutters, it is correct to assume that the migratory cane cutters were seen as a marriage source for women in Mazabuka.

4.3.4 Sex Workers in Mazabuka

As a reaction to the cane cutters' presence in Mazabuka town, a big number of women indulged in prostitution. In addition to the local women, the coming of the labour migrants combined with the daily arrival of truck drivers, who came to fetch sugar, attracted women from various parts of

⁸⁴ White et al, *Agriculture Global Practice*, p. 99.

⁸⁵ Interview, Mweene, Kaleya Smallholders Company Limited, Mazabuka, 9th November, 2017.

⁸⁶ Interview, Mweene, Kaleya Smallholders Company Limited, Mazabuka, 9th November, 2017.

⁸⁷ Interview, Tukali Twambo, Councilor, Maona Ward, Mumbwa, 1st March, 2018.

⁸⁸ Gukurume Simbarashe and Alimos Mushuku, "Surviving on the Margins: Experience of cane cutters working at Triangle Sugar Estate in Chiredzi, Masvingo", *International Journal of Politics and Good Governance*, 3, 3.2 Quarter II, (2012), p. 6.

⁸⁹ Interview, Lilanda, Municipal Council, Mazabuka, 10th November, 2017.

⁹⁰ Interview, Lilanda, Municipal Council, Mazabuka, 10th November, 2017.

the Southern Province and elsewhere in Zambia into Mazabuka town.⁹¹ This community of “sex-workers” knew that some migratory cane cutters, who came in April to Mazabuka, left wives in the sending communities and mainly returned at the end of the contract in November. It also knew that the longer period in which the migrants were away from home, threw them into desperation for “transactional sex”.⁹² Reacting to that, the “sex-workers” provided sexual services at a fee. Some of the “sex-workers” rented houses where they took their clients among whom were cane cutters.⁹³ The “sex workers” transacted sexual activities with the migrants in order to raise cash for food and other needs.⁹⁴ Furthermore, there were some women in Mazabuka town who had specific cane cutters they cohabited with throughout the cropping season. Such women would switch on to different sexual clients if the previous ones stopped coming for wage labour.⁹⁵ According to Kathleen Kahn and others, such situations created sexual webs which were not only risky to the labour migrants and their sexual partners back home but also to the people in the host communities.⁹⁶ In addition, Ben Richardson argues that “Through their use of prostitutes [cane cutters] ... contributed significantly to Mazabuka’s high HIV infection rate, estimated at 16-22%.”⁹⁷ The Mazabuka community regarded the migratory cane cutters and resident “sex-workers” as hosts for HIV/AIDS and other STIs.⁹⁸ Consequently, the high levels of prostitution in Mazabuka town, to some degree, were some local women’s reaction to the migratory cane cutters’ presence and desperation for sexual services.

4.3.5 Some Married Women in Mazabuka

Using their wages, some cane cutters enticed some married women in Mazabuka into developing adulterous relationships. Elizabeth Byron, Stuart Gillespie and Peter Hamazakaza argue that “While considered very arduous and physically demanding, cane cutting jobs command higher

⁹¹White et al, *Agriculture Global Practice*, p. 99.

⁹² Elizabeth Byron, Stuart Gillespie and Petan Hamazakaza, “Local Perception of HIV Risk and Prevention in Southern Zambia”, 14 September, 2006, p. 10.

⁹³ Interview, Lilanda, Municipal Council, Mazabuka, 10th November, 2017.

⁹⁴ Palerm, Sierevogel and Hichaambwa, “The Sugar Sector in Zambia”, p. 26.

⁹⁵ Interview, Siamangaba, Bakuzi Investments, Mazabuka, 8th November, 2017.

⁹⁶ Kathleen Kahn et al, “Health Consequences of Migration: Evidence from South Africa’s Rural North-east” Paper prepared for Conference on African Migration in Comparative Perspective, Johannesburg, South Africa, 4-7th June, 2003, p. 2.

⁹⁷ Richardson, *Sugar in Southern Africa*, p. 10.

⁹⁸ Byron, Gillespie and Hamazakaza, “Perception of HIV in Southern Zambia”, p. 10.

monthly wages than most permanent positions.”⁹⁹ According to Mainza Kaala, cane cutters applied their financial advantage to seduce married women in Mazabuka with ease. She added that, some married women committed adultery with migratory cane cutters in exchange for money as a reaction to the seduction.¹⁰⁰ Furthermore, Byron and Gillespie and Hamazakaza jointly confirm that “In ... Mazabuka ... people are aware that married women sleep with cane cutters ... because the[y] ... give them more money than their husbands [do].”¹⁰¹ In response to that, most married men in Mazabuka disliked the migratory cane cutters. Where there was proof, husbands of the involved women filed complaints against cane cutters at the court of law which further led to divorces.¹⁰² Due to high levels of infidelity and marriage interference involving the cane cutters, married men in Mazabuka town distrusted and hated the migratory cane cutters.¹⁰³

4.3.6 Competition for Cane cutting Employment

The migratory cane cutters met resentment from Mazabuka town community. During the first phase of recruitment, Mazabuka community viewed cane cutters as low graded employees. As a result, the local people looked down on the migrants and did not even wish to be cane cutters.¹⁰⁴ Furthermore, they reacted to their commitment to work by teasing them that they were magicians who used charms to manage the difficult tasks of cane cutting. They also perceived them as poverty-stricken people¹⁰⁵ for accepting doing cane cutting, one of “... the so called ‘three Ds’ jobs (dirty, degrading and dangerous).”¹⁰⁶ As from 2002, the local people also began to seek the job of cane cutting.¹⁰⁷ However, ZSC continued to recruit the majority of cane cutters from the Western Province and maintained them in employment for several years. Consequently, it hardly recruited any new entrants except if there were vacancies.¹⁰⁸ Vincent Lilanda argued that even though vacancies were created, they were mainly offered to men from the Western Province

⁹⁹ Byron, Gillespie and Hamazakaza, “Perception of HIV in Southern Zambia”, p. 10.

¹⁰⁰ Interview, Kaala, H and W Enterprise, Mazabuka, 8th November, 2017.

¹⁰¹ Byron, Gillespie and Hamazakaza, “Perception of HIV in Southern Zambia”, p. 10

¹⁰² Interview, Lilanda, Municipal Council, Mazabuka, 10th November, 2017.

¹⁰³ Interview, Lilanda, Municipal Council, Mazabuka, 10th November, 2017.

¹⁰⁴ Mujenja and Wonani, *Long-Term Outcomes of Agricultural Investments*, pp. 40-41.

¹⁰⁵ Interview, Mweene, Kaleya Smallholders Company Limited, Mazabuka, 9th November, 2017.

¹⁰⁶ Manolo I. Abella, “Interview: Migrant Workers’ Rights are not negotiable”, in Manuel Simon Velasco, (ed.), *Migrant Workers*, Labour Education 2002/4 No. 129, p. 1.

¹⁰⁷ Mujenja and Wonani, *Long-Term Outcomes of Agricultural Investments*, p. 40.

¹⁰⁸ Matengani and Hichaambwa, “Impact of land and agricultural Commercialisation”, p. 585.

because of the preference ZSC had for them.¹⁰⁹ For this reason, there was unemployment for the local people in their own community.¹¹⁰ Reacting to that, some local men developed hatred for the migratory cane cutters who they regarded as competitors for employment.¹¹¹ They also uttered unkind sentiments against them stating that they were outsiders and job grabbers.¹¹² The negative sentiments were only neutralised by the intermarriages and traditional cousinship which existed between the Lozi and Tonga people.¹¹³ The migratory cane cutters' willingness to work and ZSC's preference for recruiting these migrants influenced Mazabuka community to develop intimidating reactions towards them.

4.3.7 Momentary Attacks on Cane Cutters in Mazabuka

Some people in Mazabuka reacted to the presence of the cane cutters by attacking them for money. Mandende Wamunyima, a cane cutter, confirmed that "It is very dangerous for us to move alone in Mazabuka at night because of some people who attack us."¹¹⁴ Vincent Lilanda, added that there were instances, especially during pay days, when cane cutters were attacked for money at night by criminals.¹¹⁵ According to Matepeteta Kamilatu, some attacks were done on the cane cutters who moved at night from beer drinking places especially in the mushrooming shanty compounds. He further cited an instance where his close friend fell victim to such momentary attacks. He stated that:

Towards the end of the contract in 2017, my friend who was also a cane cutter was attacked as he was coming from drinking beer at night from one of the shanty compounds in Mazabuka. Some unknown people robbed him of his money, beat him up and left him almost dead. He was later found by fellow cane cutters who took him to the hospital. When we left for the Western Province at the end of the contract, he remained in Mazabuka because he was still unwell. Besides that, he was afraid of reaching home with injuries and

¹⁰⁹ Interview, Lilanda, Municipal Council, Mazabuka, 10th November, 2017.

¹¹⁰ Abella et al, *Labour Migration Policy*, p. 13.

¹¹¹ Celine Mazars, *The Well Being of Economic Migrants in South Africa: Health Gender and Development, Working Paper for the World Migration Report*, (Geneva: International Organization for Migration, 2013), p. 16 and Jonathan Crush and Vincent Williams, "International Migration and Development: Dynamics and Challenges in South and Southern Africa", United Nations Expert Group Meeting on International Migration and Development, New York, 6-8th July, 2005, pp.16-17.

¹¹² Interview, Kekelwa, Nayaka Royal Village, Kalabo, 21st March, 2018.

¹¹³ Interview, Kalimbwe, Mumbanyu Village, Kalabo, 1st March, 2017.

¹¹⁴ Interview, Wamunyima, Loke Village, Kalabo, 25th March, 2017.

¹¹⁵ Interview, Lilanda, Municipal Council, Mazabuka, 10th November, 2017.

scars as that would be a bad indicator of what sort of life he led in Mazabuka.¹¹⁶

Because of the assumptions that cane cutters had money, some criminals developed a tendency of attacking those who moved alone in the night. This did not spare the host community members as there were times when they were attacked at night, too.¹¹⁷

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter has analysed the reactions of ZSC and Mazabuka town community to the migratory cane cutters at NSE. The chapter has indicated that ZSC recruited more cane cutters from the Western Province to appreciate their commitment to work. It also provided PPE in order to protect them from the risks surrounding the job of cane cutting. The company further dismissed some cane cutters who brought in sexual partners in the shared barrack-rooms and those who engaged in wildcat strikes as deterrence to the would-be-offenders. The chapter has also pointed out that the Mazabuka business community increased the supply of goods and services because of the market opportunities mainly created by the cane cutters' presence. Besides, some single women married the cane cutters while the "sex-workers" provided "transactional sex" to them. Because of their sexual activities with some married women and competition for accommodation and later for the job of cane cutting with the local men, the migrants were disliked in Mazabuka. The study has concluded that because the migratory cane cutters were not only beneficial but also a threat in many aspects of life, the host community reacted to them in different ways.

¹¹⁶ Interview, Kamilatu, Kaleya Smallholder Company Limited, Mazabuka, 10th November, 2017.

¹¹⁷ Interview, Kekelwa, Nayaka Royal Village, Kalabo, 21st March, 2018.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was to examine the labour migration system at Nakambala Sugar Estate (NSE) in Mazabuka district of the Southern Province in Zambia between 1964 and 2017. In this study, labour migration was described as the movement of people from their home communities to other communities either within or outside their country of origin in search of job opportunities. This chapter has highlighted several key issues about the labour migration system at NSE.

This study has established that between 1964 and 1968, Zambia Sugar Company (ZSC) did not recruit cane cutters at NSE. This was because the company, during that time, mainly focused on sugar cane planting at the estate but not sugar production. The fruitless search for the local labour force for the job of cane cutting contributed to the delay, too. The study has also shown that between 1968 and 2002, ZSC had a decentralised recruitment of cane cutters based in the Zambia's Western Province. This was because the company wanted to bring the recruitment closer to the cane cutters' sources after the resistance by the local Tonga people, and the desertion by the people from the Eastern, Luapula and Northern Provinces whom it attempted to recruit in the 1970s. From 2002 up to 2017 the study has demonstrated that ZSC centralised the recruitment in order to accommodate the local people of the Southern Province and those from elsewhere who had begun to seek the job of cane cutting at the estate.

The study, in both the decentralised and centralised recruitment phases, has noted the preference that ZSC had for recruiting cane cutters from the Western Province and also these migrants' interest in seeking wage labour at NSE. ZSC was specifically interested in the migrants because of their hard work and commitment to the job of cane cutting unlike the local ones who were known for desertions and laziness. Similarly, men from the Western Province were interested in seeking employment at the estate because it had become part of their cultural heritage. Moreover, their personal desire for exposure and need for cash to purchase modern goods and cattle, and also to meet socio-economic hardships resulting from droughts and floods contributed to their intrinsic interest in the job of cane cutting. The study has further indicated that ZSC maintained the cane cutters from the Western Province and did not replace them except when they either

stopped seeking the job voluntarily or developed records which merited their dismissal. Even though vacancies were created, ZSC still offered most of the recruitment opportunities to people from the Western Province because of the preference the company had for them. As a result of the mutual interest between the company and migrants in the cane cutting employment, the majority of cane cutters at NSE were from the Western Province in the 1968 to 2017 period.

The study has similarly revealed that the Tonga people began to seek the job of cane cutting mainly after 2002 due to the droughts and Contagious Bovine Pleuro-Pneumonia (CBPP) that affected the Southern Province in the 1990s and 2000s. These calamities crippled people's reliable sources of income in most rural parts of the province. In addition, the local leadership solicited for vacancies for the local people at the estate. ZSC's project of recruiting people from Sinazongwe and Munyumbwe in 2002 also made the local people to seek employment as cane cutters at NSE. Furthermore, among the local cane cutters, this study has shown that the majority of them bore Lozi names. These either migrated permanently from the Western Province or were born from the intermarriages of the cane cutters from the Western Province and local women. The study has equally indicated that people from parts of the Southern Province which had some occupations, rarely sought employment at NSE even after 2002. The study has cited people from Maamba who often sought employment at Maamba Collieries Limited (MCL) and those from Namwala who, despite CBPP killing cattle in the province, still owned large herds of cattle which provided for their needs. As a result, they seldom sought the job of cane cutting at NSE.

This study has also indicated that there was a combination of positive and negative impact of labour migration on the migrants' home communities. On the positive side, the study has shown that labour migration provided employment which served as a source of income for the migrants. They also obtained loans and wage advances from Bayport Financial Services (BFS) and ZSC, respectively. Through the remittances of the monthly 10 percent of their wages to NAPSA by ZSC, their social security was guaranteed. In terms of business, the study has shown that in the Western Province, the local transporters, those selling food and lucky charms all benefited from the Nakambala labour migration system during the decentralised recruitment. Moreover, people in the sending communities used the property of their migrant relatives for their own socio-economic benefit. Negatively, the study has pointed out that the nature of the job of cane cutting deprived the migrants of the opportunities to acquire skills that would benefit their home

communities. It, however, exposed them to ill health which affected their contribution towards the development of their home communities when they returned. Migratory labour further promoted laziness, dependency on remittances and culture of using videos, radio cassettes and flash-discs which affected the use of traditional musical instruments. It also increased levels of prostitution and infidelity which further led to Sexually Transmitted Infections (STIs) including HIV/AIDS that affected marriages. Furthermore, the attacks on the returning cane cutters in some parts of the province, implanted insecurity in the sending communities. Following this, the study has concluded that the job of cane cutting which was beneficial, sometimes negatively impacted on the cane cutters and their home communities in various ways.

The study has analysed the reactions of ZSC and Mazabuka town community to the migratory cane cutters at NSE. It has indicated that ZSC recruited more cane cutters from the Western Province as an appreciation to their commitment to work. ZSC also provided Personal Protective Equipment (PPE) to the migrants to protect them from the risks surrounding the job of cane cutting. The study has further shown that ZSC sacked the migrants who brought in sexual partners into the shared barrack-rooms and also the wildcat strikers as a strategy to deter the would-be-offenders. The study has as well revealed that the Mazabuka business community supplied more goods and services in order to benefit from the market opportunities mainly created by the coming of cane cutters to Mazabuka. Besides, some single women married the cane cutters while the “sex-workers” provided sexual activities to them at a fee. Because of their sexual activities with some married women, and competition for accommodation and the job of cane cutting particularly after 2002 with the local men, the migrants were not liked in Mazabuka. Owing to this, the study has concluded that the host community reacted to the migratory cane cutters in different ways because they were not only beneficial but also a threat in many aspects of life.

This study has concluded that the preference that ZSC had for the local labourers between 1964 and 1968, was shifted to the labourers from the Western Province between 1968 and 2002 because of their hard work and willingness to do the job of cane cutting. The company, therefore, vigorously recruited cane cutters from the Western Province during that period. The study has equally shown that from 2002 to 2017, ZSC shifted the recruitment to Mazabuka in order to offer employment to the local people who had begun to seek the job of cane cutting. The study has

also indicated that the job of cane cutting which was a good source of income, sometimes affected the cane cutters and their sending communities. Similarly, this work has pointed out that the migratory cane cutters who were of benefit to the host community, often competed with the local people in many aspects of life. As a result, the host community reacted to them in various ways. Last but not the least, this study has argued that although the local people began to seek the job of cane cutting after 2002, the majority of cane cutters at NSE still came from the Western Province by 2017 due to ZSC's preference for them, because of their unceasing hard work and commitment to the job of cane cutting.

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