THE ROLE OF THE CASHEW NUT INDUSTRY IN THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF MONGU DISTRICT OF WESTERN PROVINCE, ZAMBIA, 1972-2011

BY

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A dissertation submitted to the University of Zambia in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in History

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DECLARATION

I, Namushi Situtu, hereby declare that this dissertation represents my own work, and that it has not previously been submitted for a degree at this or any other university.

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CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

This dissertation of Namushi Situtu is approved as fulfilling part of the requirements for the award of the degree of Masters of Arts in History by the University of Zambia.

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DEDICATION

For my family with love

ABSTRACT

Following the attainment of independence from Britain in 1964, the Zambian government embarked upon the creation of agricultural schemes with so as to reduce the economic imbalance inherited from the colonial government. Studies conducted on agricultural schemes in various parts of the country have highlighted the state's role in the sustenance of such projects. Despite having noted some socio-economic impact of such projects on Zambia's economic development, these studies' emphasis has been on their failure. To the contrary, this study argues that the cashew nut industry had significant socio-economic effects on the local people of Mongu district. The study demonstrates that the cashew nut industry was commercialised in 1972 and grew rapidly from 1985 to 1992 under the management of the Zambia Cashew Company (ZCC). Thereafter, a sharp decline was experienced as a result of the privatisation process which began in 1991 following the ascendancy of the Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD) to power. The study notes that in spite of this hiccup, peasant farmers in Mongu were resilient enough to continue growing cashew nuts. In this way, it refutes the notion that the privatisation process of parastatal companies in Zambia was wholly destructive. Additionally, the study examines the challenges the industry faced which were mainly due to poor management, political interference and negative global economic trends. It also identifies class formation and the rise of individualism as part of the social effects of the cashew nut industry in the district. Furthermore, it highlights employment provision, women's financial empowerment, promotion of local trade, skills acquisition, and improved food security as economic benefits accrued to the local people. In this way, the study demonstrates that the cashew nut industry contributed to the socio-economic development of Mongu district during the period under study.

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LIST OF PLACE NAMES

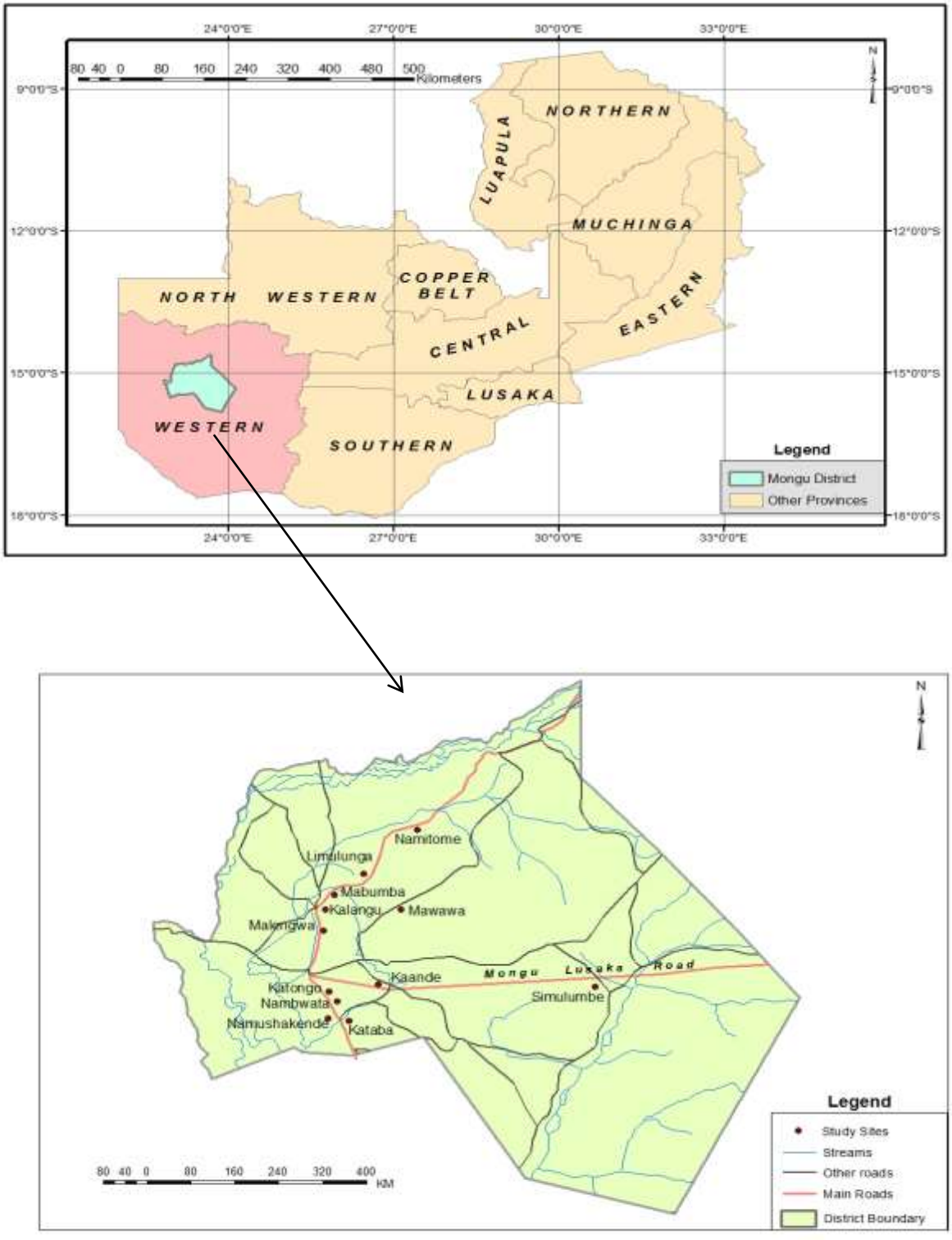
Old Names	New Names
Barotseland	Western Province
Fort Jameson	Chipata
Mankoya	Kaoma
Northern Rhodesia	Zambia
Southern Rhodesia	Zimbabwe

ABBREVIATIONS

AfDB	African Development Bank
BCC	Barotse Cashew Company
BRE	Barotse Royal Establishment
BSACo	British South Africa Company
CGAZ	Cashew Growers Association of Zambia
CIDP	Cashew Infrastructure Development Project
CSO	Central Statistical Office
DACO	District Agricultural Coordinator
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organisation
FNDP	First National Development Plan
FTC	Farmers Training Centre
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GRZ	Government of the Republic of Zambia
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INESOR	Institute for Economic and Social Research
IRDP	Integrated Rural Development Project
KTC	Kawambwa Tea Company
MAG	Ministry of Agriculture
MMD	Movement for Multi-party Democracy
NAZ	National Archives of Zambia
NCDS	National Cashew Development Strategy
NERP	New Economic Recovery Programme
PFS	Peasant Farming Scheme
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme

SNDP	Second National Development Plan
UNIP	United National Independence Party
UPP	United Progressive Party
WCI	Western Cashew Industries
ZARI	Zambia Agricultural Research Institute
ZCC	Zambia Cashew Company
ZCIDP	Zambia Cashew Infrastructural Development Project
ZDA	Zambia Development Agency
ZIMCO	Zambia Industrial Mining Corporation
ZPA	Zambia Privatisation Agency
ZVAC	Zambia Vulnerability Assessment Committee

Map 1: Mongu District showing Major Cashew Nut Producing Areas



Source: Cartography Unit, Department of Geography and Environmental Studies, University of Zambia, 2019.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction and Historical Background

The introduction of agricultural schemes in Zambia can be traced back to the colonial era. The Northern Rhodesian government embarked on the establishment of agricultural schemes aimed at achieving economic diversification, peasant development and improved food security during the post-World War Two (WWII) period. This led to some prosperity as seen in areas such as Southern and Eastern provinces where African peasant differentiation began to emerge as a result of such schemes.[1] This development was not experienced in other parts of the country as they lacked these schemes. Therefore, after gaining independence in 1964, the new Zambian government realised the need to reduce this economic imbalance.[2] Agriculture was adopted as a means of rectifying this economic anomaly. Further, government regarded agriculture as the best strategy to reduce rural poverty and food insecurity as well as achieving economic diversification. As a result, agricultural development was put as a priority for developing rural areas, especially that the majority of the people there were already involved in peasant farming.

Additionally, the Zambian government decided to develop rural areas through agriculture so as to curb the rural-urban drift soon after independence. This was

[1] John A. Hellen, *Rural Economic Development in Zambia, 1890-1964* (Munchen: Welt Forum Verlag, 1968), 230; McSamuel Richmond Dixon-Fyle, 'Politics and Agrarian Change among the Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia, 1924-1963', PhD Thesis, University of London, 1976; and Samuel N. Chipungu, *The State, Technology and Peasant Differentiation in Zambia: A Case of the Southern Province, 1930-1986* (Lusaka: Historical Association of Zambia, 1988).

[2] Government of the Republic of Zambia (hereafter, G.R.Z), *National Commission for Development Planning Economic Report for 1990* (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1990), 184; G.R.Z., *New Economic Recovery Programme (NERP): Interim National Development Plan, July 1987-December 1988* (Lusaka: National Commission for Development Planning, 1987), 21; and Adrian P. Wood and E.C.W. Shula, 'The State and Agriculture in Zambia: A Review of the Evolution and Consequences of Food and Agricultural Policies in Mining Economy', in Thandika N. Mkandawire (ed.), *The State and Agriculture in Africa* (London: Codersia Book Series, 1967), 275-76.

because many people from rural areas rushed to urban centres in search of employment.[3] According to Andrew Roberts, Zambia's urban population grew at the rate of eight per cent per year in the immediate post-independence era due to rural-urban drift.[4] Further, Patrick Eze Ollawa notes that soon after the attainment of independence, Zambia's rural population reduced as some people moved to urban areas in search of wage employment. He observed that 'while 80 per cent of the Zambian population lived in the rural areas in 1963, in 1969 it reduced to 71 per cent while in 1974 it reached 65.5 per cent'.[5] The rise in population levels in urban areas had the potential of resulting into negative social vices such as unplanned settlements, high crime rate and prostitution. As such, President Kenneth Kaunda in an address to the participants at a rural development seminar in September 1974 emphasised the need to develop rural areas as a means to arrest the situation. He pointed out that:

> We need to develop our rural areas so as to persuade the young men and women to stay in there [rural areas] and make themselves useful lives. If development goes far enough, and success stories in the villages become an everyday occurrence…then it might be even possible to attract into rural areas some of the youths who cannot make it in towns.[6]

The Zambian government was of the view that by curbing rural-urban drift, the problem of overpopulation in urban areas and the resultant negative social vices would be solved. Therefore, rural development through an improved African

[3] Richard Hall, *Zambia* (London: Pall Mall Press Ltd., 1965); and Michael Lipton, 'Why Poor People Stay Poor', in John Harries (ed.), *Rural Development* (London: Hutchinson University Library for Africa, 1996), 74.
[4] Andrew Roberts, *A History of Zambia* (London: Heinemann, 1976), 236.
[5] Patrick Eze Ollawa, 'Rural Development Strategy and Performance in Zambia: An Evaluation of Past Efforts', *African Studies Review,* 21, 2 (Sept. 1978), 101.
[6] Zambia Information Services, 'Rural Development: A Solution to Urban Woes', *Z-Magazine*, 67 (1974), 13; and Ng'andu Peter Magande, *The Depth of my Footprints: From the Hills of Namaila to the Global Stage* (Atlanta: Maleendo & Company, 2018), 104.

peasantry was inevitable if the country was to enhance equitable development in the post-colonial period.

Further, the decision to improve peasant agriculture was influenced by the falling copper prices on the world market in the early 1970s. Copper was Zambia's main foreign exchange earner. The price of copper fell from K1,252 per long tonne in 1970 to K750 in 1971.[7] This resulted in the balance of payments situation deteriorating from a surplus of K77 million in 1970 to a deficit of K97.5 million in 1972.[8] Owing to this, government became even more resolved to diversify the country's economy away from mining to agriculture.[9] This was because the countryside was viewed as a ready platform for such activities as it had ideal vast fertile lands and readily available labour. One of the key strategies adopted to achieve this aim was the establishment of agricultural schemes in different rural parts of the country.

To realise its desire of making agricultural production a top priority, the government prioritised it as one of the most important economic sectors in the First National Development Plan (FNDP) of 1966 to 1971. The FNDP considered agriculture as an aid to:

> Diversify the economy away from copper; increase personal incomes and employment, especially in rural areas; decrease the dependence on imports; and increase purchasing power in the rural areas and thus

[7] Hyden Munene, 'A History of Rhokana/Rokana Corporation and its Nkana Mine Division, 1928-1991', PhD Thesis, University of Free State, 2018, 120. See also G. Lanning and M. Mueller, *Africa Undermined: A History of the Mining Companies and the Underdevelopment of Africa* (Ontario: Penguin Books Limited, 1979), 217.
[8] Munene, 'A History of Rhokana/Rokana Corporation', 120.
[9] Ollawa, 'Rural Development Strategy and Performance in Zambia', 103; Adrian P. Wood, 'Agricultural Policy since Independence', in Adrian P. Wood, *et al* (eds.), *The Dynamics of Agricultural Policy and Rural Reform in Zambia* (Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1990), 21; Food and Agricultural Organisation (hereafter, FAO), *Zambia Comprehensive Agricultural Development and Food Programme Report* (Rome: UN/FAO, 1989), 12; and Lovejoy Mulambo Malambo, 'Rural Food Security in Zambia', PhD Thesis, Michigan State University, 1987, 13.

> providing an expanded market for the industrial sector.[10]

Due to this critical resolution of adopting the agricultural sector as the main drive for national economic development, different measures were adopted. The agricultural sector budgetary allocation was increased from the initial sum of K19 million contained in the Transitional Development Plan (1963-1966) to K47,214,000 in the FNDP (1966-1971).[11] Thereafter, the FNDP and the plans that followed implemented various measures to enable the agricultural sector contribute positively to the country's economic development. It was in this regard that the cashew nut industry in Mongu district in Western province (formerly Barotseland)[12] was set up as one of the first agricultural schemes in the country.

The cashew nut industry was meant to produce nuts for both local consumption and the lucrative export market. However, the main target was the latter because the crop was known to have high returns on the international market. According to Ng'andu P. Magande, the world price for cashew nuts in 1979 was US$3,000 per tonne while that of copper was US$2,200 per tonne.[13] High foreign exchange earnings from cashew nut exports, in this way, were meant to increase cash inflows in Mongu district and the country at large, thereby contributing to a reduction in poverty levels. With government's resolve to develop rural areas through agricultural

[10] Charles Elliot, 'Introduction', in Charles Elliot (ed.), *Constraints on the Economic Development of Zambia* (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1971), 9-13. All the development plans that followed thereafter emphasised the need to shift focus from mineral dependence to agriculture; Malambo, 'Rural Food Security in Zambia', 13. See also Ian Goldman and Ian B. Holdwork, 'Agricultural Policies and Small-Scale Producer', in A.P. Wood, *et al* (eds.), *The Dynamics of Agricultural Policy and Reform in Zambia* (Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1990), 570.

[11] Elliot, 'Introduction', 9-13.

[12] National Archives of Zambia (hereafter, NAZ), Shelf No. 19, Box No. 144 A, Rural Development: Programme for the National Seminar, 9-12 September, 1974.

[13] Magande, *The Depth of my Footprints*, 116-117; The Ministerial Statement to National Assembly of Zambia on the Cashew Infrastructural Development Project (hereafter, CIDP) by Minister of Agriculture, Dora Siliya, Tuesday, 22 November, 2016; and *Zambia Daily Mail*, 'Brenda Revives Cashew Nut Growing', Sunday, 14 December 2018.

schemes, the cashew nut industry proved the most suitable one for the Western province. This was due to the inability of the province to support conventional crops such as maize, groundnuts and tobacco on a wider scale like other parts of rural Zambia. [14] Additionally, government's objective in the agricultural sector was the encouragement of crop cultivation based on the type of soil available in a given area.[15] In this regard, the cashew nut was adopted in the Western province.

According to oral traditions, cashew nuts were introduced in Mongu district in the early twentieth century by an Angolan migrant known only as Simbangala. However, little was known about the crop's economic value. It was only in the late 1940s that David Urlin Peters, the Provincial Agricultural Officer for Barotseland, promoted cashew nuts as crops of economic value. This development was part of the wider British imperial policy of making colonies self-sufficient.[16] British colonies were expected by the imperial government to produce edible oils and fats so that they could stop relying on her for imports at a time she was facing serious shortages of such products at home owing to post-Second World War economic hardships. Excess cashew nut production also entailed exporting some to Britain, which was hard-hit by shortages of edible oils and fats.[17]

To embark on this project, Peters obtained small sized cashew nut seeds from Angola and the large sized ones from Tanzania in 1951. These were planted at

[14] G.R.Z., 'The Zambian Food and Agricultural Sector*: Rural Development Studies*, No.22 (Uppsala: International Rural Development Centre, 1987)', 33; G.R.Z., *National Commission for Development Planning*, 256; Adrian P. Wood, 'Cattle and Development in Western Zambia', Paper 28C (Huddersfield: Department of Geographical Science, 1989), 3.
[15] NAZ, ZIMCO 1/3/51, Loc. 7007, Developments since the Announcement of New Economic Measures by His Excellency the President on 30 June, 1989.
[16] William Allan, *The African Husbandman* (Edinburg: Oliver and Boyd, 1965), 98-24; Tiyambe Zeleza, 'The Political Economy of British Colonial Development and Welfare in Africa', in *Transafrican Journal of History*, 14 (1985), 139.
[17] NAZ, SEC 7/18, Tour by the Hon. Secretary for Native Affairs: Minutes of a Meeting Held at Balovale on 27 July, 1946.

Namushakende Training Institute of Mongu district.[18] After Peters's demise in 1954, his successor, J.A. Allan, took up the project with great zeal to expand it. As soon as the first nuts were harvested, he distributed some of them to village headmen along the edges of the Barotse floodplains from Namushakende to Limulunga. There was rapid spread of cashew nut production in the mentioned areas as peasant farmers widely adopted it for local consumption.[19]

After independence, the Zambian government enhanced the project driving it towards a commercial level. In 1972, the government put in place measures aimed at commercialising cashew nut production.[20] This was done through the provision of improved extension services; importation of 14,000 hybrid cashew nut seedlings in 1974 and the establishment of a processing plant at Mongu two years later.[21]

Through cashew nut production, the area experienced socio-economic transformation. Like other rural industries, the cashew nut industry led to the improvement of the living standards of the local people involved in it. For example, some people were able to sponsor the educational and medical needs of their families while others built modern houses using income from cashew nuts.[22] However, this development was sluggish due to various challenges the industry faced with regard to inadequate scientific research, poor extension services, inadequate and untimely supply of farming inputs. These were mainly because of poor management, political interference and the shifting global economic trends.

[18] Tom S. Mubita, 'Cashew Nut Growing in Western Zambia' (Unpublished paper, 1983), 2.
[19] Mubita, 'Cashew Nut Growing in Western Zambia', 2.
[20] G.R.Z., 'The Zambian Food and Agricultural Sector', 33.
[21] G.R.Z., 'The Zambian Food and Agricultural Sector', 33; Magande, *The Depth of my Footprints,* 113-117; and Mubita, 'Cashew Nut Growing in Western Zambia', 11.
[22] Interviews, Kopano Maswenyeho, Headman of Namatuta Village, Cashew Nut Farmer, Former ZCC employee and Cashew Growers Association of Zambia (hereafter, CGAZ) Chairperson, Mongu, 12 April 2019; Masiye Mulele, Cashew Nut Grower, Mongu, 15 April 2019; and Akushanga Mukelabai, Former ZCC Employee and Small-Scale Cashew Nut Processor, Mongu, 21 November 2019.

Further, the development was short-lived as it was curtailed by the privatisation process which resulted from the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) adopted by the Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD) government following its ascension to office in 1991.

The new government withdrew its support to the industry in 1993. Four years later, government sold the cashew nut industry to the Western Cashew Industries (WCI) Limited. This was a company made up of a group of local people who did not want the cashew nut industry to go into oblivion.[23] These shareholders and some of the peasant farmers in Mongu district did not want to abandon cashew nut growing and processing as their livelihood was dependent on the industry. Using their meagre resources, peasant farmers continued growing cashew nuts from the time government withdrew its support in 1993 up to 2011 when the Patriotic Front (PF) government came in to revive the industry. It is against this background that this study aims to reconstruct the history of the cashew nut industry in Mongu district of Zambia's Western province by tracing its development from 1972 to 2011. The study has three objectives. Firstly, it traces the origins and development of the cashew nut industry in Mongu district from 1972 to 2011. Secondly, it examines the challenges faced by the cashew nut industry in the district during the same period. Lastly, it investigates the social and economic impact brought by the cashew nut industry on Mongu district.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Various studies conducted on agricultural schemes in Zambia take the viewpoint that these projects were a failure. Such works include those by Gear Mumena

[23] Interview, Mukelabai.

Kajoba and Charles Kakulwa.[24] Kajoba argued that the initiative failed because of too much government interference through the imposition of maize as the major cash crop to be cultivated by peasant farmers. Similarly, Kakulwa noted that rural agricultural schemes were a failure mainly due to poor planning, the poor economic status of the nation and political interference. The current study on the other hand, demonstrates that rural agricultural schemes in post-colonial Zambia were not wholly a failure as they registered some socio-economic development in the areas where they were established. Further, the study demonstrates that peasant farmers engaged in the cashew nut industry were resilient enough to continue with their farming enterprises in spite of lack of support from government, unlike those examined by Kajoba and Kakulwa. So far, only one undergraduate research project by Reuben K. Samunyina has tackled the cashew nut industry in Western province[25] although the scope of the work is not detailed compared to the current one.

1.3 Rationale

Much has been written on the role of government in the development and sustenance of agricultural schemes in different parts of Zambia. However, there is scanty literature on the cashew nut industry in Mongu district and its contribution to social and economic development. Therefore, this study attempts to fill this gap in the literature on rural development through improved peasant agriculture in the form of cashew nuts. The study starts from 1972 in order to demonstrate how the industry faired during the period it received government support up to 1993. Further, the study seeks to find out how the industry performed from 1993 to 2011 when

[24] Gear M. Kajoba, 'Land Tenure, Land Wage and the Historical Development of Agrarian Capitalism in Zambia: The Experience of the Periphery', M.A Dissertation, University of Sussex, 1988; and Charles Kakulwa, Rural Development through Agriculture: A History of Mununshi Banana Scheme, 1967-2010', M.A Dissertation, University of Zambia, 2012.

[25] Reuben Kahinga Samunyina, 'Rural Industries in Zambia: The Case of Cashew Nuts Industry in Western Province', Undergraduate Research Paper, University of Zambia, 2009.

government funding was withdrawn from the sector following the implementation of SAP. It is hoped that this study will be a useful contribution to the body of knowledge on rural development strategies in modern Zambia.

1.4 Geography of the Area of Study

The area of study is Mongu district focusing on the main cashew nut producing areas of Malengwa, Kalangu, Mabumbu, Limulunga, Namitome, Nambwata, and Namushakende. It is in these areas where most of the cashew nut industry's activities in Mongu district took place. Mongu district is the headquarters of Western province.[26] The district is situated at the centre of the province with a population of 179,585 as at 2010.[27] Mongu town is situated on a higher ground on the eastern edge of the 30 kilometres wide Barotse floodplains of the Zambezi river running north-south which in the wet season floods right up to the town centre. It is located some 610 kilometres west of Lusaka, the capital city of Zambia.[28] Mongu is the home town for the Lozi people, a fusion of the former Luyi ethnic group with Basuto migrants from South Africa known as Makololo.[29]

The district is made up of a flat and sandy region. It is this kind of terrain that enables it to support cashew nut production, a tropical crop. Western province lies between latitude $13^{o}\,45^{'}$ and 18^{o} south and longitude $22^{o}\,30^{'}$ and $25^{o}\,30^{'}$ east.[30] Since the province lies in the tropic belt, it is suitable for cashew nut growing whose

[26] en.wikipedia.org/wiki/mongu – accessed on 23 September, 2019; and Laurel van Horn, 'The Agricultural History of Barotseland, 1840-1964', in R. Palmer and N. Parsons (eds.), *The Roots of Rural Poverty in Central and Southern Africa* (London: Heinemann, 1977), 144.
[27] G.R.Z., *Zambia 2010 Census of Population and Housing Summary Report* (Lusaka: Central Statistical Office, 2012), 53; and Monde Sililo, 'The Rice Industry, the State and Food Security in Barotseland, 1945-1990', M.A Dissertation, University of Zambia, 2017, 3.
[28] en.wikipedia.org/wiki/mongu – accessed on 23 September, 2019.
[29] C.G. Trapnell and J.N. Clothier, *The Soils, Vegetation and Traditional Agriculture of Zambia, Vol. 1: Central and Western Zambia Ecological Survey, 1932-1936* (Bristol: Redeliffe Press Ltd., 1996), 25.
[30] Lima Bank, *Annual Report for 1989*, 22.

distribution extends up to latitude 27^{o} N and 28^{o} S. Mongu district receives an average annual rainfall of 945mm, which is suitable for cashew nut production.[31] The crop requires a minimum of 500mm rainfall per year but can withstand extremes of 3,000mm to 4,000mm.[32] The sunny and drought climatic environment of the district equally enables it to support the growth of cashew nut trees. The crop requires a minimum temperature of 20 degrees Celsius (^{o}C) and a maximum of 36^{o}C.[33] Mongu district experiences a maximum temperature of 35.4^{o}C in October and a minimum of 11.8^{o}C in June. Mostly, the area is within the climatic requirements for cashew nut production. Further, the area is frost-free and does not experience extreme colds, which are a threat to the growing of cashew nuts. The period when the district experiences high temperatures is September to October which coincides with the flowering and fruit bearing stage of the cashew nut trees.

The district possesses three types of soils. The first type is the Zambezian flooded grasslands found along the plain and river edges. The second type comprises of sand veldts covering the higher dry ground with a mosaic of central Zambezian miombo woodlands. The last category is made up of the widespread Barotse sands, which cover the crytosepalum dry forests. The Barotse or Kalahari sands cover the greater part of Mongu district.[34] Despite being infertile for the growing of conventional crops, this soil type supports cashew nut trees. These trees have an extensive root system which develop well in large volumes of sandy soils and thus are able to draw nutrients from a wide soil coverage.

[31] en.wikipedia.org/wiki/mongu – accessed on 23 September, 2019.
[32] S.S. Guledgudda, 'Production and Export Performance of Cashew: An Economic Analysis', PhD Thesis, Dharwad University of Agricultural Sciences, 2005, 37.
[33] Joseph Ohler, *Cashew Nut Exporting from Mozambique* (Nacala: De Mimeo, 1991), 47.
[34] Trapnell and Clothier, *The Soils, Vegetation and Traditional Agriculture of Zambia*, 6; G.R.Z., 'The Zambian Food and Agricultural Sector', 33; and Wood, 'Cattle and Development in Western Zambia', 3.

1.5 Literature Review

A lot of literature on agricultural schemes in Zambia and elsewhere is available. One theme common in this literature is that agriculture has been portrayed as one of the most important sectors that play a critical role in the development of rural areas. Despite this recognition, most of the literature focuses on the role of the state in the sustenance of these agricultural schemes and, as such, most conclusions blame the state for the failure of these schemes owing to political interference, inadequate planning and poor management. Such works ignore the positive impact of the agricultural schemes on rural development and the resilience of peasant farmers in the sector. This is what the current study attempts to pursue. Although literature on the cashew nut industry in other parts of the world is available, this is not the case for Mongu, hence this study.

Martin Petrick and Peter Weingarten examined the critical role that agriculture plays in the development of countries. Their study focused on rural development in Central and Eastern Europe. In their work, they demonstrated how agriculture led to the development of that area. They noted that when well organised, the agricultural sector does improve the economies of not only rural areas but cities as well.[35] Petrick and Weingarten's study was important to the current study as it provided a global perspective on the significance of agriculture in the development of rural areas, which is the focus of this study.

The work by S. Guledgudda provided a wide coverage about India's cashew nut industry. The study demonstrated that India was one of the world's major cashew

[35] M. Petrick and P. Weingarten, 'The Role of Agriculture in Central and Eastern European Rural Development: An Overview', in M. Petrick and P. Weingarten (eds.), *The Role of Agriculture in Central and Eastern European Rural Development: Engine of Change or Social Buffer?* (Halle Saale: IAMO, 2004), 1-3.

nut producers and consumers. The crop was thus one of India's major agricultural foreign exchange earner. Guledgudda's study provided information on the entire production process and export performance of cashew nuts in various forms.[36] This study is very important to the current one as it provided an international perspective on the significance of the cashew nut industry in uplifting the livelihoods of peasant producers and nations at large.

John M. Cohen demonstrated that national development for many African countries is dependent on increasing the productivity of the rural masses. This entails improving the agricultural sector as that is their mainstay. Cohen noted that by the early 1970s, most African countries were bent on improving agricultural production meant not only to achieve food security for the rapidly increasing populations but also for the economic development of the rural inhabitants.[37] This study informed the current research as it provided background information on why most African countries, Zambia inclusive, embarked on the rural development agenda through various agricultural undertakings such as the cashew nut industry.

Eric Clayton investigated why the Kenyan colonial government was determined to improve African agriculture. The study established that agriculture remained the major drive for the country's economic development for a long time. This led to the government encouraging a substantial increase in the production of foodstuffs in both African and non-African areas.[38] Clayton's study was valuable to this study as

[36] Guledgudda, 'Production and Export Performance of Cashew', 1.
[37] John M. Cohen, 'Land Tenure and Rural Development in Africa', in R.H. Bates and Michael F. Lofchie (eds.), *Agricultural Development in Africa: Issues of Public Policy* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1980), 349-351.
[38] Eric Clayton, *Agrarian Development in Peasant Economies: Some lessons from Kenya* (Oxford: Pergamon press, 1964), 55.

it provided a deeper understanding of the genesis of agricultural schemes and their role in economic development in colonial Africa.

Frank Clements and Edward Harben examined the importance of agriculture in improving the economies of communities. Their study focussed on the impact of tobacco farming on Zimbabwe (formerly Southern Rhodesia). Despite having noted the challenges the tobacco growers faced in that country, the duo established that tobacco growing contributed positively to the social and economic development of Zimbabwe.[39] As such, Clements and Harben's research informed the current study as it demonstrated that the agricultural sector is very important to the development of a country's economy. The current study investigated how cashew nut production contributed to economic development in Mongu district.

Similarly, Edwin Dean and John McCracken examined agriculture's role in Malawi's economic development. Like Clements and Harben, the duo, in separate studies, established that tobacco farming helped to improve that country's economy.[40] This makes their studies relevant to this one which focuses on the socio-economic impact of the cashew nut industry in Mongu district. Further, both Dean and McCracken noted constraints such as marketing of tobacco which Malawian peasant farmers faced. Their works were important to this study as they demonstrated that the local people benefitted from tobacco farming in spite of various challenges in much the same way as the cashew nut growers of Mongu district did.

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[39] Frank Clements and Edward Harben, *Leaf of Gold: The Story of Rhodesian Tobacco* (London: Methuen, 1962), 96.

[40] Edwin Dean, *Economic Analysis – The Supply Response of African Farmers: Theory and Measurement in Malawi* (Amsterdam: North Holland Publishing Co. 1966), 8; and John McCrackens, 'Planters, Peasants and the Colonial State: The Impact of the Native Tobacco Board in the Central Province of Malawi', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 9, 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), 173.

Kenneth D.S. Baldwin's study on agricultural schemes in Nigeria focused on the Mokwa Agricultural Settlement Scheme. The study noted the challenges faced by peasant farmers and pointed out that the scheme which was opened in 1949, closed down five years later due to inadequate planning.[41] Baldwin argued that the main cause for the failure of most rural agricultural projects was lack of serious initial consideration of critical factors at the planning stage: fundamental data on soil; suitable crop for specific areas, and needs of the people in particular areas. To the contrary, the current study highlighted development that accrued from agricultural schemes such as the cashew nut industry in Mongu district.

Jannik Boesen and A.T. Mohele also examined how agricultural settlement schemes such as the Urambo contributed to the improvement of the livelihoods of the rural people in Tanzania. Their work noted that peasants composed the majority of the rural population in underdeveloped countries. As such, any efforts to improve peasant livelihoods should focus on the development of the agricultural sector, which is their mainstay.[42] Boesen and Mohele's work is significant to the current study as it provided some insights on the importance of agricultural schemes in the uplifting of the livelihoods of the rural majority as was the case with the cashew nut industry, the focus of this study.

Carin Vijfhuizen *et al*'s study focused on the cashew nut industry in Mozambique.[43] The study highlighted that the industry was an important venture which contributed to the export earnings of that country. Further, it demonstrated that the cashew nut

[41] Kenneth D.S. Baldwin, *The Nigerian Agricultural Project* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1995), 82-3.
[42] Jannik Boesen and A.T. Mohele, *The "Success Story" of Peasant Tobacco Production in Tanzania: The Political Economy of a Commodity Producing Peasantry* (Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1979), 158-159.
[43] Carin Vijfhuizen, Luis Arthur, Nazneen Kanji and Carla Braga, 'Cashew Production: Liberalisation, Gender and Livelihoods', The Cashew Nut case working paper 2, International Institute for Environment and Development - Mozambique phase 2, Jan – Dec, 2003.

industry was one of the most viable methods of injecting cash into rural areas, especially among the women and youths.[44] This study is similar to the current one, which also investigated the contribution of the cashew nut industry on the livelihoods of peasants in Mongu district and how women in particular benefited from the sector.

On the Zambian scene, John A. Hellen's study demonstrated that the majority of Zambia's population resided in rural areas. He noted that agriculture was the best means to rural development because of its untapped potential which offered a scope for increased production with low capital investment.[45] He further argued that agriculture offered an employment field which required minimal training and skill. Additionally, Hellen argued that despite the racially biased policies against African peasant farmers, rural areas still benefited from the agricultural sector during the colonial period.[46] This is beneficial to the current study, which sought to investigate how African peasant farmers benefitted from the agricultural schemes in the post-colonial period.

Hellen's argument was shared by Robert Klepper, who observed that the colonial agricultural policies which were biased against African peasant farmers were responsible for the economic imbalance between urban and rural areas. Additionally, Klepper noted that prior to the attainment of independence, the agricultural sector started to receive some attention. This intensified with the country's attainment of independence.[47] This work is significant to the current study as it provided a deeper

[44] Vijfhuizen, *et al*, 'Cashew Production: Liberalisation, Gender and Livelihoods', 16.
[45] Hellen, *Rural Economic Development in Zambia*, 23.
[46] Hellen, *Rural Economic Development in Zambia*, 23.
[47] Robert Klepper, 'The Zambian Agricultural Structure and Performance', in Ben Turok (ed.), *Development in Zambia* (London: Zed Press, 1979), 140.

understanding of why post-colonial Zambia adopted agriculture to develop rural areas, and curtail the economic imbalance inherited at independence.

Michael Lipton and Bwalya S. Ng'andu, argued that the government-led agricultural projects in the countryside were meant to curtail rural-urban migration. Their studies demonstrate that the massive movement of people into urban areas resulted in over-population which, in turn led to a shortage of employment. Owing to this, government resorted to develop rural areas so that people would remain there.[48] This makes Lipton and Bwalya's studies of great significance to the current study as they demonstrated that agricultural projects were a great device to rural development, which is the focus of this study.

Jeremy Gould and Robert Bates argue that the establishment of most rural development projects such as agricultural schemes in Zambia was politically motivated. Gould looked at how the colonial government used such ventures for its political mileage. He demonstrated that the Intensive Rural Development Scheme in Luapula province was meant to keep Africans in rural areas so as to frustrate the nationalist movements' mobilisation process.[49] Bates, on the other hand, demonstrated that even after attaining independence, some politicians still considered agricultural schemes as avenues for political patronage. He noted that the UNIP government established such undertakings in various rural provinces of Zambia, which included Western, Eastern, Luapula, Northern and North-Western, to frustrate the disgruntled politicians' support from their home provinces. Bates exemplified his argument by citing prominent politicians Nalumino Mundia and

[48] Lipton 'Why Poor People stay Poor', 74; and Bwalya S. Ng'andu, 'Constraints on the Development of Mungwi Agricultural Settlement Scheme in the Northern Province of Zambia, 1957-1991', M.A Dissertation, University of Zambia, 1998, 49.

[49] Jeremy Gould, *Luapula: Dependence or Development* (Helsinki: Zambia Geographical Association, 1989), 144-145.

Reuben Kamanga from Western and Eastern provinces respectively, who had lost their party positions at the Vice Presidency and UNIP Congress elections in 1966 and 1967 respectively. He alleged that these politicians responded negatively to government developmental projects embarked upon in their provinces.[50] Gould and Bates' works informed the current study as they provided an in-depth understanding of how political influence could potentially affect the growth of agricultural schemes such as the cashew nut industry.

Despite the foregoing arguments which portray the establishment of farming schemes as not really meant for the development of rural areas, some scholars have demonstrated that such undertakings benefited peasant farmers in the countryside. Such works include those by McSamuel R. Dixon-Fyle, Samuel N. Chipungu, Chewe M. Chabatama and Alfred Tembo.[51] These scholars argue that despite the various constraints the African peasantry went through in Zambia, there was room for prosperity. Dixon-Fyle and Chipungu observed that despite various challenges during the colonial period, the African peasantry still thrived.[52] They observed that Plateau Tonga peasants benefited directly from the government-sponsored African Farming Improvement Scheme which was introduced in Southern province in 1947. Tonga peasants benefited through loans, farming implements and training in modern farming methods. In the same vein, Chabatama and Tembo demonstrated that the

[50] Robert H. Bates, *Pattern of Uneven Developments: Causes and Consequences in Zambia* (Denver: University of Denver, 1974), 35.
[51] Dixon-Flye, 'Politics and Agrarian Change among the Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia'; M.R. Dixon-Flye, 'The Seventh - Day Adventists (S.D.A) in the Protest Politics of the Tonga Plateau, Northern Rhodesia', *African Social Research*, 26, 1 (1978), 453-67; Chipungu, *The State, Technology and Peasant Differentiation in Zambia*; Mebbiens Chewe Chabatama, 'The Colonial State, The Mission and Peasant Farming in North Western Province of Zambia: A Case Study of Zambezi District,1907-1964, M.A Dissertation, University of Zambia, 1990; and Alfred Tembo, 'The Colonial State and African Agriculture in Chipata District of Northern Rhodesia, 1895-1964', M.A Dissertation, University of Zambia, 2010.
[52] Dixon-Flye, 'Politics and Agrarian Change among the Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia'; Dixon-Flye, 'The Seventh - Day Adventists (S.D.A) in the Protest Politics of the Tonga Plateau, 453-67; and Chipungu, *The State, Technology and Peasant Differentiation in Zambia*, 14.

African peasantry prospered during the colonial era. These scholars argued that state policies were neither static nor uniform throughout the country, such that African peasants were also accorded opportunities to flourish.[53] This is very cardinal to the current study as the duo showed that despite the difficult conditions in which the peasant farmers operated, some managed to cope with the situation and prospered. These works were very useful to the current study as they provided a broadened understanding of African peasant resilience in spite of all odds at play.

Stephen C. Lombard and A.H.C. Tweedie's study on agricultural development in post-colonial Zambia outlined the critical role agriculture played in the country's economic development. The duo demonstrated that the Zambian agricultural sector was biased towards maize production as less emphasis was put on the production of non-traditional cash crops. [54] To the contrary, the current study shows that despite the emphasis on maize production, government realised that not all the country's regions could support maize growing successfully. Hence, it shifted concentration to other cash crops suitable for particular regions. This was how cashew nut growing, which is at the centre of the current study, was brought on board in the sandy district of Mongu.

Bonnard L. Mwape examined how various agricultural policies affected the development of the sector and Zambia's economy. His study demonstrated that agricultural programmes introduced in rural areas were aimed at reducing

[53] Chabatama, 'The Colonial State, The Mission and Peasant Farming in North Western Province of Zambia, 5; and Tembo, 'The Colonial State and African Agriculture in Chipata District of Northern Rhodesia', 5.
[54] Stephen C. Lombard and A.H.C. Tweedie, *Agriculture in Zambia since Independence* (Ndola: National Education Company of Zambia Limited, 1974), 20.

unemployment and improving the economies of the people.[55] He also provided major suggestions of how a successful agricultural policy and performance can enhance rural development.[56] Mwape's work was important to this research project as it demonstrated the valuable contribution agriculture offered to rural economic development. Further, the study provided an in-depth understanding of how various agricultural policies implemented by the government affected the operations of the sector's activities such as the cashew nut industry.

Adrian P. Wood examined the Zambian agricultural policy since independence. This study demonstrated that agriculture was the main source of livelihood not only for the rural majority but also for some urban dwellers. He argued that African peasant agricultural policy which initially seemed ignored throughout the country's history assumed centre stage in national economic planning and development after independence.[57] This resulted in an emphasis on peasantry growth and economic diversification. The move led to the establishment of agricultural schemes in different regions of the country. Thus, Wood's work informed this study as it provided an understanding of the basis for the establishment of agricultural schemes such as the cashew nut industry in Mongu district.

Another study that investigated agricultural changes in post-colonial Zambia was that of Ballard Zulu *et al.* The study examined how agricultural development was handled by the country's different governments since independence in 1964. Zulu and others demonstrated that each government, since the attainment of

[55] Bonnard L. Mwape, 'Zambia's Agricultural Policy and Performance, 1960-1990', PhD Thesis, University of Pittsburg, 1984, 49.
[56] Mwape, 'Zambia's Agricultural Policy and Performance', ii-iii.
[57] Wood, 'Agricultural Policy since Independence', 21.

independence, handled the agricultural sector differently.[58] Kenneth Kaunda's UNIP government used the socialist approach while Frederick Chiluba's MMD government adopted a liberal one. Such information was very useful to this study as it provided some insights of the environment in which the cashew nut industry existed and how the different policies impacted its growth.

Christopher W. Tembo observed that the farming schemes in colonial Chama and Lundazi districts were a means of injecting capital in the countryside to raise the standard of living of the rural masses.[59] Despite having acknowledged this, Tembo did not analyse the various benefits accrued to peasants from these schemes as he concentrated on the challenges encountered owing to poor extension services and poor markets. Tembo's study was useful to the current one as it provided significant background information on the introduction of agricultural schemes in Zambia. Further, his study provided a knowledge gap which this study set out to fill in highlighting the benefits accrued from such agricultural undertakings as the cashew nut industry in Mongu.

Mulenga C. Bwalya noted that various programmes put in place to encourage peasant farmer participation by the UNIP government included co-operatives, agricultural settlement schemes and rural reconstruction. These were aimed at mobilising rural people to engage in self-sustaining production, employment and income-generating ventures.[60] It is from such government programmes that the

[58] Ballard A.M. Zulu *et al*, '51 Years of Zambian Agriculture', in Antony Chapoto and Nicholas J. Sitko (eds.), *Agriculture in Zambia: Past, Present and Future* (Lusaka: Indaba Agricultural Policy Research Institute, 2015), 1-31.
[59] Christopher W. Tembo, 'Peasants and Resettlement Schemes in Chama–Lundazi, 1954 - 1980', in Ackson M. Kanduza (ed.), *Socio–economic Change in Eastern Zambia: Pre-Colonial to 1980s* (Lusaka: Historical Association of Zambia, 1992), 153.
[60] Mulenga C. Bwalya, 'Participation or Powerlessness: The Place of Peasants in Zambia's Rural Development', in Klass Worldring and Chibwe Chibaye (eds.), *Beyond Political Independence: Zambia's Development Predicament in the 1980s* (Berlin: Mouton Publishers, 1984), 73

cashew nut industry under study was instituted. Like Tembo, Bwalya noted that settlement schemes were the post-colonial government's best means to attain rural development. Despite this acknowledgement, he blamed the government for creating few, far-spaced and unevenly distributed schemes in the country. In spite of such observations, the current study paid attention to benefits accrued to such areas as Mongu resulting from similar undertakings.

Some scholars took independent studies on post-independence agricultural schemes which had a similar aim of empowering the rural masses as the cashew nut industry in Mongu district. These include; Wickson M. Mwandu, Ephraim K. Munshifwa, Monde Sililo and Charity Mbalazi.[61] Mwandu studied the Kawambwa Tea Company (KTC) scheme which was established in rural Luapula Province. He argued that KTC faced numerous constraints such as poor management, political interference and the country's poor economic performance which adversely affected its performance in the 1970s and 1980s.[62] On the other hand, Munshifwa studied the Kambilombilo scheme in the Copperbelt Province of Zambia. This scheme was initially a youth programme like Kanakantapa in Lusaka Province, born out of the 'Go Back to the Land' policy of Kaunda's UNIP government. The scheme experienced a rise in maize production and sales which led to improved livelihoods both in the scheme and the neighbourhood.[63] Despite having noted socio-economic developments that the schemes contributed to the respective areas, both Mwandu and Munshifwa focussed on the reasons for the failure of the projects. It is such

[61] Wickson M. Mwandu, 'A History of Kawambwa Tea Company, 1970-1976', M.A Dissertation, University of Zambia, 2002; Ephraim Kabunda Munshifwa, 'Migration, Land Resettlement and Conflict at Kambilombilo Ressettlement Scheme on the Copperbelt: Implications for Policy', Paper presented at the Southern African – Nordic Centre (SANORD) Conference, University of Western Cape, 5-8 December, 2007; Sililo, 'The Rice Industry, the State and Food Security in Barotseland'; and Charity Mbalazi, 'A History of Coffee Growing in Zambia: The Case of Kateshi and Ngoli Estates in Kasama District, 1967-2012', M.A Dissertation, University of Zambia, 2017.
[62] Mwandu, 'A History of Kawambwa Tea Company', 31.
[63] Munshifwa, 'Migration, Land Resettlement and Conflict at Kambilombilo Ressettlement Scheme'.

conclusions which motivated the current study to reconstruct the impact of agricultural schemes such as the cashew nut industry so as to highlight the benefits of such projects on rural communities.

Mbalazi, on one hand, studied the Kateshi and Ngoli coffee estates while Sililo on the other hand, studied the rice industry in Western province which were aimed at improving the livelihood of the rural masses and the nation's economy at large. Mbalazi acknowledged that the coffee scheme impacted positively on the local communities[64] while Sililo concluded that the rice industry was a failure.[65] Mbalazi's study informed the current study as it confirmed that even though post-colonial agricultural schemes faced challenges, they still impacted rural communities positively. On the other hand, this study, using the cashew nut industry, disputes the conclusion made by Sililo that rural agro industries in Western province were a complete failure.

Reuben K. Samunyina's work on the cashew nut industry in Zambia is worth noting as he acknowledged the economic achievements that cashew nut production could bring about if handled well.[66] The study emphasised that the cashew nut industry in Western province could not reach its full potential due to government interference. The study did not highlight how the peasants of the province benefited from the industry and how resilient some of them were when they operated without government support, after 1993. This is the gap that the current study seeks to fill by arguing that not all peasants fizzled out as some remained resolute to succeed even without support from the state.

[64] Mbalazi, 'A History of Coffee Growing in Zambia', 27.
[65] Sililo, 'The Rice Industry, The State and Food Security in Barotseland', 84.
[66] Samunyina, 'Rural Industries in Zambia', 4.

An article by the African Development Bank (AfDB) provided a historical background on the cashew nut industry in Zambia. The article demonstrated that this industry was an important means through which the Western province peasant farmers' livelihoods could be improved.[67] This work was very important to this study as it provided some information on how the cashew nut industry was introduced in Mongu and some of the challenges it has gone through. The current study is different from the AfDB one as it provided the entire developmental process and examined the benefits of the cashew nut industry among Mongu peasant farmers in detail.

The other significant work that provided significant information about the cashew nut industry in Zambia is by Ng'andu Peter Magande. His study was in line with Samunyina's as it also highlighted the commercial value of cashew nuts. He demonstrated that cashew nuts fetched a higher price on the world market than copper, the country's major foreign exchange earner.[68] In the study, Magande outlined the UNIP government's commitment in developing the Western province through the cashew nut industry. This was done through the importation of 14,000 hybrid cashew nut seedlings from South America in 1974.[69] Magande's study was useful to our study as it outlined the commercial value of cashew nuts and the potential it posed as a foreign exchange earner. However, despite highlighting such values, the study did not provide any benefits accrued to the province from that investment. It is such information that our study attempts to bring to the fore through a detailed examination of the sector.

[67] African Development Bank (hereafter, AfDB) - Zambia, *Cashew Infrastructure Development Project* (CIDP), (Lusaka: OSAN Department, 2015), 1.
[68] Magande, *The Depth of my Footprints*, 117.
[69] Magande, *The Depth of my Footprints*, 113 - 118.

1.6 Methodology

This study used both primary and secondary data. Research started in the University of Zambia's Main Library's Special Collections section. A number of published and unpublished sources such as journals, books, national development plans, parliamentary debates, dissertations, theses and government documents were consulted. These provided useful preliminary data on the study which helped to establish the kind of archival and secondary information was to be collected further for this work. The sources also provided information on the importance of agricultural schemes from the global and national perspectives. The University of Zambia's Institute for Economic and Social Research (INESOR) library was also consulted for data on the climatic suitability of Mongu district for cashew nut production.

Archival data was of great significance to this study. In this vein, the National Archives of Zambia (NAZ) and UNIP Archives were visited. Documents such as the Barotse Annual Reports, Ministry and Provincial Agricultural Monthly and Annual Reports, Ministry of Rural Development Plans and Reports, Tour Reports, presidential speeches, Zambia Cashew Company (ZCC) correspondence and Lima Bank Annual Reports were accessed from NAZ. These documents provided useful data on the climatic conditions, rural development projects and Western province's economic as well as agricultural performance in general. However, little information on the cashew nut industry in Mongu was accessed from these sources as the industry made its major strides in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Documents for this period were not accessed from the archives. The UNIP Archives provided the party's manifestos, presidential speeches, Western province party Annual Reports and various correspondences from UNIP's Members of the Central Committee.

These sources provided an insight on the party's agricultural policy and general information of its focus on rural development.

Further, information was collected from the Zambia Agricultural Research Institute (ZARI) library in Chilanga where documents consulted highlighted how the cashew nut industry was established in Mongu district. There, books, Ministry of Agriculture Annual Reports and documents on the 1985-1990 Cashew Nut Project were accessed.

The Ministry of Agriculture provincial and district offices in Mongu were visited. However, efforts to access actual documentation on the cashew nut industry's development proved futile. These documentation centres only managed to provide scanty documentation on the National Cashew Development Strategy, 2013-2017 and the Cashew Infrastructural Development Project, 2015-2020. Fortunately, the staff at these institutions provided valuable information on the industry through oral interviews.

Furthermore, oral interviews were conducted in Mongu district with different key informants. Snowball sampling was used. These key informants presented first-hand information on the cashew nut industry. The interviewees included members of the Barotse Royal Establishment (BRE), Cashew Growers Association of Zambia (CGAZ), Barotse Cashew Company (BCC) Limited, Nandusu Co-operative, Export Trading Group (ETG), smallholder processors, village headmen, former employees of ZCC, as well as former and current cashew nut farmers. Efforts to conduct oral interviews with former prominent cashew nut growers such as Mrs. Inonge M. Wina and General Malimba Masheke proved futile due to various unforeseen circumstances. The oral data collected was analysed, compared and cross checked

with other sources of data in an attempt to produce a research report that was well informed.

The Zambia Development Agency (ZDA), Central Statistical Office (CSO), Ministry of Commerce, Trade and Industry, Ministry of Agriculture headquarters in Lusaka and the Provincial National Archives Office in Mongu were visited. Unfortunately, most of these institutions indicated that they did not have such data. ZDA and Ministry of Agriculture offices only provided data of the most recent years from 2015 to 2018 which does not cover the period of the current study. The CSO, however, managed to provide some data on cashew nut exports for the period 1998 to 2001. This was useful to the current study.

1.7 Organisation of the Study

The study is divided into five chapters. Chapter One is the Introduction. Chapter Two looks at the origins and development of the cashew nut industry in Mongu district from 1972 to 2011. Chapter Three examines the various challenges the industry faced in the district since its inception. Chapter Four investigates the socio-economic impact of the industry on the local community of Mongu. The final chapter is the Conclusion, outlining the major findings of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

THE ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE CASHEW NUT INDUSTRY IN MONGU DISTRICT, 1972 - 2011

2.1 Introduction

This chapter traces the origins and development of the cashew nut industry in Mongu district of Zambia's Western province. The chapter argues that a combination of unstable and unpredictable weather conditions comprising of droughts and the nature of soils led the local people in the province not to grow conventional cash crops such as maize, tobacco and groundnuts. It was these unique and peculiar geographical conditions which made the province to adopt cashew nut production as an alternative to conventional crops. The chapter starts with a discussion on the origins and spread of cashew nuts from other areas into Mongu district. It then examines the climatic and soil requirements for cashew nut growing. It further gives an explanation of the importance of cashew nuts in various economic sectors. Additionally, the chapter discusses how the cashew nut industry evolved from the time it was commercialised by government in 1972 up to 1993. It ends with an examination of how the industry faired under private firms, from 1997 up to 2011.

2.2 Origins of Cashew Nuts

Cashew (*Anacardium Occidentale L.*) is an evergreen nut-bearing tree which has its origins in South and Central America. It belongs to the *Anacardiaceae* family which is indigenous to Brazil.[1] Cashew nut is called differently in various countries. For

[1] Zambia Agriculture Research Institute (hereafter, ZARI), 634.573, TAN (Rep), United Republic of Tanzania, Cashew Nut Industry Development Project: Annex 1 (June 1973), 1; O.O. Adeigbe, *et al*, 'A Review on the Cashew Research and Production in Nigeria in the Last Four Decades', *Academics*

example, in Brazil the locals call it '*Acaju'* while in Portugal they call it *'Caju'*.[2] The name "cashew" is said to have been derived from these local names used in Brazil, its original place, and Portugal, which was the country mainly behind its spread to various parts of the world in the sixteenth century. As Brazil had been colonised by Portugal, it was the latter that spread cashew nuts to various countries. Cashew nuts were first grown in Brazil but were later introduced to India in the sixteenth century. The crop reached East Africa about the same time.[3] The cashew nut was introduced to India and other parts of the world mostly by the Portuguese traders.[4]

Figure 1: Cashew Nuts at different stages

Source: Tabatha Rood, 'Shea versus Cashew: A Case Study of Land use change and socio-economic differences between two Industrial crops in northern Ghana', M.A Dissertation, University of Washington, 2017, 39.

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journals, 10, 5 (March 2015), 196; Mridul Eapen *et al*, 'Liberalisation, Gender and Livelihoods', The Cashew Nut Working Paper 3, International Institute for Environment and Development (2003), 11; and Tabatha Rood, 'Shea versus Cashew: A Case Study of Land Use Change and Socioeconomic differences between Two Industrial Crops in Northern Ghana', M.A Dissertation, University of Washington, 2017, 35.

[2] J.S. Bal, *Fruit Growing* (Lundhiana: Kalyani Publishers, 2006), 126; and Steven Jaffee, *Private Trader Response to Market Liberalisation: The Experience of Tanzania's Cashew Nut Industry* (Dubuque: Kendall Hant, 1994), 1.

[3] Adeigbe *et al, '*A Review on the Cashew Research and Production in Nigeria', 199.

[4] S.S. Guledgudda, 'Production and Export Performance of Cashew: An Economic Analysis', PhD Thesis, Dharwad University of Agricultural Sciences, 2005, 37; and ZARI, 634.573, TAN (Rep), United Republic of Tanzania Cashew Industry Development Project, 1.

Figure 1 shows cashew nuts at different stages of development. Cashew nuts are of different varieties and this is usually seen through the colours of the ripe apples which include red, orange and yellow. Figure 1 shows that unripe cashew nuts have green apples. The red apples show that they are almost ripe, while the orange ones are ready for harvest.

Cashew nuts were spread by the Portuguese to different parts of the world in the sixteenth century, purely for purposes of afforestation and the control of soil erosion in coastal places and not for their economic value. For example, in India the crop was initially used as a means of controlling the coastal erosion by enhancing afforestation.[5] With the passage of time, the crop was discovered to have a lot of uses to man ranging from being food, medicine as well as feed for livestock and poultry. It was also discovered to be a raw material in many industries such as construction, cosmetics, confectionary and manufacturing.[6] This led to the crop receiving wider recognition as economically valuable. As such, cashew nuts came to be grown on a wider scale in Latin America and other parts of the world which had the climatic conditions suitable for the crop's cultivation.

Having received global recognition, the cashew nut was embraced by many countries and became one of the major sources of foreign exchange. Cashew nuts appeared on the global market in the mid-1920s, with India as the sole exporter and the United States of America (USA) as the only buyer.[7] By the 1960s, Brazil, India, Mozambique, Tanzania, Nigeria and Kenya were among the major cashew nut

[5] ZARI, 634.573, TAN (Rep) United Republic of Tanzania, Cashew Nut Industry Development Project, 1.
[6] ZARI, 634.573 SCH (Gov), D. L. Schuilling, *Cold Sensitivity of Cashew Seeddlings* (Wageningen: Department of Tropical Crops Science, 1983), 2.
[7] Bianca Dendena and Stefano Corsi, 'Cashew, from Seed to Market: A Review', *Agronomy for sustainable Development*, 34, 4 (2014), 765.

exporters.[8] This resulted in the cashew nut's international market being dominated by eastern Africa and India. Table 1 below provides statistics on world cashew nut production for the period 1969 to 1972.

Table 1: World Production of Cashew Nuts (in '000' tonnes), 1969 - 1972

Country	1969/70	1970/71	1971/72	1972/73
Mozambique	142	178	173	165-170
Tanzania	107	117	117	125
India	61	66	56	50-55
Kenya	15	23	25	23-25
Brazil	15	15	41	25
Others	2	2	2	3
Total	342	401	414	392-406

Source: ZARI, 634.573, TAN (Rep), United Republic of Tanzania, Cashew Nut Development Project, 1973.

Mozambique and Tanzania topped the list of major cashew nut producers at the global level during the highlighted years. However, the scenario did not remain the same as many other countries invested heavily in the industry and that led to different countries being top on the list interchangeably over the years. By 2000, India, USA, China and Japan had also become major consumers of cashew nuts.[9] By 2004, India was rated the world's largest producer, processor, consumer and exporter of cashew nuts.[10] Vietnam also came on board to dominate the industry in terms of production of raw nuts. In 2005, for example, it topped the list, followed by

[8] ZARI, 634.573, TAN (Rep), United Republic of Tanzania, Cashew Nut Industry Development Project, 30.
[9] Tabatha Rood, 'Shea versus Cashew: A Case Study of Land use change and socio-economic differences between two Industrial crops in norther Ghana', M.A Dissertation, University of Washington, 2017, 35.
[10] Guledgudda, 'Production and Export Performance of Cashew', 11.

India, Nigeria, Brazil, Tanzania and Indonesia in that order.[11] By 2011, it was still rated as the world's largest producer of cashew nuts. In that year, Vietnam accounted for about 30 per cent of the total world production which had reached 4.27 million tonnes. On the other hand, India was the major primary importer of raw cashew nuts and a major exporter of processed kernels to the USA and European Union.[12] Zambia was among the world's cashew nut exporters as early as the 1970s.[13] However, her capacity to export was not consistent due to many challenges faced as will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

2.3 Introduction and Spread of Cashew Nuts in Mongu District

Local folklore has it that cashew nuts were first introduced in Zambia's Western province by a man named Simbangala, an Angolan migrant. He is believed to have brought the nuts from Angola, a Portuguese colony, and presented them as a gift to the Litunga Yeta III (king of the Lozi people of Western province, 1916-1945) in the 1920s. The Litunga then instructed that the seeds be grown so that people in the province could benefit in terms of nutrition provided by the rare nuts. In order to honour the man who brought the cashew nut seed to him, the Litunga named the tree as *simbangala*. Since then, the cashew nut has been known as *simbangala* by the local people of Western province.[14] People in Mongu received the cashew nuts with excitement as it was their first time to see nuts obtained from tree branches, and not the ground as they always did with groundnuts. The local people started to grow the

[11] Guledgudda, 'Production and Export Performance of Cashew', 11; Different weather conditions such as heavy floods and severe droughts affected cashew nut production in most cases. Therefore, it was not possible for particular countries to top the list of producers all the time.
[12] Dendena and Corsi, 'Cashew, from Seed to Market', 765-766.
[13] Food and Agricultural Organisation (hereafter, FAO) Production Yearbooks quoted in Steven Jaffee, *Private Trader Response to Market Liberalisation*, 6.
[14] Gorebrown Kashumba Kayuwa, 'History of the Cashew Tree in Western Province', A Paper Presented at the Official Launch of the Cashew Infrastructural Development Project (hereafter, CIDP) in Mongu; and Lima Bank *Annual Report*, 1987.

trees mainly for providing shade and consumption of the nuts at household level.[15] The nuts were used as a snack while the pounded nut meal was used in the cooking of vegetables.

In the late 1940s, David Urlin Peters, the Provincial Agricultural Officer for Barotseland, adopted the cashew nut as a tree crop of economic value. He got seeds from the trees that were already grown at Namushakende and carried out various experiments. After realising that they were less productive, he obtained different varieties of small sized seeds from Angola and large sized ones from Tanzania in 1951, which he tried at Namushakende Training Institute, 30km south of Mongu district and the neighbouring Kataba area.[16] The cashew nut trees tried at Kataba failed due to frost. [17] Those at Namushakende did well. Later, some trials were also done at Mount Makulu research station which also failed due to the type of soil which could not support cashew nut growth successfully.[18] Peters' efforts of growing cashew nuts, to be used in the production of oil, fats, and other products, were in line with the post-Second World War British policy of making colonies self-sufficient in food production. In the 1940s, the Colonial Office instructed colonies to produce edible oils, fats and other commodities in order to reduce the latter's reliance on British reserves which were committed to war.[19]

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[15] C.L.M. van Eijnatten and R.W.P. Roos, *Quality Assessment of Zambian Cashew Nuts: Tropical Crops Communication 1* (Wageningen: Department of Tropical Crops, 1982), 1; and Interview, Chabalanga Ng'ambi, District Agricultural Coordinator (hereafter, DACO), Mongu, 12 April 2019.
[16] G.R.Z, *Third National Development Plan*, 1979-1983 (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1983), 22.
[17] National Archives of Zambia (hereafter, NAZ), Shelf No.9, Box No. 9A, Ministry of Rural Development, Department of Agriculture, 101-2.
[18] NAZ, Shelf No.9, Box No.9A, Ministry of Rural Development, Department of Agriculture.
[19] Alfred Tembo, 'The Impact of the Second World War on Northern Rhodesia (Zambia), 1939-1953', PhD Thesis, University of the Free State, 2015, 159; David U. Peters, 'Land Usage in Barotseland', *The Rhodes-Livingstone Communication, 19* (1960), 35-39; and Tiyambe Zeleza, 'The Political Economy of Britain Colonial Development Welfare in Africa', in *Transafrican Journal of History*, 14 (1985), 139-161.

Following the death of Peters in 1954, J.A. Allan, who became the Provincial Agricultural Officer, continued with the project. Once the trees produced mature nuts, Allan collected them and distributed them to village headmen along the Barotse plain edges from Namushakende to Limulunga.[20] The soil along the edges of the plain, locally called *litongo* supported the growth of various fruit trees.[21] Therefore, cashew nut trees grew well there and that led to the rapid expansion of the planting of trees in Mongu district.

To enhance the spread of the crop in Mongu district, government put in place different measures. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, before the distribution of the cashew nut seeds, a short course was put in place for all village headmen who were earmarked to participate in the project. The Colonial government saw this as one way that would prepare the would-be growers for the task which lay before them. It was done with the help of the staff of the Department of Agriculture who offered extension services and training to all those involved in cashew nut growing.[22] The strategy enabled the local people to learn more about this alien crop. As such, they managed to cope with the taxing requirements of cashew nut production with less difficulties. The trainees were equipped with knowledge in planting techniques, general management and processing of the crop. Further, they were also trained on the various uses of cashew nut products such as oil, the apple, and leaves which could be used for flavouring the local rice variety as was the case in Malaysia and

[20] Tom S. Mubita, 'Cashew Nut Growing in Western Zambia' (Unpublished paper, 1983) 3. Allan took advantage of the *'matongo'* soils found on Barotse floodplain edge which were seen to have successfully supported other fruit trees such as mangoes grown there earlier.

[21] NAZ, BSE 1/10/72, Loc. 5039, Barotse Protectorate Development Commissioner; NAZ, MAG 2/6/20, Loc. 152, Barotse Protectorate Tour Report No. 5, 2; NAZ, MAG 2/9/10, Loc. 171, Peters' Report; and C.G. Trapnell and J.N. Clothier, *The Soils, Vegetation and Traditional Agriculture of Zambia, Vol.1: Central and Western Zambia Ecological Survey, 1932-1936* (Bristol: Redeliffe Press Ltd, 1996), 25.

[22] Mubita, 'Cashew Nut Growing in Western Zambia', 7.

India.[23] The training exercise was followed by seed distribution by the extension staff who continued educating both village headmen and ordinary villagers on production techniques of cashew nuts.

The strategy of offering training to peasant farmers prior to embarking on the project worked so well that it led to the quick expansion of cashew nut tree cultivation. As a result, cashew nut trees were soon dotted around the fields of Mongu villages in abundance in the late 1960s. However, this practice was short-lived due to some financial constraints. The industry did not receive adequate financial support from the government. As such, the local people were denied the much needed knowledge of cashew nut production. Further, the crop did not easily expand to other parts of the province due to some challenges faced as will be discussed in the next chapter. Apart from agricultural extension staff and the few trained village headmen and villagers, not many people and organisations knew the economic importance of cashew nuts.[24] This led to cashew nuts not having a market locally such that the growers' enthusiasm to expand their plantations waned. Those who did not start growing the cashew nuts were discouraged even further.

On the other hand, the political turbulence which involved the struggle for independence disrupted most projects in the country and the cashew nut industry was not spared. Rural agro projects before independence were seen by African politicians as a hindrance to the emancipation of the local people.[25] They were seen

[23] Reuben K. Samunyina, 'Rural Industries in Zambia: The Case of Cashew Nuts Industry in Western Province', Undergraduate Research Report, University of Zambia, 2009, 27; and Zambia Cashew Company *Corporate Plan Report of 1986*, 12.
[24] Interview, Ng'ambi, Mongu, 12 April 2019.
[25] Jeremy Gould, *Luapula: Dependence or Development* (Helsinki: Zambia Geographical Association, 1989), 144-145; and Bwalya S. Ng'andu, 'Constraints on the Development of Mungwi Agricultural Settlement Scheme in the Northern Province of Zambia, 1957-1991', M.A Dissertation, University of Zambia, 1998, 24, 49. The African nationalists saw the introduction of rural projects as one way of distracting Africans' concentration to fight for independence, hence they opposed the

as means used by the colonial government to distract Africans from fighting for their independence. As such, the cashew nut industry did not perform well in its formative years, from the 1950s to 1960s.

After the attainment of independence in 1964, the state of cashew nut production in Mongu district did not change rapidly. This was because the years immediately after independence saw opposition political parties aiming at disrupting government-sponsored projects. One of the opposition political groups was the United Party (UP) led by Nalumino Mundia, a member of the local Lozi ethnic group. Robert H. Bates observed that the disgruntled leader of the opposition UP was one such nationalist who decided to frustrate government developmental projects in the Western province.[26] The UP discouraged cashew nut growers from continuing with the project as the party leadership alleged that government would dispossess people of the land on which they had planted trees from the free cashew nut seeds obtained through the Ministry of Agriculture.[27] In view of this, the local people were discouraged from actively engaging in cashew nut production as they feared losing their land in the future. Such opposition campaigns adversely affected the development and expansion of the cashew nut industry in Mongu district in the late 1960s.

Owing to such disturbances, the cashew nut industry's growth was gradual as some people were sceptical about it. The industry remained without remarkable growth until 1972 when government put in place measures to develop it as a way of

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move. However, later the nationalists came to understand the intentions and began supporting the move and this was seen immediately after gaining independence, UNIP adopted the move and worked towards its expansion.

[26] Robert H. Bates, *Patterns of Uneven Development: Causes and Consequences in Zambia* (Colorado: University of Denver, 1974), 35.

[27] Ohler A. Leistner, *Seed Plants of Southern Tropical Africa* (New York: Sabonet Press, 2005), 36.

uplifting the livelihoods of the people of Mongu. To show that determination, a survey was carried out by the Ministry of Agriculture on about 800 cashew nut trees in Mongu.[28] Further, the Department of Agriculture purchased all the harvested nuts from tree owners. In 1972, a total of 880 kilogrammes of raw nuts were purchased.[29] The nuts purchased were later distributed to various villagers as seed with the ultimate objective of expanding the cashew nut project which was expected to grow into a viable industry.[30] In 1973, the Ministry of Agriculture aimed at securing an area of about 2,850 hectares of mature cashew nut trees to support a viable processing industry.[31]

By 1974, the Ministry of Agriculture had moved away from merely distributing free seeds to selling them. Since some people had understood the importance of cashew nuts through the various sensitisation training undertakings they had received from the Department of Agriculture, they continued to buy seeds which saw the expansion of their plantations. During the same period, government imported 14,000 hybrid cashew nut trees from South America in its quest to expand the industry.[32] Thus, between 1972 and 1975, a total of fifteen thousand cashew nut trees were planted along the edges of the Barotse floodplains in Mongu district.[33] So successful was the expansion of the industry that a processing plant was installed by government in Mongu in 1976.[34] This had a positive bearing on the cashew nut industry as growers were assured of a ready market for their produce. In the first year of that plant's production, 1,147 kernels were sold to areas around the line of

[28] van Eijnatten and Roos, *Quality Assessment of Zambian Cashew Nuts,* 1.
[29] van Eijnatten and Roos, *Quality Assessment of Zambian Cashew Nuts,* 1.
[30] G.R.Z., 'The Zambian Food and Agricultural Sector', *Rural Development Studies,* No.22 (Uppsala: International Rural Development Centre, 1987), 46.
[31] G.R.Z., 'The Zambian Food and Agricultural Sector', 46.
[32] Ng'andu P. Magande, *The Depth of my Footprints: From the Hills of Namaila to the Global Stage* (Atlanta: Maleendo & Company, 2018), 113 and 118.
[33] James Austin, *Cashew Nut Exports from Mozambique* (Nacala: Caju de Mimeco, 1991), 23.
[34] Mubita, 'Cashew Nut Growing in Western Zambia', 6.

rail, especially Lusaka and the Copperbelt.[35] Between 1976 and 1981, the Ministry of Agriculture embarked on a vigorous programme of raising cashew nut seedlings which were sold to the cashew nut growers around Mongu and other areas. By 1982, the number of cashew nut trees in the area had reached about 45,000.[36]

The setting up of the processing industry in Mongu led to the creation of jobs for the local population. The industry had an establishment of 75 permanent employees and up to 500 temporary jobs during the harvesting period, from October to January.[37] This labour was utilised in many processes such as humidifying the nuts, roasting, shelling, peeling, drying, grading and packing of kernels and other cashew nut products. Figure 2 on the next page shows the various stages in the processing of cashew nuts. The latter products included the peeled-off shells whose liquid is used in the manufacturing of paints, varnish, glue, adhesives, acid proof, disinfectants, industrial floor tiles and automobile brake lining.[38]

[35] Leistner, *Seed Plants of Southern Tropical Africa*, 32; and Mubita, 'Cashew Nut Growing in Zambia'. The line of rail, Lusaka and the Copperbelt provided a market for most products from different parts of the country due to the commercial farming and mining activities which took place there that attracted many people from various parts of the country.
[36] Mubita, 'Cashew Nut Growing in Western Zambia', 6.
[37] Interviews, Kopano Maswenyeho, Headman of Namatuta Village, Cashew Nut Farmer, Former ZCC Employee and Cashew Growers Association of Zambia (hereafter, CGAZ) Chairperson, Mongu, 12 April 2019; Moses Shimbilimbili, Nandusu Cooperative Managing Director, Mongu, 17 April 2019; and Agreyidraye Hampande, Former Farm Supervisor for Mabumbu Plantation, Mongu, 25 April 2019.
[38] Interview, Shimbilimbili, Mongu, 17 April 2019; see also ZARI 634.573 TAN (Rep), United Republic of Tanzania, Cashew Nut Industry Development Project: Annex VI, 1; and Adeigbe *et al*, 'A Review on Cashew Research and Production in Nigeria', 1.

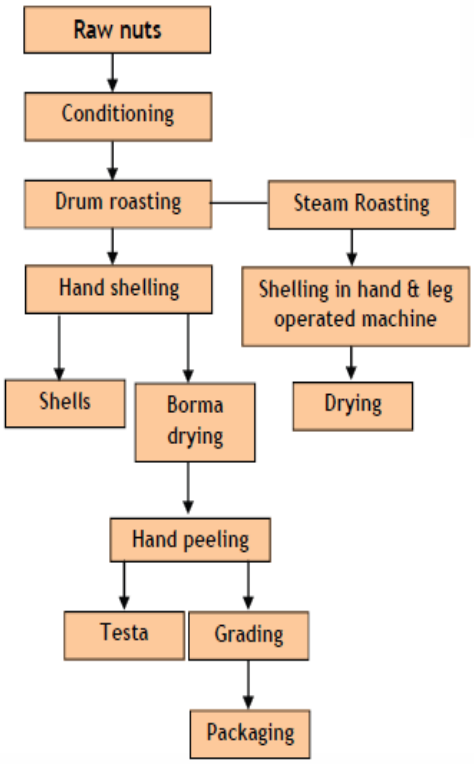


Figure 2: The Cashew Nut Processing Flow Chart

Source: Hassan S. Mussaliar and G. Strivatsava, *Cashew Handbook 1: A Global Perspective,* 3rd Edition (Bangalore: Foretell Business Solution Pvt Ltd, 2011), 79. Also, see Jaffee, *Private Trader Response*, 5.

The different stages of cashew nut processing as shown in Figure 2 above required specialisation of labour and this attracted a lot of people to the industry.

Cashew nut grows optimally under warm and humid climatic conditions of about 20°C to 36°C. Further, it requires well-drained soils.[39] Guledgudda observes that 'the best-suited soil for cashew nut trees is the deep well-drained red sandy soil with a ph. value ranging between 6.30 to 7.31'.[40] Mongu district, like much of the Western province, was well within the required ph. levels for the growth of cashew nuts. The greater part of the province is covered with the deep loose Kalahari sands

[39] ZARI, 634.573, SCH (Gov), Schuilling, *Cold Sensitivity of Cashew Seedlings,* 2; ZARI, 634.573, LAT (Gov), T. Latis, Cashew Cultivation, 3; ZARI, 634.573, LAT (Gov) T. Latis, Cashew Nut Prospects in Western Province and the rest of Zambia, 1986, 1; and Dendena and Corsi, 'Cashew, from Seed to Market', 756.

[40] Guledgudda, 'Production and Export Performance of Cashew', 37. See also Dendena and Corsi, 'Cashew, from Seed to Market', 756.

ranging from whitish to golden colour.[41] These sands cover the largest part of the province in the uplands of Mongu, Nalolo, Senanga, Sesheke, Kalabo and Lukulu. The Kalahari sands extend westwards through Angola and southwards into Botswana.[42] Cashew nut trees grew well in sandy soils because of their extensive root system which need to go deep down without any hindrance. Peters, who adopted cashew nuts as crops of economic value in the area during the colonial period observed that 'tree growth in Western province is extremely good owing to the deep and well-drained nature of the sands and their capacity to retain water'.[43]

With a reaction of weakly acid of ph. 4.5 to 5.5 and low fertility, the greatest part of the area was deemed unfit for conventional crops such as maize, tobacco, and groundnuts.[44] Under these circumstances, the cashew nut was seen as an alternative as it was able to grow in such areas. Umesh *et al* observe that cashew nuts represent a diversification option for inferior degraded lands which are less suitable for commercial cultivation of other food crops.[45] However, the southern part of the province is made up of transitional sands, typically of a greyer or browner colouration with a much higher proportion of fine sand. This type of sand was distinguished from others by a less acid reaction of ph. 5.5 to 6.5. These areas could support the successful growing of conventional cash crops such as maize. Such areas included Senanga, Sesheke and parts of Kaoma district. These areas contained

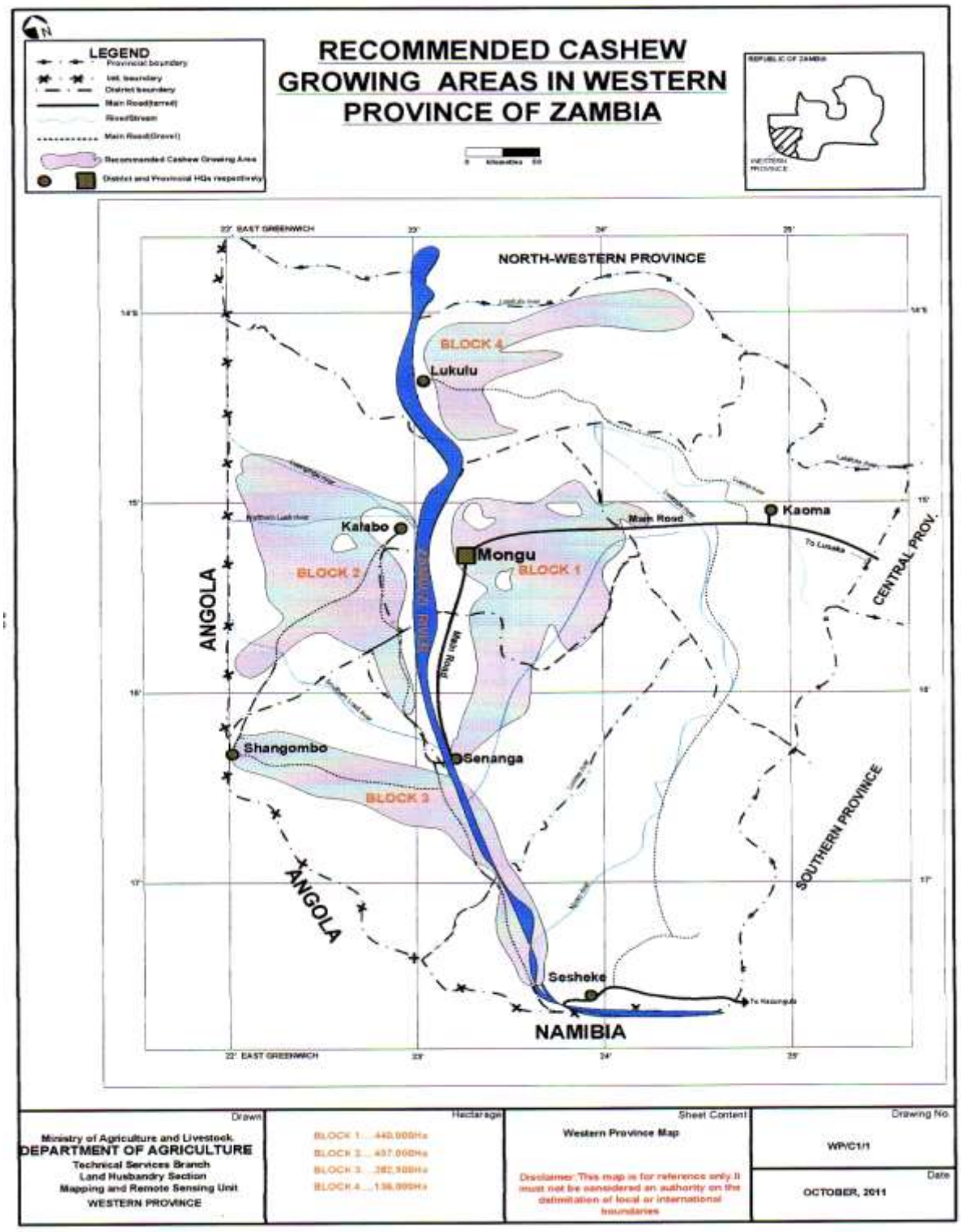
[41] Trapnell and Clothier, *The Soils, Vegetation and Traditional Agriculture of Zambia*, 6; G.R.Z., *Zambia 2000 Census of Population and Housing, Vol. IX: Western Province Analytical Report* (Lusaka: Central Statistical Office, 2004), 1; and ZARI, 634.573, LAT (Gov), Latis, Cashew Nut Prospects in Western Province, 1-2.
[42] NAZ, MAG 2/9/10, Loc. 171, Peters' Report, 7.
[43] NAZ, MAG 2/9/10, Loc. 171, Peters Report, 12.
[44] G.R.Z., 'The Zambian Food and Agricultural Sector', 33; Trapnell and Clothier, *The Soils, Vegetation and Traditional Agriculture of Zambia*, 23; and G.R.Z., *National Commission for Development Planning Economic Report for 1990* (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1990).
[45] K. Umeshi, B. Vishnuvardhana and G. Thirmualaraju, *Cashew Industry in India*, 6, 9 and 10 (2002), 16-18. See also M.A. Bezerra, C.F.D. Lacerda , E. Gomes Filho, C.E.D. Abreu, and J.T. Prisco, 'Physiology of Cashew Plants Grown Under Diverse Conditions', *Braz J Plant Physiol* 19, 4 (2007), 449–461.

some of the best soils in the country.[46] Besides the drought resistant crops, these parts of the province support a variety of different crops such as maize, groundnuts, tobacco and cotton.[47] This shows that even though the province possesses infertile soils in most parts, it still has some areas suitable for the production of conventional crops. Kaoma district proved to have had the most fertile soils which could accommodate various kinds of crops. For this reason, it was known as the "food basket" of Western province.[48]

Further, Mongu experiences high temperatures which made it suitable for cashew nut growing. The Western province was rated by the Meteorological Department in 1987 as the driest area in Zambia with an average rainfall varying from 600mm to 1,000mm.[49] The Department's records for the period 1946 to 1986 showed that the highest average rainfall of 1,021mm was recorded at Lukulu. A minimum average of 730mm was recorded at Sesheke for the period 1952 to 1986.[50] This made the area suitable for cashew nuts - a drought-resistant crop requiring a minimum of 500mm rainfall per year, although it could also withstand extremes of about 3,000mm to 4,000mm of rainfall.[51]

[46] NAZ, MAG 2/6/133, Report of the Committees on Agriculture Seminars, 1.
[47] NAZ, BSE 1/2/91, Loc. 4985, Barotse Annual Report for 1958.
[48] NAZ, BSE 1/2/91, Loc. 4985, Barotseland Annual Report for 1957-1958.
[49] G.R.Z., 'The Zambian Food and Agricultural Sector', 33.
[50] Hein van Gils, *Environmental Profile for Western Province, Zambia* (Mongu: The Nertherlands Provincial Planning Unit, 1988), 1.
[51] Adeigbe *et al* 'A Review on Cashew Research and Production in Nigeria', 196.

Map 2: The Four Cashew Nut Blocks of Western Province



Source: G.R.Z., *National Cashew Development Strategy, 2013 - 2017* (Lusaka: Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock, 2012), 27.

Map 2 shows the recommended cashew nut growing areas in Western province with Mongu district as one of them.

2.4 Uses of Cashew Nuts

Cashew nuts and the tree from which they are derived have various uses. The crop possesses over seventy by-products.[52] All the parts of the tree which include the stem, bark, roots, leaves, apple, and the nut itself perform different functions which are beneficial to man. However, the main products are the raw nut, cashew kernel and Cashew Nut Shell Liquid (CNSL).[53] The tree is used for reforestation and buffering of roadsides.[54] The stem, for example, can be used as firewood, charcoal, as well as for canoe and pole making. The bark is used to cure different ailments such as toothache and sore gums.[55] Further, the tree's roots cure bowel complications such as purging while the leaves are used as a remedy for calcium deficiency. The cashew resins can be used either as an expectorant or cough remedy.[56] Additionally, the dry leaves can be used as manure for other crops.[57] The apple, on the other hand, is eaten as a fruit and in some cases, used in the preparation of juice, syrup, candy, jam, jelly, alcoholic beverages and animal feed.[58]

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[52] Interview, Maswenyeho; and Adeigbe *et al*, 'A Review on Cashew Research and Production in Nigeria', 196.
[53] Gulegudda, 'Production and Export Performance of Cashew', 37.
[54] Felix M. Chipojola, 'Phenotypic Characterisation and Evaluation of Factors affecting Grafting Success of Cashew Nut (Anarcadium occidantale L.) in Malawi', M.Sc Thesis, University of Malawi, 2009, 2.
[55] S.K. Pell, 'Molecular systematics of Cashew Family (Anarcadiaceae)', PhD Thesis, The State University of Louisiana, 2004.
[56] Chipojola, 'Phenotypic Characterisation and Evaluation of Factors affecting Grafting Success', 2.
[57] Gulegudda, 'Production and Export Performance of Cashew', 37.
[58] Gulegudda, 'Production and Export Performance of Cashew'; Zambia Cashew Infrastructure Development Project. Paper presented at the launch of the project in Mongu, 2015; interviews, Masiye Mulele, Cashew Nut Grower, Mongu, 15 April 2019; and Maswenyeho.

Figure 3: Components of a Cashew Nut, Raw Nuts and Cashew Kernels

Source: Zambia Cashew Infrastructure Development Project, 'Brief for Launch', A Paper presented at the Launch of the Project, 2015; and Field data.

CNSL was fractionated in a process similar to the distillation of petroleum. It pulverised solids and was used as a friction particle for brake linings and an amber-coloured liquid that was animated to create phenalkamine curing agent and resin modifiers.[59] According to the International Board for Plant Genetic Resource, the CNSL end products were primarily used in epoxy coatings for the marine and flooring markets, as they had intense hydrophobic properties and were capable of remaining chemically active at low temperatures.[60]

The cashew kernel is the main product of the cashew nut tree. It is the main reason why the cashew nut crop is cultivated. The cashew kernel is known for its delicious pleasant taste and balanced nutritive value. The cashew kernel, usually eaten as a snack, is cholesterol free with nutritive values which include proteins, fats, carbohydrates and all the soluble vitamins A, D, E, and K.[61] It is also used as an ingredient in the manufacture of butter, sweets, and chocolate.[62] For cashew nut growers in Mongu, the nuts were mainly used as snacks or as ingredients in the

[59] Chipojola, 'Phenotypic Characterisation and Evaluation of Factors affecting Grafting Success', 2.
[60] International Board for Plant Genetic Resource, *Cashew* (*Anacardium occidentale L.*): *Descriptors for Plant Genetics* (Rome: Genetic Resource Centre, Plant Production and Protection Division, 1986), 1-33.
[61] Gulegudda, 'Production and Export Performance of Cashew', 37.
[62] Chipojola, 'Phenotypic Characterisation and Evaluation of Factors affecting Grafting Success'. 2.

cooking of vegetables. As one interviewee rightly observed, the crop was locally known for its valuable nuts.[63]

Besides the above functions, the cashew nut is rich in different vital food supplements which are also important to man. These properties enabled it to be used in the manufacturing and production of various foods. The constituent properties found in cashew nuts are indicated in Table 2 below.

Table 2: Composition of Cashew Apple and Kernel

S/N	Content	Cashew apple (Proportion in per cent or mg/100 grams)	Cashew kernels (in percentage)
1	Moisture	87.5 per cent	5.9 per cent
2	Carbohydrate	11.6 per cent	22.0 per cent
3	Protein	0.2 per cent	21.0 per cent
4	Fat	0.1 per cent	47.0 per cent
5	Tannic acid	0.5mg / 100gms	--
6	Minerals	0.2 per cent	--
7	Carotine	0.09	--
8	Vitamin C	0.26mg / 100gms	--
9	Calcium	0.01mg / 100gms	0.55mg / 100gm
10	Phosphorus	0.01mg / 100gms	0.45mg / 100gm
11	Iron (mg / 100gm)	0.2mg / 100gms	5.0mg / 100gm

Source: R.C. Mandal, *Cashew Production and Processing Technology* (Lundhiana: AGROBIOS, 2000), 129.

2.5 Commercialisation of the Cashew Nut Industry in Mongu

The development of the cashew nut industry in Mongu district was planned based on the Second National Development Plan (1972-1976). The plan was focused on:

[63] Interview, Ng'ambi, Mongu, 12 April 2019. See also ZARI, 634.573 LAT (Gov), Latis, Cashew Nut Prospects in Western Province. The apple of the cashew was also eaten as a fruit by the locals.

> Attaining self-sufficiency in most of the much-needed resource requirements, economic development for the rural areas, need for manpower in rural areas, curbing the problem of rural-urban drift, expanding and diversifying the industry and comprehensive measures for regional development.[64]

The cashew nut industry was one such industry formed to spearhead these objectives in Mongu. As a result, it received support from the government. Further, the industry was influenced by the Litunga Ilute Yeta IV (1977-2000), who had a lot of interest in agriculture.[65] In doing so, the Litunga was convinced that the local people would benefit from cashew nut cultivation as their livelihood was mainly dependent on agriculture.

Like other rural agro schemes, the cashew nut industry was regarded by government as the clearest means of achieving economic development in the countryside. It was aimed at achieving crop diversification, food security, creating job opportunities, income generation, reducing poverty and improving the standard of living of the people along the Zambia cashew nut hub.[66] With such benefits, the Litunga and the government were determined to see the cashew nut industry flourishing in the province which had high levels of poverty estimated at about 80 per cent.[67] The Zambian government aimed at developing rural industries and even offered support

[64] G.R.Z., *The Second National Development Plan, 1972-1976* (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1970), 1.
[65] Interview, Induna Inyundwana, Barotse Royal Establishment (hereafter, BRE), Mongu, 15 April 2019; and Njekwa Kamayoyo, 'Anatomy of Economic Underdevelopment of Lyalui Area, 1890-1924', M.A Dissertation, University of Zambia, 1984, 64.
[66] G.R.Z., *The National Cashew Development Strategy, 2013-2017* (Lusaka: Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock, 2012), 4; and ZARI, 634.573, LAT (Gov), Latis, Cashew Nut Prospects in Western Province, 1.
[67] G.R.Z., *Zambia 2010 Census of Population and Housing Summary Report*; and G.R.Z., *Zambia Demographic and Healthy Survey, 2013-14* (Lusaka: Central Statistical Office, 2015).

in form of subsidies.[68] The cashew nut industry was one such industry which received that support.

To expand the industry further, the Ministry of Agriculture encouraged schools to own cashew nut plantations. In this regard, school Production Units (P.U) were charged with the responsibility of training pupils in cashew nut planting. After being trained in planting seedlings at school plantations, each pupil was given some cashew nut seedlings for planting in their home gardens.[69] Parents were also invited to schools during planting demonstration activities.[70] Owing to such initiatives, most schools ended up having cashew nut plantations within their premises. To encourage more people to get involved in cashew nut growing, locals even composed a song for the purpose. They sang, in part, that: *'Malozi amucale simbangala ki peu yende…eee luli ki peu yende'*,[71] meaning 'Lozis should grow cashew nuts because they are very beneficial crops'. The song was commonly sung in schools as well as villages during cashew nut planting demonstration activities. The involvement of pupils in the planting and management of cashew nut trees was aimed at equipping them with skills from which to benefit after leaving school.

In trying to expand the industry further, the government introduced the Cashew Development Programme in 1983. The Programme was intended to provide solutions to the challenges that the cashew nut industry had been facing since inception. This brought to the fore a number of improved strategies in terms of

[68] NAZ, MAG 6/3/2, Loc. 4288, Development of Rural Industries; and Monde Sililo, 'The Rice Industry, the State and Food Security in Barotseland, 1945-1990', M.A Dissertation, University of Zambia, 2017, 40.
[69] ZARI, 634.573 JAC (Gov), V.J. Jacob, G.R.Z / *FAO Cashew Nut Research and Development Project: Project and handing over notes* (Mongu: Regional Research Station, 1990), 12.
[70] ZARI, 634.573 JAC (Gov), Jacob, G.R.Z / *FAO Cashew Nut Research and Development Project*, 12.
[71] Interview, Gorebrown Kashumba Kayuwa, Cashew Nut Grower (Nambwata) and Vice Chairperson for CGAZ, Mongu, 15 April, 2019.

research and extension, processing, marketing and credit facilities offered to the smallholder farmers. To help attain this, the Provincial Administration Planning Unit, working hand in hand with Wageningen Agriculture University of the Netherlands, carried out feasibility studies which recommended the development of the cashew nut industry in the Western province. The feasibility studies confirmed that cashew nuts could grow very well in the province[72] and recommended four cashew nut blocks where plantations could be set up in Mongu, Kalabo, Lukulu and Senanga as shown in Map 2 on page 41. The first block covered Mongu district.[73].

Having noted the economic potential of cashew nuts in poverty alleviation, Litunga Ilute Yeta IV engaged the government on the same in 1984. He implored the Permanent Secretary for the Western province, Silumelume Mubukwanu, to find a suitable way of expanding the industry in the area.[74] The combined effort of the BRE and the government led to the establishment of the Zambia Cashew Company (ZCC) in Mongu in 1985. The company was registered the following year.[75] It was established with an authorised share capital of twenty million kwacha.[76] ZCC was charged with the sole responsibility of commercialising the cashew nut industry by improving its production, processing and marketing of the kernels and CNSL, both locally and internationally.

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[72] *Zambia Daily Mail*, 'West Cashew Industry Oozes Potential', Wednesday, 6 March 2019, 11.
[73] ZARI, 634.573 SCH (Gov), Schuilling, *Cold Sensitivity of Cashew Seedlings*, 2; Interview, Shimbilimbili and Wamundila Mwendabai, Cashew Nut Farmer, Malengwa, Mongu, 17 April 2019; and Zambia Cashew Company (hereafter, ZCC) Limited, 'Cashew Nut Cultivation Manual' (Unpublished), 28.
[74] Interviews, Induna Inyundwana, Mongu, 17 April 2019; and Maswenyeho, Mongu, 12 April 2019.
[75] NAZ, ZIMCO 1/3/55, Loc. 7008, Zambia Cashew Company Ltd; G.R.Z., *National Cashew Development Strategy*; African Development Bank (hereafter, AfDB)-Zambia, *Cashew Infrastructure Development Project* (hereafter, CIDP) (Lusaka: OSAN Department, 2015); and *Zambia Daily Mail*, 'West Cashew Industry Oozes Potential', 11.
[76] Morris Duncan, *Tanzania Cashew Nut Production and Marketing* (London: Manchester University Press, 2002), 6.

ZCC was a subsidiary of the Zambia Industrial and Mining Corporation (ZIMCO), which was mandated to manage all government-run industries throughout the country. ZIMCO was charged with the responsibility of building a sound commercial and industrial base in the country which was vulnerable to upheavals in the world economy.[77] ZIMCO's aim was to reorganise the country's economy as a way of strengthening its economic structure and the development of resources at domestic level. With an economic environment that was based on a sound domestic industrial structure and a strong regional economic structure, ZIMCO was assured of accruing many benefits.[78] It was expected to ensure that all the economic sectors under its charge were viable and profitable. As such, its main objectives were to:

> Increase profitability in order to generate surplus so as to create a solid base for current operations' expansion and to maintain a sound financial position. It was also aimed at diversifying operations effectively so as to satisfy the current and future needs of the nation.[79]

In this vein, ZIMCO provided financial and management support to a lot of industries in the country, the cashew nut industry inclusive.

Besides the support from ZIMCO, ZCC received financial help of two million kwacha from Zambia State Insurance Company (ZISC) Limited and Zambia National Provident Fund (ZNPF), which were all government parastatals.[80] Additionally, to ensure a broader financial base, three private firms namely; the Commonwealth Development Corporation (CDC), British Petroleum (BP) Africa

[77] NAZ, Shelf No.18, Box No.130 B, President: Zambia in Brief, 27.
[78] Zambia Industrial and Mining Corporation (hereafter, ZIMCO), *ZIMCO Group of Companies Corporate Plan, 1981-1987,* 14.
[79] ZIMCO, *ZIMCO Group of Companies Corporate Plan, 1981-1987,* 14.
[80] Samunyina, 'Rural Industries in Zambia', 34; and Interview, Maswenyeho, Mongu, 12 April 2019.

and Landell Mills Associates,[81] invested about three million dollars in the cashew nut project in 1986.[82]

In order to realise its objectives, the company was given a 10,000 hectares of land by the Litunga in Mabumbu area of Mongu district.[83] This land was meant for the establishment of a plantation and a cashew nut processing factory. All this was aimed at benefiting the majority residents of Mongu district through employment creation. The company set up a factory in Mongu with a processing capacity of five tonnes of cashew kernels per day. ZCC also established four large commercial plantations in Mongu, Senanga, Kalabo and Lukulu. A total of 265,000 trees were planted in those plantations.[84] Further, the capital was also used to establish an out-grower scheme as a vehicle to provide agro-chemicals, cashew seedlings (rootstock) and extension services to farmers. The company distributed about 1.7 million rootstocks to about 10,000 farmers within the province.[85] In Mongu, the company established six cashew nut demonstration plantations in Namitome, Nalinanga, Malengwa, Kalangu, Mabumbu and Nambwata.[86]

[81] Interview, Shimbilimbili, Mongu, 17 April 2019; and Mwendabai, Mongu, 17 April 2019.
[82] Lima Bank *Annual Report, 1987*, 16.
[83] Interview, Induna Inyundwana, Mongu, 17 April 2019.
[84] Allan Ching'ambu, 'CGAZ: Cashew Cooperative Movement', Paper presented at the Inaugural Annual Cashew Conference held at Mongu Trades Training Institute on 19 January 2019.
[85] Ching'ambu, 'CGAZ: Cashew Cooperation Movement'.
[86] Ching'ambu, 'CGAZ: Cashew Cooperation Movement'.

Figure 4: Part of the Mabumbu Plantation

Source: Field Data: Picture taken on 21 November 2019.

To show his desire of seeing the cashew nut industry expand in Mongu district, the Litunga also offered land to individuals who wanted to engage in cashew nut production. It was in this vein that individuals such as Gorebrown Kashumba Kayuwa and Mapani Chabinga managed to acquire over 60 hectares of land in Nambwata area for cashew nut plantations. However, the duo only managed to plant cashew nut trees on 40 hectares of land between 1985 and 1989 while the 20 hectares were not attended to.[87] Other individuals such as Kabunda Kayongo, Chief Chiengele, Nyambe Mwenda, Malimba Masheke, Kopano Maswenyeho, Mwendabai Wamundila, Kennedy Kwalombota and Joyce Mweebo also grew their own plantations mostly on the outskirts of Mongu.

Graham I. Mann, an expert in cashew nut production, was employed as the Manager of ZCC from its inception. He established more cashew nut nurseries on different company plantations. Some seedlings were also given to the local people who wanted to participate in the industry. Some of the cashew nut seedlings the ZCC planted at its Mabumbu plantation were taken from the first trees grown at

[87] Interview, Kayuwa, Mongu, 15 April 2019.

Namushakende.[88] However, these seedlings were later condemned as they were of an unknown variety, borne out of a mixture of varieties. They resulted in low yields of poor quality. This forced Mann to source different varieties of cashew nuts from Senegal, Tanzania, Mozambique and Malawi – varieties which were more productive. Later, he also brought the Brazilian dwarf variety which adapted very well to the climatic conditions of the Western province and produced high yielding nuts of very good quality.[89] In an interview, Kopano Maswenyeho remarked that:

> I like the Brazilian dwarf because it suits well on this soil and when well managed it can start flowering after a year and half from planting…. Besides, it produces big nuts.[90]

By the time of Mann's departure in 1992, Mongu district was left with a variety of cashew nut trees.

In the quest to execute its duties diligently, ZCC's operations were divided into six departments: Agricultural Extension, Buying, Factory, Estates, Accounts, as well as Personnel and Administration. Of these, the Agricultural Extension Department played the most pivotal role in the growth of the industry as it provided the required technical know-how of cashew nut production to peasant farmers. The provision of extension services to peasant farmers was very important as it enhanced agricultural productivity.[91] The Agricultural Extension Department of the ZCC ensured that smallholder cashew nut growers were guided on correct hole digging, planting,

[88] Interview, Maswenyeho, Mongu, 12 April 2019.
[89] Interview, Maswenyeho, Mongu, 12 April 2019.
[90] Interview, Maswenyeho, Mongu, 12 April 2019.
[91] NAZ, ZIMCO 1/3/51, Loc. 7007, Broadcast to the Nation by His Excellency Dr. Kenneth Kaunda, President of the Republic of Zambia on Friday, 30 June, 1989, 1; Northern Rhodesia Government (hereafter, N.R.G), *Department of Agriculture Annual Report for the Year 1960* (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1961), 4; Dorothy Mwansa, 'A History of Mount Makulu Central Research Station, 1950-1980', M.A Dissertation, University of Zambia, 2001, 20; and Carol Thompson, 'Regional Economic Policy under Crisis Conditions', 94, also emphasises the importance of extension services in the success of agro projects.

manure or fertilizer application and pruning. Such efforts were aimed at enhancing high production.

ZCC's Buying Department bought raw nuts direct from the farmers. This was done through field extension officers who, in most cases, were closer to the cashew nut growers. The company's strategy led to increased production as cashew nut farmers were assured of a ready market for their produce.[92] Lima Bank, which was tasked by government to capitalise the cashew nut project, reported in its Annual Report for 1988 that 'the 1987/1988 farming season saw an increase in cashew nut production as the number of trees had reached 700,000 with a production of about 30 tonnes annually'.[93] That was a result of the market assurance provided by ZCC. As the cashew nut prices increased every farming season as shown in Table 3 below, many local people were motivated to grow cashew nuts. As such, the industry expanded and contributed positively to social and economic development of Mongu district.

Table 3: Cashew Nut Prices per Harvesting Season, 1986-1992

Season	Price per Kilogramme
1986/1987	K2.00
1987/1988	K4.00
1988/1989	K8.00
1989/1990	K15.00
1990/1991	K25.00
1991/1992	K40.00

Source: Compiled from ZCC Limited, 'Cashew Nut Cultivation Manual', 20.

[92] Zambia Cashew Company, *Annual Report 1987*, 11. See Alfred Tembo, 'The Colonial State and African Agriculture in Chipata District of Northern Rhodesia, 1895-1964', M.A Dissertation, University of Zambia, 2010, 37, also highlights how the African farmers in Chipata district were encouraged to grow vegetables and Irish potatoes because of the ready market provided by the white settlers.

[93] Lima Bank, *Annual Report, 1987*, 18.

In 1985, the Factory and Processing Department of ZCC brought in a new processing plant in Mongu to replace the one which was installed by government in 1976. The earlier processing plant had a processing capacity of two tonnes of kernels per day.[94] As such, this processing plant was too small to accommodate the high production which had risen following the various improvements which had taken place in the cashew nut industry over the years. As a result, ZCC installed a processing plant with higher capacity of five tonnes of kernels per day.[95] This was meant to strengthen the out-grower scheme which was to benefit the local people through increased production.

The ZCC factory carried out primary processing which involved separation of kernels from raw cashew nuts, grading, packing and retailing of processed kernels. This was one of the most important stages in the cashew nut value chain. Thorough processing contributed to a higher purchasing price of the kernels, while on the other hand if nuts were poorly processed, they fetched a lower price. With the setting up of the processing plant with a higher capacity, processing of nuts was improved. The factory was able to process five tonnes of kernels per day as compared to the earlier two tonnes.[96] This was a milestone in the expansion of the cashew nut industry in Mongu and the area was impacted positively through cash injection.

The cashew nut industry registered some remarkable growth at the time it was under ZCC management. This was as a result of good management provided by the cashew specialist, Graham I. Mann and the financial support received from government through ZCC. However, after a steady growth of the industry in the late

[94] Interview, Shimbilimbili, Mongu, 17 April 2019.
[95] G.R.Z., *National Cashew Development Strategy*, 7.
[96] Interview, Shimbilimbili, Mongu, 17 April 2019.

1980s and early 1990s, there was a sharp decline which led to a point where the industry almost closed down but for a few resilient cashew nut farmers. This can be seen in the Figure below.

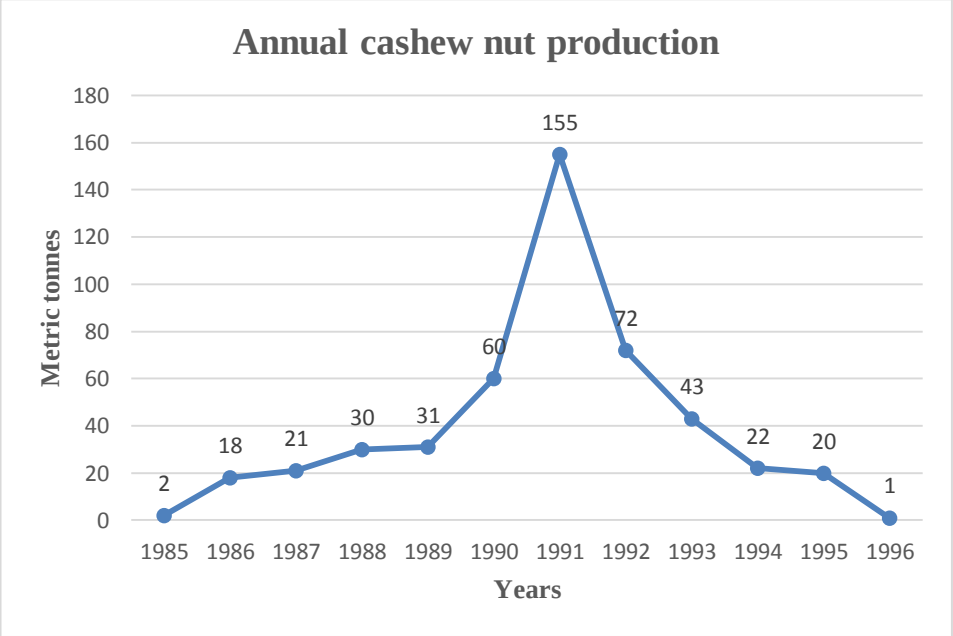

Figure 5: Cashew Nut Production under ZCC

Source: ZCC Limited, 'Cashew Nut Cultivation Manual'; and Ching'ambu, 'CGAZ: Cashew Cooperative Movement', and *Zambia Daily Mail*, 'West Cashew Industry Oozes Potential'.[97]

Figure 5 shows that the cashew nut industry reached its peak in the year 1991 when 155 metric tonnes of nuts were produced by ZCC. Thereafter, it started to decline as a result of various challenges faced, as will be discussed in the next chapter. However, to salvage the industry from collapsing, peasant farmers used their own resources and they continued producing cashew nuts which they continued to sell to ZCC until its privatisation. Their resilience was supplemented by the coming on board of private firms such as the Western Cashew Industries (WCI) and the Barotse Cashew Company (BCC) Limited.

[97] ZCC Limited, Cashew Nut Cultivation Manual; Ching'ambu, 'CGAZ: Cashew Cooperative Movement', 3; and *Zambia Daily Mail*, 'West Cashew Industry Oozes Potential', 6 March 2019.

2.6 Cashew Nut Industry under Private Companies, 1997-2011

Like other parastatal entities, the cashew nut industry was not spared from the privatisation process which the MMD government embarked on in 1991 after ascending to power. When ZCC was shortlisted for privatisation as a result of the implementation of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) in 1995, some local people who witnessed the development of the cashew nut industry and benefited from it, could not remain spectators while the industry went into a spiral of decline. By 1996, they organised themselves and came up with a new entity called the Western Cashew Industries (WCI) Limited which took over the remains of ZCC. The company was made up of local people as shareholders.[98] The company aimed at revamping the cashew nut industry, which was falling apart. Since it was a company with limited resources, WCI Limited introduced some reforms in the running of the cashew nut industry which were aimed at enabling the company survive the effects of privatisation. One major reform involved a reduction in wages and incentives. The workers were denied working kits and free bags of mealie meal they used to receive under ZCC.[99]

The reforms were received with mixed feelings by the employees who were used to the favourable ZCC conditions. They boycotted the move and devised coping strategies which enabled them to hedge themselves against hunger. This was done through their abandonment of company employment. Some went to engage in different economic activities such as fishing and farming of other food crops with

[98] NAZ, ZIMCO 1/3/55, Loc. 7008, Zambia Cashew Company Limited; Interviews, Allan Ching'ambu, CGAZ Coordinator, Mongu, 17 April 2019; and Akushanga Mukelabai, Former ZCC employee and Smallholder Cashew Nut Processor, Mongu, 21 November, 2019.

[99] Interview, Mukelabai, Mongu, 21 November 2019. See also Samunyina, 'Rural Industries in Zambia', 40.

quick returns such as maize, sweet potatoes, and cassava.[100] Others resorted to theft of raw cashew nuts which they sold to private traders so as to meet their daily needs.[101] The situation led the WCI not to operate effectively as it was exposed to rampant theft and reduced labour. The Coffee Estates in Northern province experienced a similar situation following the removal of mealie meal subsidies as work stoppages by employees became the order of the day.[102] Suffice to mention that those who remained as employees of WCI and some cashew nut growers who continued to supply the company with raw nuts were still able to sustain their livelihoods through the cashew nut industry.

After struggling with the sustenance of the cashew nut industry on their own, the local people saw some hope in the revival of the industry after the ascendancy of Levy Mwanawasa to Presidency in 2001. From 2003 onwards, the Mwanawasa-led government showed keen interest in revamping the cashew nut industry. The enthusiasm was necessitated by the presidential visits to cashew nut growing countries of Tanzania and Mozambique in the same year because both countries were known to have amassed immense benefits from the crop's exports.[103] Cashew nut exports had in 2003 contributed about US$50 million and US$70 million to the economies of Tanzania and Mozambique, respectively.[104] Such benefits were an eye-opener to the Zambian government that the industry was not only beneficial to individual farmers but the country as a whole.

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[100] Interviews, Maswenyeho, Mongu, 12 April 2019; and Mukelabai, Mongu, 21 November 2019.
[101] Mubita, 'Cashew Nut Growing in Western Zambia', 16.
[102] Zambia Privatisation Agency, August 1995, 34.
[103] ZARI, 634.573 TAN (Rep), United Republic of Tanzania, Cashew Nut Industry Development Project, 2; Guledgudda, 'Production and Export Performance of Cashew', 11; *Zambia Daily Mail*, 'Cashew Nut Stand-off in Tanzania', Tuesday, 13 November 2018; and Interview, Sixto Komba and Bashim A. Nanyanda, Technicians - Export Trading Group from Tanzania, Mongu, 11 April 2019. The duo are cashew nut specialists from Tanzania engaged by the Zambian government through CIDP to help in the reviving of the industry in Western Province.
[104] Morris Duncan, *Tanzania Cashew Nut Production and Marketing* (London: Manchester University Press, 2002), 86.

Learning from such experiences, the government focussed great attention on the agricultural sector than before. Through the Fifth National Development Plan (2006-2010), the government planned to achieve strong economic growth as a major pre-requisite for poverty reduction.[105] To achieve this growth, the government put emphasis on increased productivity, value addition and increased competitiveness at local, regional and international markets. The cashew nut industry benefited from this initiative. A Cashew Nut Committee was thus created in October 2006 and was headed by the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Agriculture.

In order to revamp the cashew nut industry, the Cashew Nut Committee recommended, among other things, the creation of a Cashew Nut Development Trust to oversee the whole process in the Western province. Further, the committee recommended that the Trust should adequately be funded and supported materially and otherwise by the government as well as private firms operating in the province. The private firms in the province were expected to participate so as to inculcate a sense of ownership of the cashew nut industry. As a result of these recommendations, there emerged a consortium of three organisations to spearhead the project. These were the Lyambai Agricultural Development Trust, Cashew Growers Association of Zambia (CGAZ), and the already existing WCI Limited.[106]

Upon formation, the consortium held a cashew nut strategic workshop in Mongu in 2006. After the workshop, the consortium received financial support from the government through the Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives and its cooperating partners, especially the Netherlands Development Organization. A sum of K28 million was received from the Netherlands Development Organisation while

[105] G.R.Z., *Fifth National Development Plan, 2006-2010* (Lusaka: Government Printers, 2005), 1.
[106] Samunyina, 'Rural Industries in Zambia', 43.

government contributed K12 million.[107] It further acquired a K500,000 loan from the Citizenship Economic Empowerment Commission (CEEC) in 2007.[108] Some of this money was used to complete the purchasing of ZCC assets from Zambia Development Agency (ZDA). In 2008, government further gave CGAZ a grant of K100 million for importation of cashew nut seedlings from Mozambique.[109] Part of these funds enabled the consortium to embark on an aggressive cashew nut tree planting programme that saw over 20,000 seedlings distributed to small-scale farmers. With the aim of preventing gender disparities in cashew nut growing, at least 30 per cent of those who benefited were women. The consortium distributed the early maturing and high yielding cashew nut varieties such as the Brazilian dwarf which the consortium imported.[110] Further, the consortium signed an agreement with a renowned crop seed supplier, Crop Serve Company, to supply cashew nut sprayers and chemicals, as well as offer training to farmers. This company had provided similar undertakings to Tanzania and Mozambique.[111] The consortium also bought a motorised sprayer for cashew nuts from these funds. Using this sprayer, cashew nut trees began to be sprayed on communal basis at a small fee. A ten-tonne truck and tractor were also purchased to facilitate transportation of cashew nuts.

In addition, some of the money was used to improve the factory facility in Mongu. In order to improve the flow of information, which was cardinal to the success of the industry, the consortium established a central information centre at the Mongu factory. The centre was aimed at facilitating easy access to information, new

[107] Samunyina, 'Rural Industries in Zambia', 45; Interviews, Shimbilimbili, Mongu, 17 April 2019; and Ching'ambu, Mongu, 17 April 2019.
[108] Interview, Shimbilimbili, Mongu, 17 April 2019.
[109] *Times of Zambia*, 'Cashew Nut Industry Rejuvination Underway', 16 March 2013.
[110] Interview, Ching'ambu, Mongu, 17 April 2019.
[111] Samunyina, 'Rural Industries in Zambia', 45.

technology and market trends at international level.[112] The centre was improved and a warehouse was built which could store over 50 tonnes of raw nuts annually. Additionally, the consortium embarked on a process of repairing and revamping the only processing plant based at Mongu. This resulted in a complete facelift of the facility by November 2008. The warehouse is shown in Figure 6 below.

Figure 6: The Cashew Nut Factory Building and Warehouse at Mongu

Source: Field Data: Picture taken on 18 November 2019.

In order to enhance effectiveness and improved productivity, the consortium also sponsored three personnel on a study tour to Tanzania in 2007. The tour gave the participants renewed energy in the fight to revive the cashew nut industry in Zambia's Western province. Brenda Mwanamwalye, one of the tour participants said that the tour had really been beneficial and helped in the growth of her cashew nut business.[113]

[112] Interview, Shimbilimbili, Mongu, 17 April 2019.
[113] *Zambia Daily Mail*, 'Brenda Revives Cashew Nut Growing', 14 December 2018, 12.

As the cashew nut industry's revival process started due to the efforts made by the consortium, a private firm, the Barotse Cashew Company (BCC) Limited, was established in Mongu in 2008 and became fully operational the following year. This company was aimed at empowering the local people by buying their raw cashew nuts which could not be bought by WCI due to limited capital.[114] As such, the BCC saw a business opportunity. Instead of buying the raw nuts from Mongu district only, the company extended its operations to the other districts such as Kalabo, Lukulu and Senanga where cashew nut production had almost come to a halt after the privatisation of the cashew nut industry in the 1990s.

In order to effectively benefit from the cashew nut industry, BCC resorted to offering extension services to cashew nut growers. Its emphasis was on the need to produce quality nuts.[115] BCC's main objective was to maximise profits, which could only be possible when the product was of good quality. According to Sixto Komba and Bashim Nanyanda, technical knowledge in the cashew nut industry was very important as it resulted in the production of quality nuts which could fetch higher prices on the international market.[116]

However, due to the various challenges, the cashew nut industry in Mongu district did not reach its full potential during the period under discussion, from 1972 to 2011. Despite the establishment of BCC in Mongu district, the constraints faced by the cashew nut industry were not fully resolved. The main challenge the consortium faced was that, despite having provided the much required attention and management, the cashew nut trees did not produce according to expectation. This

[114] Interview, Austin Madhuveko, Barotse Cashew Company Managing Director, Mongu, 22 April 2019.
[115] Interview, Madhuveko, Mongu, 22 April 2019.
[116] Interview, Komba and Nanyanda, Mongu, 11 April 2019.

worried the consortium.[117] As such, it decided to engage the government. By 2011, the government had heard the cries of the consortium and cashew nut growers in general. There was renewed enthusiasm from government to get involved in reviving the cashew nut industry. To show its commitment, government put in place the National Cashew Development Strategy (NCDS) of 2013-2017.[118] The strategy was aimed at providing public services such as research and development. It was also intended to promote transfer of appropriate technologies needed for efficient cashew sub sector growth.[119]

2.7 Conclusion

The chapter has established that the cashew nuts originated from Brazil and were spread to other countries by the Portuguese traders. They were introduced in Mongu by an Angolan migrant, Simbangala. The chapter has also demonstrated that the climatic conditions of Mongu district which comprise of droughts and well-drained soils enabled the area to effectively support cashew nut production. Further, the chapter has noted that the move by the Zambian government to encourage the expansion of the cashew nut industry in Mongu was intended at achieving rural economic development. The cashew nut tree has high economic benefits and low costs of production. Therefore, it was an easy income earner for the local people as well as foreign exchange earner for the country through export trade.

Additionally, the chapter has demonstrated that government was determined to develop the cashew nut industry so as to promote economic diversification away from copper and, most importantly, to improve the living standards of the rural majority. As such, the government and the BRE provided the much-needed support

[117] Interviews, Shimbilimbili, Mongu, 17 April 2019; and Ching'ambu, Mongu, 17 April 2019.
[118] G.R.Z., *National Cashew Development Strategy,* 4.
[119] G.R.Z., *National Cashew Development Strategy,* 4.

to the cashew nut industry in Mongu district. With the establishment of ZCC in 1985, the industry registered unprecedented growth that saw an increase in its production. However, the privatisation process which began in 1992 and the withdrawal of financial and technical support to the cashew nut industry in 1993 as well as the privatisation of ZCC in 1997 disrupted that economic development. This was because the private firms which took over the cashew nut industry were undercapitalised, hence could not run the industry effectively. This shows that the growth of the cashew nut industry from the time it was privatised was sluggish until 2011 when the industry started to receive adequate support from government again. The next chapter examines the challenges faced by the cashew nut industry in Mongu.

CHAPTER THREE

CHALLENGES FACED BY THE CASHEW NUT INDUSTRY IN MONGU DISTRICT

3.1 Introduction

Despite receiving remarkable government support in form of financial and technical services, the cashew nut industry still faced numerous challenges which adversely affected its development. This chapter demonstrates that the political instability experienced in the country soon after the attainment of independence had a negative bearing on the cashew nut industry in Mongu as opposition politicians discouraged peasants from engaging in the growing of cashew nuts. The chapter also argues that government's failure to adequately sensitise the local people about the value of cashew nut growing prior to its introduction led to them having a negative attitude towards the industry. Further, the chapter shows that the industry faced management challenges. In consequence, there was dependence on expatriates. Other challenges included the lack of scientific research into cashew nut growing and market problems. Additionally, the chapter demonstrates that due to the harsh global economic trends of the 1970s and 1980s, there arose a shortage of imported agricultural inputs such as sprayers and pesticides, thereby hampering the quality and quantity of cashew nuts. These harsh economic trends also hindered government from providing the necessary infrastructure such as storage facilities, and communication networks to support the nascent cashew nut industry. Lastly, the chapter demonstrates that the privatisation of the cashew nut industry by the Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD) government almost led the industry

into oblivion had it not been for the resilient local people who held on to the sector despite operating under difficult conditions.

3.2 Political Interference

Prior to the attainment of independence, most developmental projects in Zambia were negatively affected by an environment which was characterised by political turbulence. In this regard, Bwalya Ng'andu stated that:

> The rural agricultural schemes were seen by African politicians as serious obstacles to their cause. By agricultural development, they thought that the support of the people could be undermined and thus endanger the political campaign. The developmental schemes, therefore laboured under a considerable disadvantage.[1]

The operations of most rural developmental schemes were disrupted by politicians who saw them as a hindrance to their political ambitions.

Soon after attaining independence, some opposition political parties in the country began to frustrate government's initiative of establishing developmental projects in rural areas. In this way, the cashew nut industry was also severely affected. Nalumino Mundia, the leader of United Party (UP), discouraged the local people from participating in cashew nut growing.[2] His message was that the local people were not supposed to receive the free cashew nut seeds and grow them on their land because government's intention was to grab such land thereafter.[3] With this kind of discouragement, some local people opted not to get involved in the cashew nut industry in fear of losing their land in the future.

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[1] Bwalya Sunday Ng'andu, 'Constraints on the Development of Mungwi Agricultural Settlement Scheme in the Northern Province of Zambia, 1957-1991', M.A Dissertation, University of Zambia, 1998, 24.

[2] Robert H. Bates, *Patterns of Uneven Development: Causes and Consequences in Zambia* (Colorado: University of Denver, 1974), 35.

[3] Ohler A. Leinster, *Seed Plants of Southern Tropical Africa* (New York: Sabonet Press, 2005), 36.

During the One-party State (1972-1991), there was a lot of government interference in the running of developmental projects in rural areas. The ruling United National Independence Party (UNIP) constantly interfered with the activities of all government-funded projects. The cashew nut industry was not spared. From 1972 to 1991, the appointment of camp masters in Mongu was not done on merit but on party inclinations and as such, some unqualified personnel were appointed.[4] The industry was used by the government to woo mass support. As such, people without technical knowledge were employed into positions for which they could not perform effectively. This had a negative impact on the growth of the industry.

The ruling party wanted to use such rural agro projects to gain political mileage. This was seen in various speeches given by President Kaunda in which he encouraged the party to take full responsibility of rural development initiatives undertaken by his government. In one of his speeches, he pointed out that, 'all our party leaders, from village to the Central Committee, must now be the torch bearers as we march forward along the long and tortuous road of rural development'.[5] At another occasion he said:

> I cannot end my statement without emphasising once more that our agricultural programmes cannot succeed without the full participation and commitment of the party cadres at all levels.[6]

Such encouragement was good but it was abused by the implementers at the grassroots. Instead of these projects serving their intended purpose, they became

[4] Interviews, Kopano Maswenyeho, Namatuta Village Headman, Former Zambia Cashew Company (ZCC) Employee, Cashew Nut Farmer, Kalangu) and Chairperson for Cashew Growers Association of Zambia (hereafter, CGAZ), Mongu, 12 April 2019; and Mukela Nyambe, Malengwa Resident, Mongu, 25 April 2019.

[5] National Archives of Zambia (hereafter, NAZ), Shelf No.19, Box No.144 A, Address by His Excellency the President Dr. K.D. Kaunda, on the Occasion of the Official Opening of the Rural Development Seminar in Lusaka held on 10 September 1974.

[6] United National Independence Party Archives (hereafter, UNIPA) 7/19/1-5, Loc. 113, The President's Address to Parliament, 8.

centres of local political patronage networks.[7] Such influence was partly what ignited opposition political parties to destabilise those projects which were seen as political ventures for the ruling party.

Interference by UNIP members in rural industry development was not restricted to the cashew nut industry. For example, Kawambwa Tea Company (KTC) and Mununshi Banana Schemes' operations were also negatively affected by the activities of UNIP members as the formal responsibility for policy-making and implementation was invested in the hands of the party's National Council and Central Committee.[8]

3.3 Local People's Attitude towards Cashew Nut Growing

Prior to the establishment of the cashew nut industry in the 1970s, government did not provide adequate sensitisation about the sector to the local people of Mongu. This resulted in a lot of scepticism about growing the crop. Apart from the elite few, people in the area did not know the economic value of the crop. Before the 1970s, peasants in Mongu grew cashew nut trees mainly as a source of shade and for cooking purposes.[9]As a result, they did not fully understand the reason why they were supposed to engage in its production for commercial purposes. Similar apathy had been witnessed in the rice industry when it was first introduced in the province.[10] It took long for the local people to understand the economic value of

[7] Henrietta Moore and Megan Vaugan, *Cutting Down Trees: Gender and Agricultural Change in Northern Province of Zambia, 1890-1990* (London: Heinemann, 1993), 137; and Robert Chambers, *Settlement Schemes in Tropical Africa: A Study of Organisation and Development* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969), 25-37.

[8] Ian Scoft, 'Party and Administration under One-party State', in William Tordoff (ed.), *Administration in Zambia* (Manchester: Manchester University, 1980), 150.

[9] C.L.M. van Eijnatten and R.W.P. Roos, *Quality Assessment of the Zambian Cashew Nuts: Tropical Crops Communication* 1 (Wageningen: Department of Tropical Crops, 1982), 1; and Interview with Chabalanga Ng'ambi, District Agriculture Coordinator (hereafter, DACO), Mongu, 12 April 2019.

[10] NAZ, Loc. 4984, BSE 1/2/90, Mongu Tour Report, 1957-1958, No.3, Minute No. 111: Agriculture, 1; NAZ, Loc. 4955, BSE 1/1/5, Minutes by Namushakende Development Centre Team, 1951; Monde

such cash crops. Being used to their traditional food crops such as cassava, sorghum and millet, it was difficult for the local people to adopt the new exotic crops introduced in their area. Traditional authorities in the area noted that:

> The majority of African cultivators were in the subsistence sector of the economy and were notoriously conservative in their reaction to new crops. This hindered a smooth introduction of new crops to the local people by the Ministry of Agriculture.[11]

Thus, the initial apathy by people in Mongu district towards cashew nut commercial production was an indication of this long-held tradition.

Further, the local people were apprehensive about getting involved in the cashew nut industry due to the long period that the trees took to bear fruit compared to crops such as maize. According to Tom Latis:

> Cashew nuts usually start to produce in the third year; exceptionally some trees can even start the first or the second year. Production increases year by year… and full production is generally achieved in a regular orchard after seven to ten years.[12]

This was perceived by most local people to be too long a time for them to wait for returns on their investments. The local people lacked knowledge that cashew nuts allowed inter-cropping, which meant that they could use the same fields for the cultivation of other food crops with quicker returns. Inter-cropping was possible and advisable, especially during the infant years of cashew nut trees in order to allow for

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Sililo, 'The Rice Industry, The State and Food Security in Barotseland, 1945-1990', M.A Dissertation, University of Zambia, 2017, 52; and NAZ, Loc.4956, BSE 1/1/21, Rural Development Minutes: Provincial and Area Teams, 1953-1956.

[11] NAZ, MAG 6/3/002, Loc. 4288, Notes on a Meeting held between the Ministry of Agriculture and the Northern Rhodesia Industrial Development Corporation on 13 November, 1964; and NAZ, BSE 1/10/72, Loc. 5039, Barotse Protectorate Development Commissioner: Social Welfare and Social Development in Barotseland, 1955, 2.

[12] Zambia Agriculture Research Institute (hereafter, ZARI), 634.573 LAT (Gov), Tom Latis, Guidelines for Cashew Nut Cultivation in Western Province, 7; ZARI, 634.573 LAT (Gov), Tom Latis, Cashew Nut Prospects in Western Province and the Rest of Zambia: Productive Farming (1986), 5.

better land utilisation, enhancement of food security of growers by varying their diet as well as the provision of economic returns before the trees started producing.[13] Some of the crops ideal for inter-cropping with cashew nuts include; early maturing cassava, legumes, millet, and sorghum.[14] Cashew nuts could also grow well with other trees such as mango, *mungongo*, eucalyptus and grevillea.[15] Such information was lacking among most of the local people of Mongu, hence their fear to invest in this long-term project which was seen to be a waste of time. Below is a picture of cashew nut trees intercropped with cowpeas.

Figure 7: Cashew Nuts Inter-cropped with Cowpeas

Source: Peter A.L. Masawe, 'Accelerated Cashew Improvement Programme for New Emerging Countries' (Unpublished).

Although inter cropping in cashew nut plantations was uncommon in the 1970s in Mongu, the system was widely used elsewhere in the cultivation of crops which took

[13] ZARI, 634.573 LAT (Gov), Latis, Cashew Nut Prospects in Western Province and the Rest of Zambia, 4; Carl K. Eicher and Doyle C. Baker, *Research on Agricultural Development in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Critical Survey* (Michigan: Michigan State University, 1982), 129-130; Bianca Dendena and Stefano Corsi, 'Cashew from Seed to Market: A Review', *Agronomy for Sustainable Development, Springer Verlag*, 34, 4 (2014), 759.
[14] Interview with Masiye Mulele, Cashew Nut Grower, Mongu, 15 April 2019.
[15] ZARI, 634.573 JAC (Gov), V.J. Jacob, GRZ/FAO Cashew Nut Research and Development Project, (1990), 10.

long to produce. In Mongu, Kopano Maswenyeho and Masiye Mulele are some of those who adopted intercropping of cashew nut trees mostly with beans and cassava.[16] Soya beans and wheat were inter-cropped with coffee bushes at Kateshi and Ngoli Coffee Estates.[17] Besides contributing to food security, inter-cropping helped to improve the fertility levels of the soil. Legumes are best known for replacing lost soil fertility. Traditionally, African peasant farmers used to plant maize on mounds vacated by pulses and vice versa, thus making the best use of any nitrogen the legumes fixed in the soil.[18]

Additionally, inter-cropping encourages close supervision of the long maturing crops owing to the closer management of seasonal crops. Such a move would have led to more cashew nut trees receiving dedicated supervision than was the case in many plantations where no inter-cropping was done. This could have helped in weed control and fire prevention. In many cases, weeds and fire affected cashew nut growth. Further, if inter-planted with cassava, young cashew nut trees benefit from the shade provided by cassava plants during the dry season.[19] As such, cassava could have been the most compatible filler crop, owing to its capacity to grow well in the same soils as cashew nuts.

Furthermore, the local people were hesitant to take up cashew nut production for commercial purposes owing to the scanty knowledge on the varieties available for cultivation in Mongu. The common view in the 1970s was that the available cashew nut varieties took about five years to bear fruit. Unknown to the local people, there

[16] Interviews, Maswenyeho, Mongu, 12 April 2019; and Mulele, Mongu, 15 April 2019.
[17] Charity Mbalazi, 'A History of Coffee Growing in Zambia: The Case of Kateshi and Ngoli Estates in Kasama District, 1967 to 2012', M.A Dissertation, University of Zambia, 2017, 62.
[18] Alfred Tembo, 'The Colonial State and African Agriculture in Chipata District of Northern Rhodesia, 1895-1964', M.A Dissertation, University of Zambia, 2010, 37.
[19] ZARI, 634.573 JAC (Gov), Jacob, GRZ/FAO Cashew Nut Research and Development Project, 10.

were some varieties of the early-maturing type such as the Brazilian dwarf. Brenda Mwanamwalye pointed out that because she grew the Brazilian dwarf variety, she was able to harvest nuts after three years from planting.[20] Additionally, one interviewee observed that 'the Brazilian dwarf, when well- managed, could start flowering barely after a year from being planted'.[21] An example of such a variety can be seen in Figure 8 below. This was the information that the local people lacked, hence were hesitant to start growing cashew nuts for commercial purposes, as what they knew was that the crop took about five years to mature.

Figure 8: Early Maturing Cashew Nut Tree Fruiting at One and half Years

Source: Field Data: Picture taken on 12 April 2019.

Surprisingly, even some shareholders in the Zambia Cashew Company (ZCC) such as the Commonwealth Development Corporation (CDC), British Petroleum (BP), Africa, and Landell Mills Associates also showed some negativity by withdrawing their funding from the industry in 1989. After agreeing to partner with government and pumping in about US$3 million in 1986, the firms withdrew their funding three years later. They alleged that the project was unviable, hence could not continue

[20] *Zambia Daily Mail*, 'Brenda Revives Cashew Nut Growing', Sunday, 14 December 2018.
[21] Interview, Maswenyeho, Mongu, 12 April 2019.

investing in it.[22] Later investigations revealed that these shareholders wanted to invest in businesses with quicker returns than the cashew nut industry. Their action denied the company of the much-needed capital for its effective operations. As a result, the cashew nut industry was negatively affected. Inadequate planning and sensitisation led to the industry facing such challenges. Godfrey Simasiku, a former government minister, once lamented that 'one of the principal reasons rural projects were facing challenges was that they were being undertaken without effective planning'.[23] With effective planning, sensitisation and piloting of such projects would have taken place prior to their implementation.

3.4 Industry-related Challenges

3.4.1 Lack of Scientific Research

The cashew nut industry in Mongu was also affected by the lack of scientific research into cashew nut growing. Before the crop was introduced, no scientific research had been done to ascertain its viability. In a few exceptional cases, research was carried out before some agricultural projects were established and it proved worthwhile as such ventures succeeded. For example, the construction of Nakambala Sugar Estate was well embarked upon after thorough research had been carried out. All the climatic, soil requirements and logistical issues such as accessibility and scope for further expansion were taken care of prior to its establishment.[24] Joy Kalyalya observes that 'in order to establish the best suited

[22] Lima Bank *Annual Report for 1989*, 16; Interviews, Mwiya Makungu, Western Province Agricultural Officer, Mongu, 10 April 2019; Moses Shimbilimbili, Managing Director Nandusu Cooperative and Wamundila Mwendabai, Cashew Nut Grower, Malengwa, Mongu, 17 April 2019.
[23] *Zambia Daily Mail*, 'Poor Planning Hinders Rural Progress', Monday, 27 June 1988.
[24] D.S. Hughan, 'The Development of Zambia's Sugar Cane Estate of Mazabuka', *Farming in Zambia*, 2, 1 (October, 1966), 13; and Joy Host Kalyalya, 'A History of Nakambala Sugar Estate, 1964-84', M.A Dissertation, University of Zambia, 1988, 17.

areas for cane growing, a series of intensive experiments were carried out'.[25] This proves the importance of research before an agricultural project can start.

There was no intensive scientific research conducted prior to the commencement of the cashew nut industry in Mongu. A few trials were done at Namushakende and Kataba in Mongu as well as at Mount Makulu Research Station in Chilanga in the 1960s and 1970s.[26] However, these were done in haste before the sensitisation process on cashew nuts took root. In 1983, the Provincial Administration Planning Unit working hand in hand with Wageningen Agriculture University of the Netherlands, carried out feasibility studies whose results emphasised the suitability of the area for cashew nut production. It was only in 1985 that a Cashew Nut Research and Development Project was put in place with the objective of developing a research base for the crop and to provide training for extension personnel and farmers.[27] However, this was not done on a large scale due to financial constraints.[28]

Further, due to inadequate research, information on cashew nut production was scanty. This created a knowledge gap among extension officers, hence inhibiting their effectiveness. Chabalanga Ng'ambi, an officer in the Ministry of Agriculture, blamed government for not including the cashew nut crop in the school agricultural syllabus at primary and tertiary levels. He lamented that 'even agricultural research institutions had scanty information about the cashew nut and its production

[25] Kalyalya, 'A History of Nakambala Sugar Estate', 17.
[26] NAZ, Shelf No.9, Box No.26, G.R.Z., Ministry of Rural Development, Department of Agriculture Annual Report of the Research Branch, 1971-1972, 119.
[27] ZARI, 634.573 JAC (Gov), Jacob, GRZ/FAO Cashew Nut Research and Development Project, 1.
[28] ZARI, 634.573 JAC (Gov), Jacob, GRZ/FAO Cashew Nut Research and Development Project, 13.

requirements'.[29] This suggests that even those who were trained as agriculturalists did not have adequate knowledge about the crop.

Lack of prior precise scientific knowledge of the cashew nut crop led to poor productivity. Lack of scientific research was seen to be one of the obstacles that hindered agricultural development in Western province.[30] This was because the agricultural capacity of the province was not clearly known. This is in line with Dorothy Mwansa's observation that 'agricultural research provides answers to agricultural questions'.[31] It is in the same vein that research should have been conducted to establish the exact areas in the province where cashew nuts could be more productive. For example, the plantation at Kalabo, which was half the size of the one at Mongu, was in 1989 able to produce about 30 tonnes of cashew nuts, which was twice the figure produced by Mongu in the same year.[32] With thorough scientific research, reasons for such variations would have been clearly established. W.C. Verboom and M.A. Brunk, in their report on the Ecological Survey of Barotse province noted that for the agricultural resources of the area to be successfully developed, there was need to expand the research already started at Namushakende.[33] However, that was not the case and the cashew nut industry was negatively affected.

Further, the cashew nut tree was a very sensitive crop which required proper and careful management for it to bear nuts of good quality. Carin Vijfhuizen *et al* noted

[29] Interview, Ng'ambi, Mongu, 12 April 2019.
[30] NAZ, MAG 2/6/133, Report of the Committees on Agriculture Seminar, 1.
[31] Dorothy Mwansa, 'A History of Mount Makulu Central Research Station, 1950-1980', M.A Dissertation, University of Zambia, 2001, 1.
[32] Zambia Cashew Company Report, July 1987, 21.
[33] NAZ, Shelf No.18, Box No.120, Overseas Development; and W.C. Verboom and M.A. Brunk, *An Ecological Survey of Barotse Province, Zambia* (Tolworth Surrey: Land Resources Division, 1968), 243.

that ‘cashew is an extremely variable plant which can produce 40 kilogrammes of nuts in a particular year and nothing the following year’.[34] Lack of scientific research into cashew nut growing, therefore, contributed to low production of cashew nuts in Mongu as growers were devoid of preventive measures and remedies. Such lapses were detrimental to the economic well-being of the cashew nut growers and other stakeholders in the value chain. Since the cashew nut crop required observance of strict techniques and regulations, failure to do so led to poor results. When well maintained, however, the returns from the cashew nut could be very high.[35] Constant research and emphasis on the proper maintenance of trees are crucial aspects of cashew nut production, but this was lacking in Mongu district.

Countries such as Tanzania, Mozambique and Nigeria benefited from cashew nut production because they had invested heavily in research. In Nigeria, for example, after many years of the industry not doing well, the country decided to engage in research into the crop’s production, processing and marketing requirements in 1972.[36] Likewise, Tanzania also invested heavily in research into issues of pest and disease control, suitable fertilisers and good varieties of cashew nuts which helped improve the production of the crop.[37] This was not the case for Zambia due to lack of commitment as Sixto Komba and Bashim Nanyanda observed.[38]

[34] Carin Vijfhuizen, Luis Arthur, Nazneen Kanji and Carla Braga, ‘Cashew Production: Liberalisation, Gender and Livelihoods’, The Cashew Nut working paper 2, International Institute for Environment and Development-Mozambique phase 2: The South, Jan-Dec., 2003, 12.
[35] Tabatha Rood, ‘Shea versus Cashew: A Case Study of Land Use Change and Socio-economic differences between Two Industrial Crops in Northern Ghana’, M.A Dissertation, University of Washington, 2017, 35.
[36] O.O. Adeigbe *et al*, ‘A Review on Cashew Research and Production in Nigeria in the Last Four Decades’, *Academic Journals*, 10,5 (March, 2015), 196.
[37] Interview, Sixto Komba and Bashim Nanyanda, Export Trading Group Technicians from Tanzania, Mongu, 11 April 2019.
[38] Interview, Komba and Nanyanda, Mongu, 11 April 2019.

One major challenge which needed scientific research concerned the most suitable cashew nut variety to be grown in the district. The industry started with unknown varieties brought in by the Angolan migrant in the early twentieth century. Later, two more unnamed varieties of small and large nuts were brought in by Peters from Angola and Tanzania respectively in the early 1950s. Later, with the introduction of ZCC in 1985, several cashew nut varieties were brought in. Among them were the Congolese and Senegalese varieties. These were tried on the company's plantation in Mabumbu area.[39] Due to poor management of the seedlings, the varieties got mixed up and there developed an "unknown" variety which was widely grown in the district. This corrupted variety left the older generation of cashew nut growers without an option but to continue growing it. Masiye Mulele, in an interview lamented that 'it was difficult for growers to tell whether the variety they were exposed to was the best one for their locality or not since they had nothing to compare it with'.[40]

The "contaminated" trees were not very productive because their variety was not suitable for the climatic conditions of the district. One interviewee pointed out that:

> Most cashew nut trees of Congolese and Senegalese varieties brought by Mann were sterile, hence they could not produce nuts. For the cashew nut industry to achieve its objective, there was a dire need to bring in new varieties of high yield and quality.[41]

The Brazilian dwarf was the only productive and early-maturing variety. However, it also got mixed up with the Congolese, Senegalese and the "unknown" varieties due to poor management. It was only in 2008 that the Cashew Growers Association of Zambia (CGAZ) ordered the Brazilian dwarf variety again, and attempts were

[39] Interview, Maswenyeho, Mongu, 12 April 2019.
[40] Interview, Mulele, Mongu, 15 April 2019.
[41] Interview, Austin Madhuveko, Managing Director for Barotse Cashew Company Limited, Mongu, 22 April 2019.

made to avoid contaminating it with undesirable varieties. Brenda Mwanamwalye was a beneficiary of the Brazilian dwarf variety. She commended the variety because it was favourable for the soil of Western province.[42] Besides being high yielding and early maturing, the Brazilian dwarf produced large nuts. As such, it won the trust of most cashew nut growers. For this reason, Kopano Maswenyeho equally commended the variety for these characteristics.[43]

3.4.2 Ineffective Management and Extension Services

The cashew nut industry in Mongu faced management challenges. Because of ineffective management, the industry was subjected to many more constraints. Being the only cashew nut specialist at the time, Graham I. Mann engaged camp masters to run cashew nut plantations on his behalf. Unfortunately, these camp masters did not have any technical knowledge on cashew nut production. This inhibited effectiveness in cashew nut production. Peters had experienced similar challenges at Namushakende during his tenure from 1948 to 1954, as the only help he had was from untrained personnel.[44] That was probably due to the existing situation as Zambia faced a critical shortage of a specialised agricultural human resource to man projects. This was pointed out by Lombard and Tweedie, who stated that soon after independence, Zambia had to 'literally scour the world to find people of the right calibre'.[45] Ng'andu Magande also observed that there was an acute shortage of qualified personnel in Zambia in the agricultural sector in the 1970s.[46] As such, the country had to use unqualified staff in many instances. The untrained people could

[42] *Zambia Daily Mail*, 'Brenda Revives Cashew Nut Growing', 12.
[43] Interview, Maswenyeho, Mongu, 12 April 2019.
[44] NAZ, Shelf No.9, Box No.25, Agriculture Miscellaneous.
[45] C.S. Lombard and A.H.C. Tweedie, *Agriculture in Zambia since Independence* (Lusaka: NECZAM, 1972), 70.
[46] Ng'andu Peter Magande, *The Depth of my Footprints: From the Hills of Namaila to the Global Stage* (Atlanta: Maleendo & Company, 2018), 127; see also Government Republic of Zambia (hereafter G.R.Z.), *Ministry of Agriculture and Water Development Annual Report of the Research Branch, 1979-1980* (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1984), 28.

not run the cashew nut industry effectively. At other times, running agricultural industries without technical knowledge meant that the intended beneficiaries were given wrong information. One interviewee lamented that 'we were supplied with some pesticides which could not cure the diseases the cashew nuts were infected with'.[47] That had a negative bearing on the development of the industry.

In the same vein, the cashew nut industry faced challenges in the provision of extension services. According to S. Makings, agricultural extension was the means by which government helped farmers to improve their production through teaching, demonstration and other aids.[48] Such services were very important to peasant farmers. When agricultural schemes were established in different parts of the country after independence, it was government's plan that before their occupation, the would-be occupants were to receive training so as to prepare them for the task they were to undertake. This was enshrined in the Second National Development Plan (SNDP) of 1972-1976, which stated that each province was to have at least one Farm Institute and a Farmers' Training Centre (FTC) in each district.[49] These were established at independence as a way of broadening the technological base for farmers. Farm Institutes were meant to provide in-service training to the Extension Staff and train additional staff while FTCs were to train local farmers in various agricultural practices.[50] It was expected that this move would be supplemented by

[47] Interview, Mulele, Mongu, 15 April 2019; see also G.R.Z., *Ministry of Rural Development Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1970-1971* (Lusaka: Ministry of Rural Development, 1971), 47. The Annual Report acknowledges the ineffectiveness of using under qualified staff in the provision of extension services.

[48] S.M. Makings, *Agricultural Problems of Developing Countries in Africa* (Lusaka: Oxford University Press, 1967), 62.

[49] G.R.Z., *Second National Development Plan, 1972-1976* (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1970), 1; UNIP, *A Promise Fulfilled, 1964-68* (Lusaka: UNIP Election Strategy Committee, 1968), 7; and M.R. Mulele and J.B. Mutelo, *Provision of Agricultural Extension and Irrigation Services in Zambia: Mimeograph* (Lusaka: Ministry of Agriculture and Water Development, 1983), 25.

[50] Mwansa, 'A History of Mount Makulu Research Station', 70; Dorothy Mwansa, 'Gender and Agricultural Development in Zambia, 1890-1990', PhD Thesis, University of Zambia, 2017, 126-

extension officers who were to act as a link between farmers and the Ministry of Agriculture in the dissemination of technical knowledge.

The focus of extension services was to be on agricultural development, aimed at producing quality yields. This in turn was meant to lead to economic development.[51] It is for this reason that the government emphasised the re-organisation of extension and training facilities in the 1970s.[52] Despite such efforts, most rural agricultural schemes such as the cashew nut enterprise still faced challenges in this regard. It was difficult for the local people to get involved in cashew nut growing in the 1970s as they did not receive adequate extension services due to lack of qualified agricultural personnel.

Further, due to poor extension services, the locals lacked vital information on cashew nut production with regard to regular pruning, good methods of weeding and application of organic compost. Such information needed to be passed on to farmers by the extension personnel, but this was not the case due to manpower shortages. Such expertise was required if cashew nut farmers were to be more productive. In his address to the National Council of UNIP at Mulungushi in April 1968, Kaunda observed that, 'because of lack of know-how, people in the villages are not able to

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128; David Honeybone and Alan Marter, *An Evaluation Study of Zambia's Farm Institutes and Farmer Training Centres* (University of Zambia: Rural Studies Bureau, 1975), 36; and G.R.Z., *Ministry of Agriculture and Water Development* (hereafter MAWD) *Handbooks for Agricultural Field Workers: Agricultural Extension for Small-Scale Farming Communities* (Lusaka: MAWD, 1983), 18.

[51] UNIPA, 7/18/11, Loc. 113, His Excellency the President's Address to Parliament on the Opening of the Second Session of the Fifth National Assembly, 11 January, 1985, 4; and Makings, *Agricultural Problems of Developing Countries*, 74.

[52] G.R.Z., *Seminar Report on Rural Development: A New Strategy for Rural Development in Zambia* (Lusaka: Ministry of Rural Development, 1970), 7.

look after the fruit trees properly'.[53] The know-how was supposed to be acquired through extension services but that was not the case.

Additionally, the extension staff could not provide adequate services because the cashew nut plantations were far spaced. In Mongu, the cashew nut belt covered a distance of about 130 kilometres from Ushaa in the far north up to Senanga in the south. Because of this wide expanse, it was difficult for the Ministry of Agriculture to provide the required extension services to the plantations. The Ministry of Agriculture was gravely handicapped by lack of manpower.[54] In 1970s the agricultural extension service had only 1,381 staff to cater for the country's 35 districts.[55] The situation was almost the same in the 1980s and 1990s. Mongu district was not spared from this challenge of lack of extension personnel during that period. The ratio of extension staff to farmer in Mongu in the period under study was about 1:1000.[56] By 2010, due to financial constraints, about 50 per cent of the extension posts in the Ministry of Agriculture were vacant owing to a recruitment freeze.[57] This challenge was severe for the cashew nut industry that dealt with a crop which was not conventional.

The provision of extension services had a direct bearing on the price at which the product was sold. Poor quality cashew nuts were not acceptable on the export

[53] NAZ, Shelf No.18, Box No.130 B, President.
[54] NAZ, Shelf No.19, Box No.144 A, Rural Development: Rural Development Seminar, 9-12 September, 1974,19; ZARI, 633.71, G.R.Z., *Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives, Department of Agriculture, Western Province Annual Report for 1987*, 8; and Makings, *Agricultural Problems of Developing Countries*, 62.
[55] Robert Sakala, 'The State and African Peasant Farming in Katete District of Zambia's Eastern Province, 1964-1996', M.A Dissertation, University of Zambia, 2019. 76.
[56] Interviews; Mukungu, Mongu, 10 April 2019; and Ng'ambi, Mongu, 12 April 2019.
[57] Rabecca Kent and M. MacRae, 'Agricultural Livelihoods and Nutrition-Exploring the Links with Women in Zambia', *Journal of Gender and Development*, 18, 3 (November, 2010), 405.

market. In this case, lack of quality standards undermined consumer confidence.[58] Table 4 below elaborates this.

Table 4: Grades of Cashew Kernels

White wholes - Grade	Number of kernels per kg	Price per kg (2009) US$ (FOB India)
W180 (super large)	120-180 (266-395)	-
W210 (large)	200-210 (395-465)	-
W240	230-240 (485-530)	3.10 – 3.15
W280	270-280 (575-620)	3.10 – 3.15
W320	300-320 (660-706)	2.90 – 2.95
W450	<300 (<660)	2.60 – 2.65

Source: http://market worldcashew.com – accessed on 15 September 2019.

The table above shows that about 120 to 180 kernels of super large white nuts made one kilogramme. These were economical for business as compared to the W320 category which required between 300 and 320 kernels to make one kilogramme. Large whole white kernels were cost-effective and fetched higher prices on the world market. The above standards were to be promoted by extension staff from the Ministry of Agriculture. Joseph Hanlon noted that cashew nut is a luxury product, hence broken or scorched kernels attracted a much lower price.[59] This could be confirmed in the price structure of cashew kernels supplied to Speciality Foods, a Kitwe-based company in 1976 where whole kernels fetched 95 ngwee while splits were 85n and pieces were 75n per kilogramme, respectively.[60] This could also be

[58] *Times of Zambia*, 'Cashew Nut Production Soars', 6 February 2014, 4.
[59] Joseph Hanlon, 'Power without Responsibility: The World Bank and Mozambiaque Cashew Nuts', *Review of African Political Economy*, 27, 83 (March, 2000), 30; Dendena and Corsi, 'Cashew, from Seed to Market', 754; and G.R.Z., *National Cashew Development Strategy, 2013-2017* (Lusaka: Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock, 2012), 11.
[60] NAZ, Shelf No.9, Box No.26, G.R.Z., Ministry of Agriculture and Water Development, Department of Agriculture Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1976-77, 13.

seen in the prices pegged by Barotse Cashew Company (BCC) Limited in its April 2019 advert where 1kg of whole kernels fetched K160.00, splits and pieces were sold at K127.00 and K105.00 per kg, respectively.[61] This, therefore, shows that the farmers needed a lot of training on how to grow and process cashew nuts for them to produce quality nuts and benefit from the industry.

It was only around 1991 that the cashew nut industry was supplied with a cadre of qualified agricultural staff to help the cashew nut farmers in their localities. During that year, a total of 22 staff was deployed to Mongu as shown in the Appendix. After putting in place such a good number of agricultural staff who were to help peasant farmers with cashew nut production techniques, the privatisation process set in. Two years later, government withdrew its support to ZCC, paving way for private take-over. This suggests that the staff did not contribute much to the growth of the cashew nut industry as their operations were cut short by the privatisation process.

3.4.3 Over-dependency on Expatriate Specialists

From inception, the cashew nut industry depended on the proficiency of expatriates. This was because the local people did not have the expertise on the technical and managerial aspects of the industry. As a result, only expatriates had adequate knowledge of the production requirements of the cashew nut crop. Right from the start of the industry during the colonial period, the industry was in the hands of British nationals, David U. Peters and J. Allan. The continued reliance on expatriates in the cashew nut industry was evidenced once again during the Cashew Nut Research and Development Project of 1985-1990 where the two top most

[61] https://m.facebook.com.bccmongu/about, Barotse Cashew Company Facebook Page-accessed on 20 December 2019.

officials were foreigners. Zambians took up lower positions. In the same vein, ZCC was managed by Graham I. Mann, a German.

Although there was a significant expansion in staffing levels in the Ministry of Agriculture after independence, the majority remained expatriates. Robert Baldwin noted that there were 22 non-clerical European staff and eight Africans in the country in the field of agriculture at independence.[62] This substantiates the observation made by Richard Hall that the number of Zambian African graduates in the agricultural sector at independence was very small.[63] Richard Jolly supports Baldwin and Hall as he points out that at independence, Zambia had fewer skilled and educated citizens than any other ex-British colony.[64] Similarly, Andrew Roberts noted that:

> At independence Zambia still almost wholly depended on highly paid white foreigners, not only at professional and managerial levels, but across a wide range of supervisory, technical as well as clerical jobs.[65]

With this scenario, agro industries such as the cashew nut had to be managed by expatriates. This situation was unavoidable at the time, as observed by Magande.[66]

The over-dependency on expatriates had a negative effect on the cashew nut industry as it led to inconsistency in its growth. After experiencing a steady growth from 1985 to 1991, the untimely departure of Mann in 1992 as a result of the beginning of the privatisation process of the cashew nut industry created a big gap which was not filled up for a very long time. This made the industry to almost go

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[62] Robert E. Baldwin, *Economic Development and Export Growth: A Study of Northern Rhodesia, 1920-60* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), 16.
[63] Richard Hall, *Zambia* (London: Pall Mall Press Ltd., 1965), 294.
[64] Richard Jolly, 'The Skilled Manpower Constraint', in Charles Elliot (ed.), *Constraints on the Economic Development of Zambia* (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1971), 21.
[65] Andrew Roberts, *A History of Zambia* (London: Heinemann, 1976), 234.
[66] Magande, *The Depth of my Footprints*, 127.

into oblivion.[67] Mann left without having someone adequately trained to take over from him. Worse still, his departure was unannounced and so there was no proper transition.[68] Furthermore, it is alleged that he carried with him most of the company's records,[69] hence making it difficult for new management to easily take-over. As such, the cashew nut industry was left in suspense. According to the findings of the Cashew Nut Research and Development Project, in order for the industry to make significant headway, there was need to build up a team of local cashew nut professional staff for the transfer of technology from international specialists and consultants to national professional staff.[70] As Hall argued, for economic development to take place, there was need to have a cadre of experienced and educated Africans instead of over-depending on expatriates.[71] However, this was not the case with the cashew nut industry.

3.4.4 Market Challenges

Government's ineffective management of its rural developmental projects led to poor marketing strategies of such ventures. Many rural agricultural schemes in post-colonial Zambia faced the challenge of market, and the cashew nut industry was not exceptional. The industry faced market challenges in that production commenced before markets for the produce were well established. To enhance production, markets and marketing facilities were supposed to be made available in an area before any scheme was set up there.[72] However, this was not the case with the cashew nut industry as more effort was directed towards crop production and not

[67] Interview, Maswenyeho, Mongu, 12 April 2019.
[68] Interview, Maswenyeho, Mongu, 12 April 2019.
[69] Interview, Maswenyeho, Mongu, 12 April 2019.
[70] ZARI, 634.573 Jacob (Gov) GRZ/FAO Cashew Nut Research and Development Project, 16.
[71] Hall, *Zambia*, 295.
[72] NAZ, MAG, 2/6/133, Loc. 154, Reference Tour, 1.

marketing. Even when ZCC became operational in 1985 and provided a ready market for the raw nuts, farmers were not given a wide market choice. They had to sell to the only company at the time or risk selling to private buyers, who in most cases were exploitative. Therefore, lack of a wide market for the cashew nut industry did not invigorate competition and competitive prices.

In addition, the commencement of the cashew nut project before market facilities were well established discouraged farmers from adopting the industry wholeheartedly. B.W. Hodder observed that '…a tropical cultivator is unlikely to engage in any production venture unless the market for his produce is first seen to exist and is accessible'.[73] Market assurance enabled farmers to participate actively in such projects. President Kaunda had stated that, 'I have already pointed out that to expect our people to increase productivity before we find them markets is a negative approach to the development of agriculture in Zambia'.[74] This was not the case in the cashew nut industry.

The cashew nut industry also faced market challenges due to poor processing of the nuts. Since the cashew nut was considered a "luxury product"[75] mostly eaten by the privileged, there was always the need to be careful when processing it so that the final product could be attractive to the buyer. If not well-handled, the product risked being rejected by the highly sensitive confectionary market.[76] For this reason, cashew nut growers opted for hand and not mechanical shelling. In Mongu, they preferred processing the product using the hot oil method followed by subsequent

[73] B.W. Hodder, *Economic Development in the Tropics* (London: Methuen, 1968), 202; and Jeffrey Alwang and Paul B. Siegel, *Rural Poverty in Zambia: An Analysis of Causes and Policy Recommendations* (Washington, DC: The World Bank Human Resources Division, 1994), 130.
[74] NAZ, Shelf No.18, Box No.130 B, President.
[75] Interview, Ng'ambi, Mongu, 12 April 2019.
[76] Lombard and Tweedie, *Agriculture in Zambia Since Independence*, 36.

hand cracking.[77] However, hand-shelling was more applicable when processing for the local market than for bulky export purposes where there was need for high production. Therefore, this method resulted in low production. Due to inadequate production information provided to cashew nut growers, the handling of the nuts at all the stages was not well done.

Further, being an export product, the processing of cashew nuts was supposed to follow the right requirements if quality products were to be obtained. The mode used in the production, collection and storage had a serious negative bearing on the quality of the final cashew kernels produced. Improper husbandry and poor post-harvest care adversely affected nut quality.[78] The quality of kernels was the major determinant of the price at which they were sold. The quality of kernels was determined by size, shape, weight, and acceptable moisture content (not exceeding 10 per cent).[79] When these qualities were met, the product sold easily with high profits.

Further, market services proved a challenge to the local people due to inadequate and unreliable transportation. Most plantations were located in the outskirts of Mongu district while ZCC which was the sole buyer of cashew nuts, was situated in Mongu town. This meant that the peasant farmers were expected to move their cashew nuts to town in order to access the market. The bad state of feeder roads and the need for four-wheel drive vehicles in the sandy terrain of the district meant that,

[77] NAZ, Shelf No.9, Box No.26, G.R.Z., Ministry of Agriculture and Water Development, Department of Agriculture Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1976-1977, 11; and interview, Akushanga Mukelabai, Former ZCC Employee and Smallholder Cashew Nut Processor, Mongu, 21 November 2019.
[78] ZARI, 634.573 TAN (Rep), United Republic of Tanzania, Cashew Nut Industry Development Project, 30; and Adeigbe *et al*, 'A Review on Cashew Research and Production in Nigeria', 203.
[79] Zambia Cashew Infrastructure Development Project, 'Brief for Launch', 20.

most peasant farmers had difficulties in accessing the market for their produce.[80] This had a negative bearing on the growth of the industry as some people opted not to concentrate on this venture which seemed unprofitable.

3.5 Economic Constraints

3.5.1 Inadequate Supply of Farming Inputs

Farming inputs such as machinery, seeds and pesticides play an important role in agricultural production. However, like other rural industries, the cashew nut industry faced the challenge of inadequate supply of farming inputs as a result of the prevalent poor economic situation in the 1980s and 1990s. This negatively affected the industry's growth. Maud Muntemba observes that:

> There are three factors necessary for increased productivity in rural economies and these are: escape from a subsistence economy; plentiful labour; and sufficient physical means of production which include fertile soils, improved seeds, improved machinery and adequate communication to markets.[81]

Where farming inputs lack, the result is low production.

The UNIP government endeavoured to provide farming inputs in order to boost production in rural areas. This was emphasised by Kaunda in his address to the National Council of UNIP at Mulungushi in 1968 when he said:

> We must provide for the people in the villages the know-how through education, with the means to produce more by supplying them with good seeds, fertilizer and equipment they can handle.[82]

In the cashew nut industry, sprayers and pesticides were the most important requirements yet were difficult to be accessed by peasant farmers. Even though the

[80] NAZ, Shelf No.9, Box No.25, Agriculture Miscellaneous; and NAZ, Shelf No.9, Box No.25, Northern Rhodesia Agricultural and Forestry Development Plans for 10 Years.
[81] Maud S. Muntemba, 'Rural Underdevelopment in Zambia: Kabwe Rural District, 1850-1970', PhD Thesis, University of California, 1977, 9.
[82] NAZ, Shelf No.18, Box No.130 B, President, 14.

government was committed to supplying these farming inputs, what was supplied to cashew nut growers in Mongu was inadequate and did not serve the intended purpose. Government, however, took cognisance that it could not afford to provide all the requirements which farmers needed. In this regard, government conceded that '…as a poor country, there will be inadequate resources available to provide all families with fertilisers, chemicals, credit and other sophisticated production inputs'.[83]

The fall of copper prices on the world market adversely affected the country's importation ability. From 1975 to 1982, the purchasing power of one tonne of copper in relation to a barrel of oil fell by 50 per cent.[84] The ratio of gross domestic savings to gross domestic product also fell from 23.1 per cent to 6.7 per cent between 1979 and 1982.[85] By 1983, therefore, Zambia could only import 45 per cent of the volume of goods that it imported in 1970.[86] As such, adequate farming inputs for the cashew nut industry could not be imported. This was reiterated in the following presidential address to parliament:

> When copper fetched good prices, the importation of raw materials was not a problem. We had enough foreign exchange to import all our requirements. Now that the price of copper on the world market has fallen…and it is doubtful that it will ever recover appreciably to have a significant impact on our economy - we have little foreign exchange with which to import oil and other raw materials for our industries.[87]

[83] UNIPA 8/5/37, Loc. 255, Ministry of Agriculture and Water Development.
[84] Carol B. Thompson, Regional Economic Policy under Crisis Conditions: The Case of Agriculture within SADCC', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 13, 1 (October, 1986), 82-100; see also G.R.Z. and the United Nations in Zambia Report: Prospects for Sustainable Human Development in Zambia-More Choices for our People, (1996), 4.
[85] G.R.Z., *Economic Report for 1982* (Lusaka: National Commission for Development and Planning (NCDP), 1982), 25.
[86] Sakala, 'The State and African Peasant Farming in Katete District', 87.
[87] UNIPA 7/18/11, Loc. 113, President's Address to Parliament, 2-3.

Thus, pesticides and sprayers came into short supply. Motorised blowers were a rare case.[88] In cases where inputs were procured, they were rarely delivered on time. As Ackson Kanduza observed, 'the rural producers received production resources such as hybrid seeds, fertilizer and seasonal loans well after the prime planting season had passed'.[89] The Western Province Central Committee Annual Report for 1988 reiterated that farming inputs reached the intended farmers very late.[90]

The control of pests and diseases are very cardinal in cashew nut production. Out of the many diseases that affect cashew nuts, the most common in Mongu was powdery mildew.[91] This disease led to poor quality nuts and could account for a crop loss of more than 70 per cent.[92] As such, the inadequacy of pesticides and sprayers led to poor production of cashew nuts in the district.

3.5.2 Inadequate Storage Facilities

The other challenge that the cashew nut industry faced as a result of the poor economic situation experienced by the country was that of inadequate storage facilities. According to Tom Mubita, the only suitable storage facility for cashew nuts at Mongu was not large enough, as it had a capacity of about five tonnes.[93] Meanwhile the production capacity for the Mongu plantation in the 1980s and early 1990s was about 15 to 20 tonnes per year.[94] The storage shed at Mongu did not only keep the harvested produce, but was also used for storing farming inputs such as fertilizers, chemicals and machinery before distribution. The facility provided

[88] Interviews, Mwendabai, Mongu, 17 April 2019; and Maswenyeho, Mongu, 12 April 2019.
[89] Ackson M. Kanduza, 'History and Agricultural Change in Zambia', *Transafrican Journal of History*, 20 (1991), 100.
[90] UNIPA 8/9/45, Loc. 177, Western Province Office of the Central Committee 1988 Annual Report.
[91] Interviews, Madhuveko, Mongu, 22 April 2019; and Shimbilimbili, Mongu, 17 April 2019.
[92] Peter A.L. Masawe *et al*, *Tanzania's Cashew Value Chain: A Diagnostic* (Vienna: United Nations Industrial Development Organisation, UNIDO, 2011), 14.
[93] Tom S. Mubita, 'Cashew Nut Growing in Western Zambia' (Unpublished Paper), 10.
[94] Interviews, Shimbilimbili, Mongu, 17 April 2019; and Agreyidraye Hampande, Former Farm Supervisor, Mabumbu Plantation, Mongu, 25 April 2019.

protection from different weather conditions such as rain, sun, wind and dew, and secured the harvested crop from theft.

Shortage of storage facilities hindered the growth of the cashew nut industry. Realising that the storage facility in the district was inadequate, some cashew nut growers got discouraged from increasing production for fear that their produce would go to waste.[95] This was detrimental to the growth of the industry. Since the storage facility available was not adequate, the company rented some sheds from the Western Province Cooperative Union (W.P.C.U). The rented sheds, however, did not meet the requirements for storing cashew nuts as they had been designed for other crops such as maize and rice.[96] Hence, they lacked the standards needed for cashew nut storage. Standard quality cashew nut storage facilities had concrete floors with recommended roofs so that the crop did not go to waste through damage after harvest.[97]

3.5.3 Poor Communication Networks

Further, the poor economic status of the country in the period under study did not allow for the provision of good road and telecommunication network in many rural parts of the country. Mongu district was one such area which faced this challenge. As such, the cashew nut industry which was established there faced serious challenges of poor road and telecommunication network. Communication plays a critical role in any industry as it is a pre-requisite to development.[98] The road network in the Western province, however, was a serious challenge for a long time

[95] Interview, Induna Inyundwana, Barotse Royal Establishment (BRE), Mongu, 15 April 2019; and Mulele, Mongu, 15 April 2019.
[96] Interviews, Maswenyeho, Mongu, 12 April 2019; and Shimbilimbili, Mongu, 17 April 2019.
[97] ZARI, 634.573 TAN (Rep) United Republic of Tanzania, Cashew Nut Industry Development Project, 17.
[98] NAZ, Shelf No.18, Box No.134 C, Provincial Development Annual Report for Western Province, 1972, 2.

because of the local terrain. The Kalahari sands found in most parts of the province, and Mongu in particular, made road making and maintenance a costly undertaking such that the road network was in a deplorable state.[99] Worse still, many roads in the province were only used during the dry season as some areas got flooded during the rainy season.[100] Mongu district, being at the hub of the province, was acutely affected. Furthermore, there were no proper feeder roads to link the outlying areas to Mongu.

The poor road network within Mongu denied cashew nut farmers easy access to extension services and farming inputs. This was acknowledged in the presidential address to Parliament in 1978:

> As a result of our economic problems, payments to farmers and transport were very slow this year…. Also, fertilizer arrived late in some areas as a result of serious transport problems.[101]

Some individuals who set up plantations in the outskirts of Mongu faced accessibility challenges. Among these were Kashumba Kayuwa at Nambwata, Kabunda Kayongo at Namitome and Chief Chiengele at Nang'oko.[102] All these areas are covered by Kalahari sands. As such, road construction and maintenance was very costly and thereby, rarely done.[103] Only those farmers with four-wheel drive vehicles could access such places. In the 1980s and early 1990s feeder roads were almost non-existent. According to the Western Province UNIP Annual Report for 1988, 'there were no significant improvements in the feeder roads that had taken

[99] NAZ, MAG 2/9/10, Loc. 171, D. U. Peters Report: Survey of Agriculture in Barotseland, 57; and Eugene Leon Hermitte, 'An Economic History of Barotseland, 1800-1940', PhD Thesis, North Western University, 1973, 340.
[100] NAZ, Shelf No.18, Box No.120, Overseas Development.
[101] UNIPA 7/19/1-5, Loc. 113, G.R.Z., His Excellency the President's Address to Parliament on the Opening of the First Session of the Fourth National Assembly, 18 December, 1978, 7.
[102] Interview, Mulele, Mongu, 15 April 2019.
[103] H.A.M. Maclean, *An Agricultural Stocktaking of Barotseland* (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1965), 9.

place due to lack of equipment'.[104] As such, the majority poor in Mongu district could not engage in commercial cashew nut production.

As vehicles could not be used to access peasant farmers in outlying areas, extension workers used motor cycles and bicycles, and in some cases, they walked.[105] This was very hectic for them, and as a result, their scope was limited. In some cases, due to lack of transport and funds, some extension officers were compelled to spend much of their time in their camps instead of going into the field.[106] This also led to poor supervision of extension officers by their superiors as they also faced transport challenges.[107] As a result, cashew nut growers in the far-flung areas were denied adequate extension services.

The other communication challenge faced by the cashew nut industry was the poor telecommunication network. From the 1970s to the early 2000s, telecommunication was almost non-existent in rural areas such as Mongu. The available telephone system within Mongu town was not reliable and efficient.[108] This affected the growth of the industry in the district as cashew nut growers could not share information on different aspects of the industry easily. It also hampered easy communication with staff of the Ministry of Agriculture and the cashew nut company who resided in Mongu town.

Additionally, radio signal was non-existent in the 1970s in most parts of Mongu district. This was only a privilege for some town dwellers and the nearby areas.

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[104] UNIPA 8/9/44, Loc. 277, Western Province Party Annual Report for 1988.
[105] NAZ, BSE 1/2/89, Loc. 4984, Namushakende Tour Report: Demonstration Team, 4.
[106] NAZ, Shelf No.19, Box No.144 A, Rural Development; G.R.Z., *Ministry of Rural Development Annual Report of the Research Branch, 1975-1976* (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1976), 10; and Doris J. Dodge, *Agricultural Policy and Performance in Zambia* (Berkeley: University of California, 1977), 277.
[107] NAZ, Shelf No.19, Box No.144 A, Rural Development.
[108] Leistner, *Seed Plants of Tropical Southern Africa*, 36.

Radio and television are important tools through which people get enlightened as they are meant to educate, inform, instruct as well as entertain.[109] This was also reiterated by the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) as it noted the effectiveness of the Radio Farm Forum (RFF) programmes in the dissemination of information in many countries of the world.[110] The need by the Ministry of Agriculture through its Rural Information Services department to be effective in terms of information dissemination, led to the introduction of the RFF programme in Zambia. This was done with the help from UNESCO. Under this programme, farmers assembled and listened to various agricultural programmes. From there, each forum would generate an average of three questions on agricultural matters affecting them which they would discuss with their local extension officers.[111] These programmes became successful in the country and Mongu district was not left out. In Mongu district, some cashew nut farmers formed RFFs where various issues to do with cashew nut production were discussed.[112]

Further, in the early 1970s the Zambia Broadcasting Services (ZBS), aired an agricultural programme in Lozi at 16:30 hours every Monday.[113] On this forum, various agricultural issues including those to do with cashew nut production were discussed. This in turn benefited farmers who took keen interest in listening to such programmes. Unfortunately, the radio signal was not strong enough to cover areas outside Mongu town where most of the individual cashew nut plantations were

[109] UNIP, *1991 Manifesto*, 12.
[110] G.R.Z., *Zambia's Plan at Work, 1966-1970* (Lusaka: Office of National Development and Planning, n.d.), 55
[111] Silas Muntanga, 'Radio Farm Forums are a Success', *Farming in Zambia*, 3, 2 (1968), 5.
[112] Interview, Maswenyeho, Mongu, 12 April 2019.
[113] NAZ, CO323/1338/1, Loc. 5502, National Broadcasting Services Memorandum, 1971.

based.[114] Further, most rural people did not own radios. This challenge had been noted by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), in the 1960s, and no significant changes took place up to the 1980s.[115]Additionally, neither the extension staff nor researchers were trained in rural agricultural sociology.[116] As such, the extension staff could not interpret and relay the valuable information to the local people efficiently.

Despite the Radio Farm Forum programme being beneficial to some farmers who had access to it, later in the early 1990s its significance was reduced by the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP). Instead of the SAP rescuing the ailing Zambian economy, it worsened the situation by resulting in economic stress. As a result of this, the country experienced financial constraints which led the radio station to reduce the broadcasting hours of the Farm Forum programme from five to two in 1991.[117] This was a serious drawback to the growth of the agricultural projects such as the cashew nut industry which earlier benefited from these programmes.

3.5.4 Privatisation

The cashew nut industry in Mongu was not spared from the privatisation process that hit most of the Zambian state-owned industries as a result of the SAP, which was adopted by the MMD in 1991 with the intention of rescuing the ailing economy. The programme traced its roots to the 1980s. This was because of the state's failure

[114] Interview, Mulele, Mongu, 15 April 2019.
[115] Martin W. Howard, 'Agricultural Education in Northern Rhodesia', A Report prepared in collaboration with the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), 1963.
[116] NAZ, Shelf No.9, Box No.26, G.R.Z., *Ministry of Rural Development Annual Report*, 71.
[117] Sakala, The State and African Peasant Farming in Katete District', 114.

to pay back the heavy debt of US$800 million obtained from abroad.[118] This was worsened by the rising rate of inflation rate which was at 11.6 per cent in the 1980s.[119] The International Monetary Fund (IMF) barred Zambia from accessing its funds.[120] Owing to this, the UNIP government adopted the SAP as outlined by the IMF so as to maintain the partnership. However, the programme was abandoned in 1987 following food riots in Lusaka and Ndola.[121]

However, the ascending to government of the MMD in 1991 saw the adoption of the SAP following the passing in Parliament of the Privatisation Act No. 21 of 1992.[122] This was after the new party pledged in its 1991 election manifesto that it would restrict itself to rehabilitating and building socio-economic infrastructure with a

[118] Malcom F. McPherson and T.S. Rakovski, 'A Small Economic Model of the Zambian Economy', Development Discussion Paper No. 627, (Jan. 1999), 21; Oliver Saasa, 'Policy Reforms and Structural Adjustment in Zambia: The Case of Agriculture and Trade', Technical Paper No. 35, (Oct. 1996), 14; Samuel N. Chipungu, *The State, Technology and Peasant Differentiation in Zambia: A Case Study of the Southern Province, 1930-1986* (Lusaka: Historical Association of Zambia, 1988), 201; and G.R.Z., *Social Dimension of Adjustment Priority Survey 1, 1991 Report* (Lusaka: Central Statistical Office, 1993), 14.

[119] Kelvin Mulungu and John N. Ng'ombe, 'Sources of Economic Growth in Zambia, 1970-2013: A Growth Accounting Approach', *Economies*, 5, 15 (2017),1-23; see also G.R.Z, *Ministry of Finance Monthly Economic Bulletin, September 1975* (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1976), 16; G.R.Z., *Budget Address for 1983* (Lusaka: Ministry of Finance, 1983), 5; World Bank, *Zambia: Prospects for Sustainable and Equitable Growth-Report No. 11570-ZA* (Washington, DC: Country Operations Division, 1993); and Kjell Havnevik *et al*, *African Agriculture and the World Bank: Development of Impoverishment*? (Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 2007), 15.

[120] G.R.Z., *Economic Report for 1983* (Lusaka: National Commission for Development Planning, 1983), 12; World Bank, *Accelerating Development in Sub-Saharan Africa: An Agenda for Action* (Washington D.C.: World Bank, 1981), 4; G.R.Z., *National Commission for Development and Planning (NCDP) Annual Report for the Year 1987* (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1988) 12; and Thomson H. Kalinda, 'Access to Resources and Food Production among Small Scale Farm Households in Southern Zambia', PhD Thesis, University of Guelph, 1997, 26.

[121] Gisela Geisler, 'Who is losing Out? Structural Adjustment', *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 30, 1 116; Sakala, 'The State and African Peasant Farming in Katete District', 88; G.R.Z., *New Economic Recovery Programme* (Lusaka: NCDP, 1989); and Philip A. Thomas, 'Zambian Economic Reforms', *Canadian Journal of African Studies/ Revue Canadienne des Etudes Africaines*, 2, 1 (Spring, 1968), 19. The food riots were as a result of President Kanda's implementation of the International Monetary Fund (IMF)-inspired 120 per cent increase in the price of maize meal as a result of Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) interventions. People, especially in Lusaka and on the Copperbelt decided to oppose such a move by rioting.

[122] Charles Kakulwa, 'Rural Development through Agriculture: A History of the Mununshi Banana Scheme, 1967-2010', M.A Dissertation, University of Zambia, 2012, 84; Lise Rakner, *Political and Economic Liberalisation in Zambia, 1991-2001* (Stockholm: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 2003), 68; and Magande, *The Depth of my Footprints*, 179.

small public sector in the midst of a basically private enterprise economy.[123] The new MMD government decided to hand over commercial business activities to the private sector while it remained with what it claimed was the responsibility of providing a conducive environment for businesses to thrive.

With this decision, the government instituted the Zambia Privatisation Agency (ZPA). The agency was charged with the responsibility of overseeing all government privatisation issues.[124] This was in its quest to minimise political interference and ensuring transparency. The agency put in place different ways through which privatisation was to be done. These included leasing, concessioning, sale of shares by competitive tender, sale of assets, management or employee buy-outs, and any other method the agency considered appropriate.[125]

As most government parastatals were privatised, Zambia Industrial and Mining Corporation (ZIMCO), which was the overseer and corporate financier of most rural industries countrywide, was not spared. It was abruptly dissolved in 1993, thereby leaving a very big gap in those industries which were not prepared to stand on their own.[126] With the dissolution of ZIMCO, it meant that all its subsidiaries such as ZCC were left without financial and technical support. This posed a serious challenge in the operations of the cashew nut industry. ZCC received its shock in 1993 when government withdrew its financial and technical support anticipating

[123] MMD, *1991 Party Manifesto*, 14; John M. Mwanakatwe, *End of Kaunda Era* (Lusaka: A Multimedia Publication, 1994), 236. Zambia Privatisation Agency (hereafter ZPA), *Why was Privatisation Introduced in Zambia?* (Lusaka: Public Relations Department, 2000), 1; and World Bank, *Republic of Zambia Public Sector Management Review, Report No. 9827-ZA Africa Region* (Washington D.C.: World Bank, 1989), 38.
[124] ZPA, *Why was Privatisation Introduced in Zambia?* 1.
[125] ZPA, *Why was Privatisation Introduced in Zambia?* 2; see also Caleb Fundanga and Andrew Mwaba, 'Privatisation of Public Enterprises in Zambia: An Evaluation of the Policies, Procedures and Experiences', *Economic Research Papers* No.35, 1; and Rakner, *Political and Economic Liberalisation in Zambia*, 72.
[126] G.R.Z., *New Economic Recovery Programme Interim National Development Plan*, 24; and Kakulwa, 'Rural Development through Agriculture', 86.

private takeover. In 1995, the company was shortlisted for privatisation[127] and was finally sold off to Western Cashew Industries (WCI) limited two years later by tender at a cost of K100 million.[128]

WCI Limited was a private firm which did not have enough capital. As such, it failed to capitalise the cashew nut industry. Contrary to ZCC, which was aimed at improving the economy and empowering the local people, WCI Limited focussed on profit maximisation. In trying to achieve this, the company introduced austerity measures in order to reduce expenditure. It started this by reducing staff wages and removing incentives such as the provision of a working kit and free mealie meal to its workers every month.[129]

Because of such poor working conditions, company workers decided to indulge in rampant theft of raw nuts. The nuts were sold secretly to private traders and sometimes to the company itself without its knowledge.[130] This was done as a way of meeting their basic needs. Others decided to withdraw their labour and ventured into different self-income generating ventures such as fishing and farming of various food crops. When an industry does not perform well, smallholder farmers may start growing an alternative crop which can sustain them and their families.[131] The resultant effect on the cashew nut industry was rampant loss of labour.

[127] African Development Bank (hereafter AfDB)-Zambia, *CIDP*.
[128] ZPA, *Privatisation Transaction Summary Sheets, 1992-2005*; John R. Craig, 'State Enterprise and Privatisation in Zambia, 1968-1998', PhD Thesis, The University of Leeds, 1999, 216; *Times of Zambia*, 'Zambia Cashew Nut Industry Rejuvenation Underway', 16 March 2013, 6; and Interview, Maswenyeho, Mongu, 12 April 2019.
[129] Interview, Mukelabai, Mongu, 21 November 2019.
[130] Reuben K. Samunyina, 'Rural Industries in Zambia: The Case of Cashew Nuts Industry in Western Province', Undergraduate Research Report, University of Zambia, 2009, 40.
[131] G.H.C, Waters, *First Lessons in Human Geography* (London: Longman Group Limited, 1968), 144-145.

Another serious challenge experienced by cashew nut growers as a result of the privatisation exercise was that the external market was lost to other competitors. ZCC had links with the international cashew market and that made it easy for the company to export the produce to South Africa, Namibia and Ireland.[132] Privatisation of ZCC was disadvantageous to the cashew nut growers as they lost a ready market for their raw nuts to the company and had no option but to sell to private buyers. This was also observed among peasant farmers in Katete district by Robert Sakala, who stated that privatisation exposed them to exploitative private buyers.[133] Peasant farmers became discouraged from expanding their production capacities. Cashew nut growers such as Gorebrown Kashumba Kayuwa and Mapani Chabinga simply abandoned their plantations.[134] This meant that the cashew nut industry which had registered remarkable growth between 1985 and 1992 and had become a viable industry at the time, went through a spiral of decline.

3.6 Conclusion

The chapter has demonstrated that despite having received government support in form of financial and technical services, the cashew nut industry faced various challenges arising from political interference, poor management and harsh global economic trends. The chapter has deduced that political interference negatively affected the cashew nut industry. The industry became a battle ground for wooing support from the rural masses between the ruling party and the opposition UP. Further, due to lack of intensive sensitisation, some local people developed a negative attitude towards the industry. The chapter has also shown that due to

[132] Interviews, Shimbilimbili, Mongu, 17 April 2019; Mwendabai, Mongu, 17 April 2019; Mukelabai, Mongu, 21 November 2019; and Allan Ching'ambu, CGAZ Coordinator, Mongu, 17 April 2019.
[133] Sakala, 'The State and African Peasant Farming in Katete District', 6.
[134] Interview, Gorebrown Kashumba Kayuwa, Cashew Nut Grower, Nambwata, Mongu, 15 April 2019.

ineffective management of the industry, peasant farmers were exposed to many challenges. There was inadequate scientific research, extension as well as market services. Besides, the industry was left under the supervision of expatriate specialists who did not transfer their skills fully to the locals before departure.

Additionally, the chapter has demonstrated that the cashew nut industry was not spared from the hardships which were as a result of the global economic shocks of the 1970s and 1980s. This hindered government from providing adequate faming inputs, storage facilities and good communication services. These economic hardships eventually led to the privatisation programme of the 1990s which worsened the situation by depriving the cashew nut industry of the technical, financial and material support it used to receive from the government. Despite the cashew nut industry facing these constraints, it still had some positive socio-economic effects on Mongu district and this is what the next chapter tries to investigate.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPACT OF THE CASHEW NUT INDUSTRY ON MONGU DISTRICT

4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the social and economic impact of the cashew nut industry on Mongu district. It argues that despite the industry experiencing numerous challenges, it still had positive effects which brought development in Mongu district. The chapter begins with a discussion of how the cashew nut industry led to economic prosperity in Mongu district. Through the jobs created, the local people earned an income which led to increased money in circulation in the district. Further, the chapter shows that employees engaged in the cashew nut industry were also equipped with production and processing skills which were beneficial to them even after they left formal employment. Additionally, the chapter argues that women's involvement in the industry led to them being financially-empowered and equipped with various skills. The chapter also demonstrates that due to increased money in circulation in the district, local peasants attained improved food security as they were able to expend part of their earnings on the purchase of food. From the social perspective, the chapter observes that due to the emergence of proletariats in the cashew nut industry, Mongu experienced the formation of classes which in turn brought about individualism. The chapter is divided into two parts. The first part discusses the economic impact of the cashew nut industry while the second one focuses on its social effects.

4.2 Economic Impact of the Cashew Nut Industry

4.2.1 Income Generation

The cashew nut industry led to economic development in Mongu district. This was in line with the primary aim of establishing rural industries – to achieve rapid economic development so as to raise the standard of living of the rural masses.[1] Agricultural schemes were thus introduced in all the provinces of Zambia as a way of curbing poverty and unemployment as well as increasing household and national food security.[2] The cashew nut industry in Mongu was one such undertaking.

The cashew nut industry benefited the local people of Mongu district and the nation at large. It provided revenue to the country through exports.[3] This can be seen from Table 5 below.

Table 5: ZCC Limited Forex Earnings

Year	No. of Trees Planted	Raw Nuts Exported (tonnes)	Forex Earnings (US$)
1989/90	712,331	45	100,000
1991/92	820,000	164	505,000
1993/94	1,009,000	2,005	1,999,000
1995/96	1,200,000	5,000	6,250,000

Source: Compiled from a table drawn on the wall of ZCC Factory Building.

The table above shows that the forex earned from the cashew nut industry kept on increasing between 1989 and 1996. ZCC exported raw nuts that it produced from its

[1] Maud S. Muntemba, 'Rural Underdevelopment in Zambia: Kabwe Rural District, 1850-1970', PhD Thesis, University of California, 1977, 302; National Archives of Zambia (hereafter, NAZ), Zambia Industrial and Mining Cooperation (hereafter, ZIMCO) 1/2/55, Loc. 8065, Lima Bank 1992/93 Budget; and David J. Siddle, 'Rural Development in Zambia: A Spatial Analysis', *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 8, 2 (1970), 271-284.

[2] Government of the Republic of Zambia (hereafter, G.R.Z.), *Profile of the Department of the Resettlement: Outlining Policies and Arrangements for the Administration of the Resettlement Programme* (Lusaka: Office of the Vice President, 1995), 1; and S.M. Makings, 'Agricultural Change in Northern Rhodesia/Zambia: 1945-1965', *Food Research Institute Studies*, 6, 2 (1966) 238.

[3] Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) Production Yearbooks quoted in Steven Jaffee, *Private Trader Response to Market Liberation: The Experience of Tanzania's Cashew Nut Industry* (Dubuque: Kendall Hant, 1994), 6.

plantations and what it bought from the local cashew nut farmers. Therefore, even when ZCC production went down from 1992 to 1996, it was still able to buy from the local farmers on a large scale whose plantations were doing fine at the time. In 1990 the forex was only US$100,000 but by 1996 it had reached US$6,250,000. This shows that the industry earned the country the much needed revenue. However, due to the privatisation of ZCC in 1997, the industry's performance on the international market fluctuated, thereby negatively affecting the foreign exchange inflows.

Despite the cashew nut industry not doing well on the international arena, the livelihood of the local people in Mongu district continued to improve. This was more experienced during the period ZCC managed the cashew nut industry, between 1985 and 1992. This led to more money in circulation as shown in Table 6 below.

Table 6: Raw Cashew Nuts Sold to ZCC, 1985-1992

Year	Raw nuts purchased (tonnes)	Income accrued (ZK)
1985/1986	2	2,000
1986/1987	18	36,000
1987/1988	21	84,000
1988/1989	30	240,000
1989/1990	31	465,000
1990/1991	60	1,500,000
1991/1992	155	6,200,000

Source: Compiled from ZCC Limited, 'Cashew Nut Cultivation Manual', 20.

Table 6 shows that the local people of Mongu benefited economically from the cashew nut industry. The income acquired through raw cashew nut sales increased every year, from K2,000 in 1986 just when ZCC came into operational to K6,200,000 in 1992 at the peak of its operations. All this money went into

circulation in Mongu district. This enabled the local people employed in the company and peasant farmers to provide for their families' daily, educational and medical needs through salaries earned or payments given to them by supplying nuts to the company. It is in this vein that Michael Nelson observes that:

> The plantation [industry] changes the economy of every area in which it is established. And in many instances, it lays the basis of modern economic development in primitive and unused lands, brings hitherto deserted and isolated regions into the orbit of international trade, and plays an important part in some of the historical movements that shape the economy of the modern world.[4]

Undoubtedly, Mongu district, was brought onto the international scene through cashew nut production.[5]

Suffice to mention that after the privatisation process of the 1990s, the companies that took over the industry in Mongu continued to export cashew nuts to South Africa and Namibia, hence the nation continued to benefit through taxes paid. The table below can attest to this.

Table 7: Zambian Cashew Nut Exports, 1998-2001

Year	Net weight (tonnes)	Cash value - ZMW	Cash value – US$
1998	3,000	3,257,022	1,682
2000	4,000	880,500	285
2001	1,290	5,742,239	1,660

Source: G.R.Z., Central Statistical Office, 'Cashew Nut Exports for Western Province, 1998-2001', email to author, 30 September 2019.

[4] Michael Nelson, *The Development of Tropical Lands: Policy Issues in Latin America* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1973), 54.
[5] This was repeatedly highlighted in both the 2000 and 2010 censuses of population where Western province was rated among the poorest.

Table 7 shows the total cashew nut exports from Zambia in the period 1998 to 2001. This was during the time the cashew nut industry was under Western Cashew Industries (WCI) Limited, which took over from ZCC. This suggests that even during the time government had withdrawn its support from the industry, the treasury still continued to raise some revenue from it. Equally, the people of Mongu who were resilient with their plantations continued to supply private companies with raw nuts during that period. This continued to empower them economically and that enhanced development in the area. The cashew nut industry provided prosperity to Mongu district in various ways as discussed below.

4.2.2 Employment Creation

The establishment of the cashew nut industry led to the creation of employment opportunities in Mongu district. With the establishment of the cashew nut industry in the district, the local people could now access employment opportunities which they could hardly acquire in the past as the district did not have any worthy industry. Western province, in which Mongu is, was known as an area which was not viable economically because of the dominant infertile soils.[6] As such, it was inevitable for men to leave the area as labour migrants. This led to the young energetic and productive men abandoning their homes and leaving them in the hands of women. This contributed to the area being backward economically for a long time.[7] The establishment of the cashew nut plantation as well as the factory in Mongu district created employment opportunities for the local people. It recruited about 75

[6] Joy Host Kalyalya, 'A History of Nakambala Sugar Estate, 1964-1984', M.A Dissertation, University of Zambia, 1988, 38; Njekwa Kamayoyo, 'Anatomy of Economic Underdevelopment of Lyalui Area, 1890-1924', M.A Dissertation, University of Zambia, 1984, vi.

[7] Laurel van Horn, 'The Agricultural History of Barotseland, 1840-1964', in Robin Palmer and Neil Parsons (eds.), *The Roots of Rural Poverty in Central and Southern Africa* (London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd., 1977) 149; Lewis Gann, *A History of Northern Rhodesia : Early Days to 1953* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1964), 101-102; and David Urlin Peters, 'Land Usage in Barotseland', *Rhodes – Livingstone Communication* No. 19, (1960), ix.

permanent employees at a time and between 500 and 1000 workers during weeding and harvesting periods.[8]

Prior to the setting up of this industry in the 1980s, the local people were engaged to clear the area where the ZCC plantation was to be established. This spelt more job opportunities for the local people. The ZCC plantation sat on a large piece of land measuring 10,000 hectares even though only 2,000 hectares came under successful cultivation.[9] Further, the setting up of the factory called for infrastructure construction which was to house its operations. To do the clearing and the construction, the company engaged about 500 local people.[10] As a result, the local people were privileged to access employment in their vicinity. This was common in places where similar projects were undertaken. For example, before the Kateshi and Ngoli Estates were established, local people were engaged to clear the land.[11] It is then true to argue that rural agricultural schemes spelt development through employment opportunities presented to the local people.

Similarly, when production began, the company employed many local people as it had various departments which demanded for labour as noted in Chapter Two. The various company departments demanded for personnel to run effectively and thus created job opportunities to the local people. ZCC had about 75 permanent employees who included, among others, the General Manager, Factory and

[8] Interview, Moses Shimbilimbili, Nandusu Cooperative Managing Director, Mongu, 17 April 2019.
[9] Interviews, Induna Inyundwana, Barotse Royal Establishment, Mongu, 17 April 2019; and Agreyidraye Hampande, Former Farm Supervisor, Mabumbu Plantation, Mongu, 25 April 2019.
[10] Interview, Hampande, Mongu, 25 April 2019.
[11] Charity Mbalazi, 'A History of Coffee Growing in Zambia: The Case of Kateshi and Ngoli Estates in Kasama District, 1967-2012', M.A Dissertation, University of Zambia, 2017, 97.

Extension Managers, Horticulturalist, Accountant, Supervisors and General workers.[12]

The companies that took over the operations of ZCC, WCI Limited and later Barotse Cashew Company (BCC) Limited, also provided employment opportunities to the locals. They employed the local people on either permanent or temporary basis. Austin Madhuveko, the BCC Managing Director, described how the company commenced its operations in 2009 with a skeleton of staff of 12. By 2011, the company had 24 permanent employees and during each harvesting period about 200 locals were hired.[13] Madhuveko said, 'the numbers were not static as they kept on growing because of the increase in production every year'.[14] This was in line with what was contained in the Fifth National Development Plan (2006-2010) whose agricultural development policy was aimed at eliminating poverty in rural areas and making agriculture the major employer.[15] The setting up of this agro industry in Mongu district was thus one of the best solutions to alleviating poverty since farming was the main source of livelihood for the local people.

One interviewee, Kopano Maswenyeho, was employed under the Personnel and Administration Department in 1989. In an interview, he proudly remarked:

> The job I was given by ZCC was beneficial as I was not ready to stay in the village idly without something to keep me busy…. Additionally, that appointment provided me some funds which I used to sponsor the education of some of my children.[16]

[12] Interview, Shimbilimbili, Mongu, 17 April 2019.
[13] Interview, Austin Madhuveko, Barotse Cashew Company Managing Director, Mongu, 22 April 2019.
[14] Interview, Madhuveko, Mongu, 22 April 2019.
[15] G.R.Z., *Fifth National Development Plan, 2006-2010* (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1966) 1. See also United National Independence Party (UNIP) Manifesto of 1996, 20.

[16] Interview, Kopano Maswenyeho, Namatuta Village Headman, Former Zambia Cashew Company (hereafter, ZCC) Employee and Cashew Nut Grower, Kalangu – Mongu, 12 April 2019.

He worked for the company up to the time there was no serious production after the departure of Graham I. Mann, ZCC Managing Director, in 1992.

Another man who spent most of his working lifetime in the cashew nut industry was Adreyidraye Hampande. He first worked at Mabumbu plantation from 1985 to 1992 as a farm manager. From there he was taken to Lukulu plantation. Hampande also remarked that the cashew nut industry enabled him to take care of his family through his employment.[17] Further, Akushanga Mukelabai who worked in the factory department is one woman who spent most of her working life in the cashew nut industry. She also delights in the industry's economic contribution in her life.[18] Of all the departments, the factory department had the largest number of workers who harvested and processed the nuts.

The cashew nut industry did not provide employment for the local people of Mongu district only. People from the surrounding areas and neighbouring Angola were also engaged.[19] Because of the civil war situation experienced in Angola starting from the mid-1970s, those who were closer to the Zambian border found it safe to take refuge in Zambia. Once in Zambia, they sought seasonal employment in order to support their families economically. The cashew nut plantations thus offered about 100 job opportunities to Angolan male labour migrants especially during the weeding and harvesting phases.[20]

While some people benefited directly from the industry through the jobs created by the company at the factory and on the plantations, others decided to engage in cashew nut production themselves. They decided to set up their own plantations.

[17] Interview, Hampande, Mongu, 25 April 2019.
[18] Interview, Akushanga Mukelabai, Former ZCC Employee and Smallholder Cashew Nut Processor, Mongu, 21 November 2019.
[19] Interview, Maswenyeho, Mongu, 12 April 2019.
[20] Interviews, Hampande, Mongu, 25 April 2019; and Mukelabai, Mongu, 21 November 2019.

Individuals such as Kashumba Kayuwa planted about 40 hectares of cashew nuts in Nambwata, while Kopano Maswenyeho and Wamundila Mwendabai planted about 10,000 cashew nut trees each in Kalangu and Malengwa areas in the late 1980s and early 1990s, respectively.[21] Such undertakings could not be taken care of by the individual owners. There was need for some reinforcement of external labour, in this way creating employment opportunities for the local people. Maswenyeho recalled that maintenance of the plantations against weeds, more especially in the formative years of the plantations, was the most crucial task besides harvesting, which attracted external labour.[22] The cashew nut plantations were expected to be weed-free all the time so as to protect them from pests and fires.[23] In this case, about 500 job opportunities were created for weeding activities seasonally.[24]

Furthermore, smallholder producers also provided employment to other locals. This was a good source of income for the majority of people who were wallowing in poverty. Brenda Mwanamwalye was one such person who had excelled in her cashew nut business which had enabled her to employ about 30 workers.[25] She set up her own smallholder production and processing company called Tiisezo Enterprise registered in 2010.[26] These local people were able to raise an income

[21] *Zambia Daily Mail*, 'West Cashew Industry Oozes Potential', Wednesday, 6 March 2019, 11; Interviews, Maswenyeho, Mongu, 12 April 2019; and Wamundila Mwendabai, Cashew Nut Grower, Malengwa, Mongu, 17 April 2019.
[22] Interview, Maswenyeho, Mongu, 12 April 2019.
[23] Zambia Agricultural Research Institute (hereafter, ZARI), 634.573 LAT (Gov), Tom Latis, Cashew Nut Prospects in Western Province and the rest of Zambia (1986), 5; ZARI, 634.573 LAT (Gov), Tom Latis, Guidelines for Cashew Nut Cultivation in Western Province; Dorthe Joker, *Information about Cashew Nut - Anarcadium occidantale* (Benin: DANIDA Forest Seed Centre, 2003), 28; Bianca Dendena and Stefano Corsi, 'Cashew from Seed to Market: A Review', *Agronomy for Sustainable Development, Springer Verlag*, 34, 4 (2014), 759; and Rudiger Behrens, 'Cashew as an Agroforestry Crop: Prospects and Potentials', *Tropical Agriculture* No. 9.
[24] Interviews, Maswenyeho, Mongu, 12 April 2019; Mukelabai, Mongu, 21 November 2019; and Hampande, Mongu, 25 April 2019.
[25] *Zambia Daily Mail*, 'Brenda revives Cashew Nut Growing', 12; and interview, Brenda A. Mwanamwalye, Director – Tiisezo Enterprise and Cashew Nut Grower, Nambwata and Namitome, Mongu, 19 November 2019.
[26] Interview, Mwanamwalye, Mongu, 19 November, 2019.

which enabled them to take care of their families. They were able to provide the basic household needs as well as pay for their children's education and medical fees. This suggests that the cashew nut industry provided income to many local people, thus leading to improved food security and livelihood.

Besides the above highlighted employment opportunities, the industry was able to provide seasonal and daily employment to some people. Tasks such as picking of nuts only took place seasonally. In most cases, the peak for the harvesting period covered about four months from October to January. Harvesting of cashew nuts was done manually.[27] Consequently, there was increased demand for labour during this period. The cashew nut industry in the district was able to provide between 500 and 1,000 seasonal jobs during the harvesting period in the late 1980s and 1990s.[28] Further, it was able to provide around 500 seasonal jobs during the time it was under private companies, from 1998 to 2011.[29] This suggests that both the local people and the Angolan migrants were absorbed by the industry during such periods.

Picking of nuts was labour-intensive yet people residing near plantations and further afield looked forward to the harvesting period because of the attendant financial rewards that accompanied it. This was similar to what usually happened in Kasama district of Northern province where the local people scrambled for temporary jobs on the coffee estates during the harvesting period.[30] Therefore, the cashew nut industry established in Mongu impacted positively on the local people through employment provision.

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[27] Sarah Audouin and Laurent Gazull, 'Spatial Dynamics of an Innovation System in Southern Burkina Faso: The Adoption and Diffusion of Cashew Nut Production', *L'Espace geographique (English Edition),* 43, 1 (January – February 2014), 35-36; Dendena and Corsi, 'Cashew, from Seed to Market', 760;

[28] Interview, Shimbilimbili, Mongu, 17 April 2019.

[29] Interview, Maswenyeho, Mongu, 12 April Mongu.

[30] Mbalazi, 'A History of Coffee Growing in Zambia', 97.

Through such employment, the income raised helped the local people finance the education, health, food security and general welfare of their families. Further, the money was used to buy household requirements such as beds, blankets, mattresses, radios, bicycles, and ploughs. Additionally, some people were able to build themselves better houses.[31] Brenda Mwanamwalye was one such example.[32] Furthermore, some were able to reinvest the money acquired from the cashew nut industry into other businesses such as selling of groceries. This resulted in improved livelihood for such people.

4.2.3 Women's Financial Empowerment

The cashew nut industry provided equal employment opportunities to males and females. For a long time, wage employment in Zambia was a preserve for the men-folk.[33] This situation persisted as it was mainly a consequence of the patriarchal nature of society in which men dominated in all spheres of life. This status quo was further legalised and reinforced after the passing of the Employment of Women, Young Persons and Children Ordinance in 1933. This law barred women and children from being employed in industries.[34] This did not only bar women from formal employment but also led to the restriction of their movements into urban areas. This practice was common in Mongu whereby energetic young men used to go on labour migration while women remained at home.

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[31] Interviews, Mukelabai, Mongu, 21 November 2019; and Maswenyeho, Mongu, 12 April 2019.
[32] *Zambia Daily Mail*, 'Brenda Revives Cashew Nut Growing', 12. For a comparative discussion see Marina P. Temudo and Manuel Abrantes, 'The Cashew Frontier in Guinea Bissau, West Africa: Changing Landscapes and Livelihoods', 42, 2 (April, 2014), 226.
[33] Foster Sakala, 'A Social History of Women in the Mine Compounds of the Zambian Copperbelt during the Colonial Period', PhD Thesis, University of Essex, 2011, 38; Eugene Hermite, 'An Economic History of Barotseland, 1800-1940', PhD Thesis, North Western University, 1973, 335; and Jeanne Penvenne, *Women, Migration and the Cashew Economy in Southern Mozambique, 1945-1975* (Tufts: Boydell and Brewer, 2015), 16.
[34] Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council Debates, 3rd Session of the 4th Council, March-April, 1933, (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1933), 107.

There was a major shift in the 1950s and 1960s as more women were required to take up jobs abandoned by the men who had taken up mining work due to insatiable demand for copper by the colonial state. In spite of such developments, the change was sluggish until 2001 when the Employment of Women, Young Persons and Children Ordinance was amended and part 4, which dealt with women's employment, was repealed. The amended law provided an opportunity for women to be employed in industries.[35]

Being side-lined in wage labour employment, women were generally not involved in most productive ventures in the country from time immemorial. In this regard, Dorothy Mwansa observes that it was the Crown government's primary interest to incorporate men into the agricultural development of the country.[36] The trend had not completely changed by 2010. Many of the agricultural support programmes in modern Zambia disproportionately benefit male farmers.[37] The results of an institutional mapping exercise carried out in Western province in 2009-2010 showed that national agricultural programmes did not reach women.[38] This was blamed on women's inability to voice out their specific needs.[39] As a result, policies and interventions seemed to have failed to address such needs adequately. This

[35] Sakala, 'A Social History of Women in the Mine Compounds', 38.
[36] Dorothy Mwansa, 'Gender and Agricultural Development in Zambia, 1890-1990', PhD Thesis, University of Zambia, 2017, 1; see also Kafuba Mboma, 'The Changing Role of Women in Agriculture: A Case Study of Kalabo District, 1906-1986', M.A Dissertation, University of Zambia, 1991, 1; and Marcia Wright, 'Technology, Marriage and Women's Work in the History of Maize Growers in Mazabuka, Zambia: A Reconnaissance', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 10, 1 (1983), 71-85. Wright actually observes that the marginalisation of women in the agricultural sector continued even after independence.
[37] Jeffrey Alwang and Paul B. Siegel, *Rural Poverty in Zambia: An Analysis of Causes and Policy Recommendations-World Bank Documents* (Washington, DC: The World Bank Human Resources Division, 1994), 134; and G.R.Z., 'Systematic Country Diagnostic: World Bank Report No.124032-ZM' (March, 2018), 74.
[38] Rabecca Kent and M. MacRae, 'Agricultural Livelihoods and Nutrition-Exploring the Links with Women in Zambia', *Journal of Gender and Development*, 18, 3 (November, 2010), 401-7.
[39] G.R.Z., 'Systematic Country Diagnostic', 74.

suggested that men acquired the necessary skills in agriculture and were able to venture into it productively.

In view of the foregoing, the local people of Mongu had for a long time been caged in a similar trap where women were barred from wage labour employment and marginalised in the agricultural sector. They were left in the villages to take care of their families as men went to look for employment elsewhere. Fortunately, the cashew nut industry came to the women's aid as they came to form a significant part of the workforce. More women were employed in the factory department and were mostly considered for harvesting tasks than their male counterparts. This is because women were considered to be efficient. They made a large part of nut pickers assisted by the youths and the ratio of men to women in the factory was 1:3.[40] This accorded them a chance of earning a wage for themselves. It was good development in an area where job opportunities for women were a rare case. Women closer to the plantations looked nowhere but to the company, especially for seasonal and daily jobs. This gave them financial independence.

[40] Interviews, Hampande, Mongu, 25 April 2019; and Maswenyeho, Mongu, 12 April 2019. See also Ngila Mwase, 'Economic Liberalisation and Privatisation of Agricultural Marketing and Input Supply in Tanzania: A Case Study of Cashew Nuts', An African Economic Research Consortium Paper 86 (November, 1998), 18.

Figure 9: Women and Girls Harvesting Cashew Nuts

Source: Field Data: Picture taken on 21 November 2019.

The provision of employment to women by the cashew nut industry was a good move as it contributed greatly to the growth of the industry and the development of the area. Women have been seen by government to be drivers of change. This was reiterated by President Kaunda as he emphasised the importance of women in achieving economic development when he said:

> Those of us in this country who recall the times of our struggle for our political independence will remember that the attainment of independence might have delayed without the very active part played by our mothers. If today we want to attain our agrarian revolution in record time, we must involve our mothers in this field very, very actively indeed.[41]

This encouragement came at the right time when women also needed to play a significant role in the development of the country through their contribution to improved agriculture. Owing to this, they were not left out in the cashew nut industry. This saw women being empowered financially such that they were able to cushion their husbands' incomes. Among the women who benefited in this way are

[41] National Archives of Zambia (hereafter, NAZ), Shelf No.18, Box No.130 B, President: Zambia Towards Economic Independence, 21.

Mukelabai, Kusiyo Kaongolo, Kabunda Kayongo, Mweebo Joyce and Lillian Mwenda. Mukelabai was employed by ZCC while Mwenda reinvested her earnings from the industry into a grocery shop and the three planted their own plantations.[42]

The cashew nut industry did not only benefit the local women through direct employment but like their male counterparts, some decided to venture in its production and processing. Individuals such as Inonge Wina (the current Vice President of Zambia), Kabunda Kayongo (the late former Minister of Education), and Brenda Mwanamwalye are some of the women who invested in the cashew nut industry by growing their own plantations.[43] Mwanamwalye's success story in the industry has already been highlighted in this chapter. Suffice to mention here that the industry did a lot to improve her livelihood and that of others employed in her cashew nut business. She started as an employee of ZCC where she acquired a lot of skills which encouraged her to grow cashew nuts and venture in its processing.

Akushanga Mukelabai is yet another woman who earned a living out of the cashew nut industry. She had a plantation which enabled her to supply raw nuts to Mwanamwalye. In 2010 she was employed by Mwanamwalye but later decided to venture into smallholding processing of cashew nuts.[44] This entails that such women had successfully been able to fend for themselves and their families because of the cashew nut industry. The industry had accorded them financial freedom. Arising from this, Mwanamwalye implored other women to emulate her so that they could also benefit from the industry.[45]

[42] Interviews, Mwanamwalye, Mongu, 19 November 2019; and Mukelabai, Mongu, 21 November 2019.
[43] Interviews, Induna Inyundwana, Mongu, 17 April 2019; Mwanamwalye, Mongu, 19 November 2019; and Mukelabai, Mongu, 21 November 2019.
[44] *Zambia Daily Mail*, 'Brenda Revives Cashew Nut Growing', 12.
[45] *Zambia Daily Mail*, 'Brenda Revives Cashew Nut Growing', 12.

Further, women's financial empowerment through the cashew nut industry encouraged economic independence among them. Women had, in most cases been dependent on their husbands' income for their survival. This suggests why Jane Parpart classified women on colonial Copperbelt as "members of the working class" even though they were not employed formally. Parpart justifies her view by arguing that women were legitimately assigned to the men's class because they depended largely on them [husbands].[46] Fortunately, the cashew nut industry brought that economic liberation from such tags as women became fit to be classified as a "working class" as they were employed formally in the sector.

Furthermore, the involvement of women in the cashew nut industry helped them to stay away from vices such as having extra marital affairs, prostitution, beer drinking and backbiting. David Peters noted that because of being very busy with the cashew nut company and plantation duties, women had little time for bad vices.[47] Due to the desire to make a reasonable amount of money, everyone who was involved in the picking of nuts worked extra hard to meet their target. Their payment was dependent on the quantity and quality of work they did.[48] As such, they did not have time for unbeneficial activities like the ones cited above. This suggests that the cashew nut industry helped the local people of Mongu not to only be financially empowered but also to live productive, peaceful and healthy lives.

4.2.4 Skills Acquisition

Besides creating employment opportunities for the local people, the cashew nut industry also provided them with beneficial production and processing skills. Some

[46] Jane L. Parpart, 'Class and Gender on the Copperbelt, 1926-1964', in C. Robertson and I. Berger (eds.), *Women and Class in Africa* (New York: Africana Publishing, 1986), 141.
[47] Peters, 'Land Usage in Barotseland', ix; and Interview, Masiye Mulele, Cashew Nut Grower and Smallholder Cashew Nut Processor, Mongu, 15 April 2019.
[48] Interview, Mukelabai, Mongu, 21 November 2019.

people even received formal training in various fields of specialisation. This was beneficial to them as they were able to utilise the skills even after leaving formal employment. An industry is beneficial if it provides training and other social services.[49] Before embarking on the growing of cashew nuts, the local people underwent training. However, this was done haphazardly hence the locals did not acquire the required skills.[50] This suggests that the local people received the training but it was not adequate. However, on the whole, it can be seen that the basic skills acquired empowered some individuals to set up their own plantations.

Among the people who acquired production skills were Mulele, Mwanamwalye, Maswenyeho and Mukelabai. After leaving company employment in 1992, Maswenyeho was able to efficiently manage and expand his plantation which was situated at Kalangu. Refering to this, he said:

> The skills I acquired from ZCC were later on passed on to some of my children who are now helping in the running of my plantations as I am getting tired because of ageing.[51]

This was possible because the father passed on the skills to his children and as such, they were able to help maintain his cashew nut plantation. This suggests that the establishment of the cashew nut industry in Mongu was beneficial through the transfer of skills.

The acquisition of cashew nut production skills by the local people was encouraged by the Ministry of Agriculture. As discussed in Chapter Two, school-going children were trained on how to plant cashew nuts through school Production Units (P.U).

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[49] L.M. Berg, 'Industrialisation in Lower Kafue Basin', in G.T. Williams and C.W. Howard (eds.), *Development and Ecology in the Kafue Basin in the Nineteen Seventies* (Lusaka: The Kafue Basin Research Committee of the University of Zambia, 1977), 176-185.
[50] Interview, Mulele, Mongu, 15 April 2019.
[51] Interview, Maswenyeho, Mongu, 12 April 2019.

After that was successfully done, each one of them was given cashew nut seedlings to go and plant in their backyards at home.[52] All this was to encourage such children to share their newly acquired knowledge and skills with other members of the community. This meant that more people acquired the basic skills and those who had the desire to venture into the industry had a foundation laid for them.

4.2.5 Promotion of Local Trade

The provision of employment to the local people of Mongu by the cashew nut industry resulted in an increased cash flow in the district. This spelt business opportunities for some local people. This was experienced more especially in the period of the operations of ZCC, when the industry boomed.[53] While this attracted new investments, the already existing ones were expanded to meet the demand. Like in other places where similar industries were established, Mongu town experienced a boom in trade during paydays as industry employees bought various household requisites such as mealie meal, foodstuffs and groceries. Additionally, some spent their hard-earned cash in taverns and bars. Some spent it on the locally brewed beers such as *sipesu* and *kacasu*.[54] Similarly, Nakambala Sugar Estate employees would flood nearby shops in Mazabuka district during paydays.[55] This suggests that local businesses benefited directly from the rural agro projects set up within their vicinity. One interviewee testified to how she was able to raise enough money through beer sales which she used to fend for her family's daily needs as she was a single

[52] ZARI, 634.573, JAC (Gov), Jacob, G.R.Z./FAO Cashew Nut Research and Development Project, 11-12; and Interview, Mulele. Further, Mulele emphasised that the Department of Agriculture was determined to provide local youths with cashew nut production skills so that even when they pursued white-collar jobs, they could supplement their incomes through the industry.
[53] Interviews, Maswenyeho, Mongu, 12 April 2019; and Hampande, Mongu, 25 April 2019.
[54] Interview, Mukelabai, Mongu, 21 November 2019.
[55] Kalyalya, A History of Nakambala Sugar Estate', 71.

parent.[56] More money was in circulation and that uplifted the livelihoods of the local people.

Further, the sector boosted trade in the area as some people who were involved in the industry reinvested some of their earnings. Some opened grocery shops while others ventured into beer brewing.[57] Lilian Mwenda is among those who reinvested her earnings by opening a grocery shop. Kashumba Kayuwa boosted his maize and rice business with income from cashew nut sales.[58] This was the trend in most rural industries in Zambia. Farmers in rural areas reinvested the proceeds of their crop sales.[59] This was a good move as profits realised from such ventures helped to uplift their living standards. Such undertakings also led to some people employing fellow local people to help run those businesses. Consequently, more indirect employment opportunities were created in the rural communities.

Furthermore, trade in Mongu boomed in the period 1985 to 1992 when the cashew nut industry was under ZCC management owing to the involvement of migrant labourers drawn from areas surrounding Mongu and Angola. These were in most instances involved in seasonal employment such as weeding and harvesting. By the end of their contracts, such workers would save enough money to enable them to buy different requirements for their homes in bulk.[60] They also bought farm implements which helped them in their farming activities and consequently improve food security at household level.

[56] Interview, Bo maMonde Likando, Malengwa Resident, 12 April 2019.
[57] Interview, Nyambe Mukela, Malengwa Resident, Mongu, 25 April 2019.
[58] Interview, Kashumba G. Kayuwa, Cashew Nut Grower, Nambwata-Mongu, 15 April 2019.
[59] J.C. Momba, 'The State, Peasant Differentiation and Rural Class Formation in Zambia: A Case Study of Mazabuka and Monze Districts', PhD Thesis, University of Toronto, 1982, 222; and Mwase, 'Economic Liberalisation and Privatisation', 18.
[60] Interviews, Maswenyeho, Mongu, 12 April 2019; and Mukelabai, Mongu, 21 November 2019. For similar findings see Kalyalya, 'A History of Nakambala Sugar Estate', 72.

Additionally, the local traders depended on employees in the cashew nut industry as a form of market of their produce such as fish, milk, sweet potatoes and cassava. In some cases, local traders gave these employees their products on credit knowing they would pay at the month-end as they get paid.[61] This was beneficial to the traders whose commodities did not go to waste for lack of buyers. Even when goods were taken on credit, business people were assured of receiving their monies when the employees got their dues at month-end. They were also assured of a ready market for their produce as a business circle was made whereby when company employees paid credit for the previous month, they would get products on credit to pay again the following month. This was advantageous to the business people who would not travel long distances in search of markets to sell their wares.

4.2.6 Improved Food Security

The industry also made a positive contribution in improving food security in Mongu. Owing to the poor terrain of the area, most people in the district failed to produce enough food to see them through the whole year. A 2004 study by Zambia Vulnerability Assessment Committee (ZVAC) showed that the better-off households in the area managed to produce 90 per cent of their food needs while the poorest group managed only 50 per cent.[62] The infertile Kalahari sands of the upper lands failed to support most conventional crops, as noted in Chapter Two. The fertile fields in the floodplains (*litapa*) which could support a variety of crops such as maize, sweet potatoes and rice in most cases got flooded before the crops were ready. This caused food insecurity in the area.[63] Therefore, the income raised from

[61] Interviews, Hampande, Mongu, 25 April 2019; and Mukelabai, Mongu, 21 November 2019.
[62] Zambia Vulnerability Assessment Committee (hereafter, ZVAC), *Zambia Livelihood Profile* (Lusaka: ZVAC, 2004).
[63] Monde Sililo, 'The Rice Industry, the State and Food Security in Barotseland, 1945-1990', M.A Dissertation, University of Zambia, 2017, iv; and van Horn, 'The Agricultural History of Barotseland', 149.

the industry through wages and business ventures was used to improve food security in many households. Ngila Mwase observes that food was one basic need on which the majority of households used their cashew nut income.[64]

Further, most plantation and company employees depended on the industry for their food security. Since most of them did not have enough time to attend to their own farming activities, food security in the area was threatened. Furthermore, the peak period for cashew nut harvesting which was from October to January, coincided with the planting season of food crops such as maize and rice.[65] Since the local people were attracted by the wages at the cashew nut industry, their crop fields did not receive the necessary attention as they were left in the hands of some family members and helpers who were later paid. Some of these did not perform according to expectation due to lack of close supervision. In this case, food security was threatened. Therefore, the local people depended on the cashew nut industry for an income to help them fend for their families. This meant that they were able to sustain their families' livelihoods even when they did not have enough time to attend to their own farming activities.

Additionally, food shortages in Mongu were aggravated by the absence of a large number of men who went out as migrant labourers. In the 1970s and 1980s, men from the province still went to Nakambala Sugar Estate as migrant labourers.[66] Such men left the responsibility of farming in the hands of women. These could not produce enough food for the whole year as the farming system of Mongu district required male labour. This was observed by Mwansa that the farming systems of

[64] Mwase, 'Economic Liberalisation and Privatisation', 22.
[65] Interviews, Mulele; and Maswenyeho.
[66] Kalyalya, 'A History of Nakambala Sugar Estate', 38.

western Zambia were complex in nature.[67] This was because of the nature of some farming practices which demanded draining of canals or clearing of the forest for bush gardens by male labour.

Women who were able to raise an income from the cashew nut industry were able to buy foodstuffs for their families. Since it was difficult for most women to cultivate the fields successfully on their own, they ended up producing very little food which could not see them to the following harvesting season. A few women who received some money from their husbands who were out as migrant labourers managed to carry out farming activities successfully.[68] However, this was not very common especially in the 1970s,[69] thus posing serious food shortages in the district. However, those involved in the cashew nut industry and acquired some income, were able to feed their families.

Furthermore, the cashew nut tree played a significant role in soil conservation and thus contributing towards improving food security in the area. The cashew nut trees prevented soil erosion in Mongu and other areas of the province where it was grown.[70] This is because, when the cashew nut tree matures, it forms a very wide canopy which covers a large area, hence protecting the soil from direct wind and rain which cause erosion. As stated in Chapter Two, the cashew nut trees had been extensively used by the Portuguese in India and parts of Africa to control soil erosion. After serving this purpose, that was when the other uses were discovered. The terrain of Mongu, mostly made of loose sands, was vulnerable to erosion. By

[67] Mwansa, 'Gender and Agricultural Development in Zambia', 10; and Mboma, 'The Changing Role of Women in Agriculture', 17
[68] Interview, Hampande.
[69] Adrian P. Wood, 'Cattle and Development in Western Zambia', Paper 28C (Huddersfield: Department of Geographical Sciences, 1989), 15.
[70] Interviews, Mwiya Mukungu, Provincial Agricultural Officer for Western Province, Mongu, 10 April 2019; and Chabalanga Ng'ambi, District Agricultural Coordinator (DACO), Mongu, 12 April 2019.

preventing soil erosion, the land remained conducive for the farming of other crops as well.

The cashew nut trees also contributed to the fertility of the soil. The trees produce copious litter which is used as compost manure, thereby contributing to soil fertility. In Mongu, the cashew nut trees performed this function. Maswenyeho highlighted how part of his plantation which was abandoned for some time had become fertile due to the decomposing of leaves.[71] Some villagers used some of the abandoned cashew nut plantations for the cultivation of other food crops such as maize, cassava and groundnuts. This improved people's food security. Adeigbe *et al* observed that the cashew nut tree's morphological architecture enables it to reclaim land area to enhance productivity.[72] This demonstrates that the cashew nut plantations in Mongu did not only provide direct benefits through nuts produced, but also improved people's food security.

4.3 Social Impact of the Cashew Nut Industry

Unlike the other agro industries such as the Kawambwa Tea Company, Mununshi Banana Scheme and the Coffee Estates in Kasama district which contributed to the social sector in their localities by building schools, clinics and other facilities, the cashew nut industry did not provide such in Mongu district. This was due to limited capital and the unstable growth of the industry as a result of the various challenges discussed in chapter three. However, the existence of the cashew nut industry in Mongu led to rural proletarianisation which resulted in class formation in the district. Sara Berry defines class formation as the historical process whereby changes in the structure of people's access to productive resources give rise to

[71] Interview, Maswenyeho.
[72] O.O. Adeigbe *et al,* 'A Review on Cashew Research and Production in Nigeria in the Last Four Decades', *Academic Journals*, 10, 5 (March, 2015), 196; and Temudo and Abrantes, 'The Cashew Frontier in Guinea Bissau', 222.

common action.[73] This was a new development among the local people of Mongu district who, from time immemorial, used to live as big and united families. This is evidenced from the remains of big villages which still exist in the area. The setting up of the cashew nut industry in Mongu attracted a lot of people from different places. People from other parts of the country and other countries such as Angola and Zimbabwe went to Mongu, thereby leading to acculturation. The local people learnt new cultures from the migrants and some of the practices learnt were beneficial.

The district came to have people of different classes aside from those directly employed by the company. These included cashew nut plantation owners, their employees and traders. This led to the creation of various classes in the society. Commercialisation of rural economic life may be expected to introduce new dimensions into the determinants of rural class structures and collective behaviour.[74] Cliffe observed that the injection of capital into rural areas during the colonial era resulted in peasant differentiation.[75] Chipungu also observed that differentiation took place among the Tonga due to changing political, economic and technological conditions.[76] In Mongu, classes of the rich, those on the middle and the poor emerged. This class formation was as a result of economic development necessitated by the presence of the cashew nut industry through its provision of employment and commercialisation of the local produce.

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[73] Sara Berry, 'Rural Class Formation in West Africa', in R.H. Bates and M.F. Lofchie (eds.), *Agricultural Development in Africa: Issues of Public Policy* (New York: Praeger, 1980), 404.
[74] Berry, 'Rural Class Formation in West Africa', 405; Max Gluckman, *Economy of the Central Barotse Plain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1968), 108-109; John Hellen, *Rural Economic Development in Zambia, 1890-1964* (Munchen: Weltforum-Verlag, 1968), 95.
[75] L. Cliffe, 'Labour Migration and Peasant Differentiation: Zambian Experiences,' in Ben Turok, (ed.), *Development in Zambia: A Reader* (London: Zed Press 1979), 157.
[76] Samuel N. Chipungu, *The State, Technology and Peasant Differentiation in Zambia: A Case Study of the Southern Province, 1930-1986* (Lusaka: Historical Association of Zambia, 1988), xi.

In Mongu district, technology in form of ploughs, tractors and smallholder cashew nut processing machine, to some extent, contributed to class formation. Those who had access to improved technology were able to perform better in the cashew nut industry than those without. For example, Mwanamwalye, after acquiring her domestic cashew nut processing machine, was able to improve her production levels more than those who did not have that kind of technology.[77] This suggests that technology played a critical role in the differentiation of communities, as observed by Chipungu. The middle class was made up of the ZCC company employees and the small scale traders while most of those who were not engaged in the cashew nut industry in any way remained in poverty.

The classes formed as a result of the cashew nut industry in Mongu district promoted the spirit of individualism whereby families now began to live as nuclear families at the exclusion of extended family members. This ignited competition in the community.[78] It was a motivational factor for some people to work very hard so as to improve their livelihood and catch up with others. Even though it is generally argued that competition is not good, but in cases where it compels people to work hard, as was the case in Mongu, it became beneficial. In as much as individualism led to the unity which earlier existed among the locals to crumble, the ensuing competition was good for the development of the area, on the other hand.

4.4 Conclusion

The chapter has demonstrated that the cashew nut industry impacted on the people of Mongu economically and socially. Through employment provision, Mongu district experienced a boom in trade as more money went into circulation. Further,

[77] Interview, Mulele.
[78] Interviews, Mukelabai; and Maswenyeho.

the chapter has shown that the industry empowered women economically, thereby enhancing their financial freedom. The chapter has also noted that the industry equipped the local people with production and processing skills which proved beneficial to them even after leaving formal or company employment. The chapter has also deduced that since the industry led to more money in circulation, improved soil fertility and conservation, the area experienced improved food security. It has also been observed that the industry impacted on the local people socially. Due to the emergence of proletariats owing to the existence of the cashew nut industry, the district was exposed to class formation which resulted in individualism. This, however, encouraged competition among the people which made them to work hard and improve their livelihood in the long run. Despite the dysfunctional effects, most importantly, the sector's positive impact led to economic development of those involved in the industry in Mongu district.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

The study has examined the development of the cashew nut industry in Mongu district from 1972 to 2011. It has also investigated the challenges the industry faced and explored its social as well as economic impact in the district. To do this, the study used both primary and secondary sources.

The study has demonstrated that cashew nuts were introduced in Mongu district in the early twentieth century by an Angolan migrant, known only as Simbangala. The local people adopted the cashew nut tree mainly for providing shade. Later, cashew nuts were used domestically as ingredients in the preparation of vegetables. However, in the late 1940s, David Urlin Peters, the Provincial Agriculture Officer for Barotseland, adopted the cashew nut as a tree crop of economic value. Initial trials of the tree were done at Namushakende Training Institute following the importation of seeds from Tanzania and Angola around 1951. Some trials were also done at Kataba area in Mongu and at Mount Makulu Research Station in Chilanga, which however proved futile. After Peters' death in 1954, his successor, J.A. Allan, continued with the project. He incorporated various village headmen from Namushakende to Limulunga, along the edges of the Barotse floodplains into the project. Unfortunately, little was achieved during the colonial period as there was apathy among the local people because the crop was seen to be of little value.

The study has further observed that after attaining independence from Britain in 1964, the new United National Independence Party (UNIP)-led Zambian government strongly emphasised rural development through agriculture. This was aimed at reducing the economic imbalance inherited from the colonial government,

reduce rural-urban drift, improve food security and diversify the country's economy from copper dependence. Following the First National Development Plan (FNDP) of 1966 to 1970, the cashew nut industry received government support. The study has deduced that from 1972, government through the Ministry of Agriculture provided financial and technical support to the cashew nut industry in Mongu. This resulted in improved production, leading to the setting up of the first commercial processing plant in the area in 1976.

The study has also concluded that remarkable growth in the cashew nut industry was experienced from 1985 to the early 1990s. This was because the industry was managed by the Zambia Cashew Company (ZCC), which received financial and technical support from the Zambia Industrial and Mining Corporation (ZIMCO), a government parastatal. Additionally, a cashew nut specialist, Graham I. Mann, was engaged to manage the industry. In view of this, the industry expanded and reached its peak in 1991 with a production of 155 metric tonnes of raw nuts. This led to the industry exporting some of the produce on the international market in Namibia, South Africa and Ireland. As such, Zambia was able to earn the much needed forex.

The study has also demonstrated that the industry faced various challenges which adversely affected its development. These were mainly as a result of poor management; political interference and global economic trends. From inception, the government failed to manage the industry successfully. Initially, no adequate sensitisation was done to enable the local people to know its economic value. This bred scepticism among the locals. Worse off was that the government relied on the use of expatriates to run the industry. These failed to equip the local people with management and technical skills adequately. Moreover, government failed to

provide the necessary infrastructure, inputs and services such as scientific research, extension, farming inputs, storage, markets, roads and telecommunication.

Another conclusion drawn from this study is that although the UNIP government was committed to developing rural areas through agriculture, practically, little was achieved. This was because the party used such "development" to gain political mileage from the rural masses. Owing to this, opposition political parties such as the United Party (UP) chose to frustrate the ruling party's ambitions in the case of the cashew nut industry. The local people of Mongu were discouraged by the opposition party from adopting the industry as a means to development.

The study has also established that the shift in global economic trends of the 1970s and 1980s had a negative bearing on the growth of the industry. High oil prices and the fluctuating copper prices in this period led to government facing serious financial constraints. As such, it failed to capitalise the operations of its agro projects countrywide with the cashew nut industry not being an exception. It also failed to provide adequate farming implements such as machinery and inputs. This economic situation culminated in the privatisation process of the cashew nut industry in the 1990s.

Additionally, the study has deduced that the implementation of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) by the Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD) government after 1991 had a negative bearing on the growth of the industry. SAP led to the withdrawal of government subsidies from all the supported projects. In 1993, the cashew nut industry received its shock when government withdrew its financial and technical support, paving way for private takeover. This left the industry in disarray due to the lack of funds for its operations. In the same vein,

Mann's abrupt departure in 1992 was another blow to the industry. These factors deprived the industry of the much needed financial and technical support. As a result of the harsh economic environment, the industry was shortlisted for privatisation in 1995, a process which came to fruition two years later.

The study has further established that after privatisation, the industry was run by the Western Cashew Industries (WCI) Limited. Suffice to mention that this was a private company made up of local people with limited capital. As such, austerity measures were put in place where the labour force and wages were reduced. The free mealie meal and working kit incentives employees used to receive from ZCC were done away with. This move led to some workers leaving the company.

However, the study has demonstrated that despite these challenges, the industry did not close down. WCI Limited and private buyers continued operating. These were supplied with raw nuts by the local people. The local people were resilient to continue in the venture because it had become a major source of their livelihood. The income acquired from the industry helped them to provide household, educational and medical needs for their families.

Further, the study has revealed that beginning from 2003, government's efforts to revamp the industry were evident through the Fifth National Development Plan (2006-2010), which aimed at achieving a strong economic growth through viable industries such as agriculture. In view of this, the development plan emphasised support on all agricultural-based sectors such as the cashew nut industry. By 2007, government, working hand in hand with Lyambai Agriculture Development Trust, Cashew Growers Association of Zambia (CGAZ) and WCI Limited, had made a significant contribution towards the revival of the cashew nut industry. This was

seen through government and its cooperating partner, the Netherlands Development Organisation's funding of the cashew nut industry. The funds provided helped in revamping the industry.

The study has further observed that the coming on board of Barotse Cashew Company (BCC) Limited, in 2008, was another milestone in the industry. Starting its operations in 2009, the company contributed to sustaining the cashew nut industry as the local people were provided with a wider market for their raw nuts. The company also contributed to the improvement of the living standards of the local people through employment provision.

Additionally, the study has established that it was through the perseverance of the local people, CGAZ's efforts and the contribution of the private companies that government's attention to revamping the cashew nut industry was won. By 2011, there was a major turning point when government showed great zeal of revamping the cashew nut industry. This culminated in the formulation of the National Cashew Development Strategy, 2013–2017 in 2012.

Finally, the study has concluded that despite the various challenges faced by the industry, it still contributed positively to the development of the district. Through employment provision, promotion of local trade, women's financial empowerment, skills acquisition and improved food security, the industry benefited Mongu district socially and economically. The trail of development was indelible and this suggests that agricultural schemes, when well-managed, are an appropriate panacea for rural underdevelopment. Therefore, the study has provided a nuanced contribution to Zambian history by emphasising the significance of agro schemes such as the cashew nut industry in Mongu in fostering rural development.

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APPENDIX

Cashew Nut Growing Operational Area and Agricultural Extension Staff for Mongu District – 1991

S/N	Name of officer	Position	Station/camp
01.	L.W. Muyapekwa	District Agriculture Officer (DAO)	Mongu
02.	S. Kaonga	Horticultural Officer	Mongu
03.	A. D. Akapelwa	Cashew Extension Officer	Mongu
04.	K. M. Mboo	Ward Agric. Officer	Ushaa Agric. Station
05.	M. Mwitumwa	Camp Officer (AA)	Ushaa Agric. Station
06.	S. Kubilwa	Camp Officer	Kaande Agric. Camp
07.	M. Pumulo	Camp Officer	Mweke Camp
08.	M. Kufanga	Camp Officer	Nangula Camp
09.	C. Nkonjela (Ms)	Ward Agric. Officer	Namushakende Camp
10.	M. Mufalo	Camp Officer	Mabumbu Camp
11.	M. Akekelwa	Camp Officer	Limulunga Camp
12.	I. Kaongolo (Mrs)	Ward Agric. Officer	Limulunga Camp
13.	M. Silume (Ms)	Camp Officer	Katongo Camp
14.	S. Mukenga (Mrs)	Ward Agric. Officer	Mukangu Camp
15.	C. Zambe	Ward Agric. Officer	Lwandui Camp
16.	C. Muketwi	Ward Agric. Officer	Ituku Camp
17.	N. Musole	Camp Extension Officer	Ikabako Camp
18.	M. Mubu	Camp Extension Officer	Machuu Camp
19.	M. Mwitumwa	Camp Extension Officer	Namitome Camp
20.	M. M. Sililo	Camp Extension Officer	Tapo Agric. Camp
21.	K. Litungi	Camp Extension Officer	Namaenya Camp
22.	M. Mubita	Camp Extension Officer	Ndau Camp
23.	I. L. Likando	Camp Extension Officer	Kaoma Agric. Camp
24.	B. I. Nyambe	Camp Extension Officer	Mongu Central

Source: Compiled from ZCC Limited, 'Cashew Nut Cultivation Manual' (Unpublished), 4.