

# LINK BETWEEN TRADITIONAL LEADERS (CHIEFS) AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT.

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**Abstract** - Debates over whether or not chiefs were a hindrance or facilitators of rural development have been going on. The purpose of the study was to explore the link between traditional leaders and rural development. A case study of Kaoma and Senanga districts, Nkoya and Lozi chiefdoms respectively of Western Province.

The distribution of Zambian population shows that 61% of the people resided in rural areas (CSO, 2010). Rural development is a development strategy designed to improve the socio-economic well-being of the rural poor. From community development perspective, rural development aims to make rural areas more attractive, productive and less vulnerable to natural hazards, poverty and exploitation. One of the main socio-economic concerns of Zambia as a nation is the plight of poverty of the people living in rural areas. Rural poverty has remained at above 75%. It has been a burden on the national economy, and households are adversely affected. In an effort to improve the livelihoods of the rural community various development agents' efforts have been met with

varying resistance by some traditional leaders. Decisions, development programs and projects, traditional leaders believe are imposed on them by the formulators. Achieving sustainable rural development in Zambia requires access to data and information so that those involved in decision making can reach the level of knowledge and understanding needed for development planning and service delivery.

**Methodology:** The study took an integrated approach of data collection, which combined literature search with community level consultations, stakeholder interviews, courtesy calls and field visits. Self-report questionnaires were administered to 60 traditional leaders, 10 councilors, 5 clergymen, and 5 chief executive officers, 7 leaders of traditional local structures or institutions, 4 NGO officials and 5 heads of sector departments. In addition, in-depth interviews with 4 chiefs in their respective chiefdoms were conducted. Data was further collected from group discussions, Focused Group Discussions (FGDs).

*Qualitative and quantitative data was then analyzed.*

**Results:** *It was established that there is a weak linkage between the traditional leaders (chiefs) and rural development agents. Chiefs occupy strategic positions in their communities; they can use their privileged positions and influence to help bring about development. The rural community held traditional leaders in high esteem and considered chiefdoms as institutions that were closer to their development window. Traditional leaders were respected, listened to, and generally their views and actions had a huge impact on their subjects. Chiefs should therefore be engaged in all the stages of development process.*

**Conclusion:** *In embracing the concept of sustainable development as a key national priority, strategic partnership and information sharing, or networking and collective action was cardinal in the quest for rural development. This would enhance capacity in local communities to debate, articulate and negotiate their development agenda. Zambia is committed to fully integrate principles of sustainable development in order to meet the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).*

*The purpose of the study was to explore the link between traditional leaders and rural development. A case study of Kaoma and Senanga districts of Western Province of Zambia. One of the main socio-economic concerns of Zambia as a nation is the plight of poverty of the people living in rural areas. The distribution of Zambian population shows that 7,978,274 people (61%) resided in rural areas (CSO, 2010). Traditional leaders play an important role in many societies around the world. This study investigates the*

*performance of chiefs in the contest of rural development in Zambia and some districts in particular. Rural development was mainly concerned with decreasing the gap between those who sought a livelihood in rural areas and their counterparts in urban areas. Chiefs have been identified as important drivers in fostering development especially in rural areas. Traditional leadership comprising the paramount chiefs, senior chiefs, sub chiefs and village headpersons are key persons in rural development. Traditional leadership is a key institution in the formation, preservation and modification of customary practice and responsible for peace and unity. Traditional leadership or authority also known as traditional domination is a form of leadership in which authority or ruling regime is largely tied to tradition or custom. The physical and material well-being of the tribal people is supported by traditional institutions and functionaries. Although traditional leaders tend to be ignored and even depowered by development efforts, many of these systems still survive today. Chiefs occupy strategic positions in their communities; they can use their privileged positions and influence to help bring about development. The traditional belief systems still form the roots and branches of the knowledge systems of rural people in Africa. The rural community held chiefs in high esteem and considered chiefdoms as institutions that were closer to their development window.*

**Keywords:** *Traditional leaders, chiefs, rural, development, poverty.*

## INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND.

Traditional leadership or authority also known as traditional domination is a form of leadership in which authority or ruling regime is largely tied to tradition or custom. From community development perspective, rural development aims to make rural areas more attractive, productive and less vulnerable to natural hazards, poverty and exploitation. The rural community held traditional leaders in high esteem and considered chiefdoms as institutions that were closer to their development. For many years, rural areas have not been left alone from development activities. On the contrary, lots of development approaches had been applied but poverty has remained at above 75% (CSO, 2010). It has been a burden on the national economy, and households are adversely affected (RDP, 2013). Right to development is a United Nations declaration adopted in 1986 and Zambia is part. The declaration entitles every human person and all people to participate in, contribute to, and enjoy economic, social, cultural and political development. The country is committed to fully integrate principles of sustainable development in order to meet Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Traditional leaders, like other leaders in communities, exerted a significant amount of influence on the members of their communities. They were respected, listened to, and generally their views and actions had a huge impact on their subjects. They are the first community managers or administrators. This is because since time immemorial, chiefs or traditional leaders were the first community leaders followed by the clergy who use the bible and then the politicians, who

took into consideration the issue of numbers. Traditional leadership positions are usually determined by heritage or appointment, involving elaborate process for training and mechanisms for accountability. Zambia takes cognizance of the critical role of traditional leaders in development. Zambia today as a nation is a federation of chiefdoms voluntarily united to meet their common economic, social, cultural needs and aspirations through a jointly-owned and democratically controlled central government which is run by tribes, women and men from various chiefdoms within the territorial boundaries.

Rural development is a strategy designed to improve the socio-economic well-being of the rural poor. It aims to make rural areas more attractive, productive and less vulnerable to natural hazards, poverty and exploitation. Development can take place if poverty in the country could be eradicated and if the study of theories used were generated from studying the Zambian environment. Over decades the development activities of rural people, local leaders, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), government agencies and support agencies, have led to a situation in which more people have food, better health, longer lives, more access to education and faster communication. Yet more people than ever before live under circumstances of extreme poverty. Education, healthcare among others, in rural areas often function poorly. Environmental problems are alarming, the differences in development between the rural and urban areas are wide, social and cultural systems are disintegrating, while political and ethnic tensions are increasing.

In trying to address these problems and challenges and to improve the livelihood of the

rural community a great number of initiatives and approaches have been engaged by various interest groups. However, this has been met with varying resistance by some individuals, traditional leaders or the local institutions in place. Where dialogue has not been embraced the development programmes and projects have suffered or abandoned. Decisions, development programmes and projects, traditional leaders believe are imposed on them by the formulators. This situation has necessitated the call for traditional leaders to take keen interest in development projects taking place in their respective chiefdoms. The Zambian government has acknowledged that it cannot alone drive rural development without chiefs.

Despite the government taking pragmatic approach to development, the rural province of Western Province in general and Kaoma and Senanga districts in particular have continued to lag behind as not much development had been initiated and succeeded. Yet the province has a strong well defined traditional hierarchy or authority of traditional rulers raveling before every one's eye. Decisions, development programmes and projects, traditional leaders believe were imposed on them by the formulators. Most observers agree that chiefs play an important role in rural development, but very few empirical studies have examined the strength or weaknesses of the traditional leaders in the contest of development.

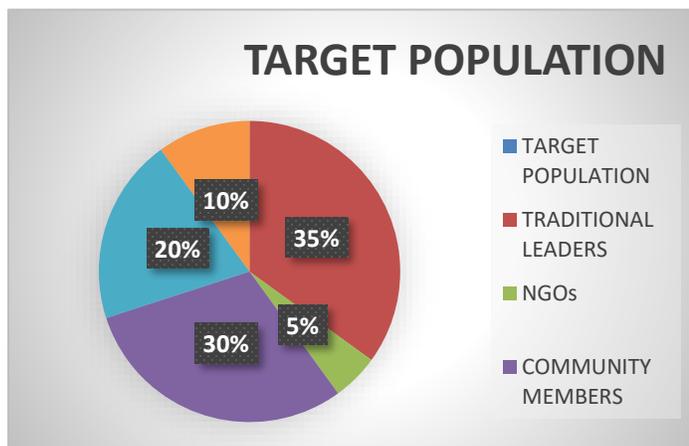
## METHODOLOGY

The study took an integrated approach of data collection, which combined literature search with community level consultations, stakeholder interviews, courtesy calls and field visits. The

sample size was 100 participants which included 35 traditional leaders, 30 community leaders, 20 government officials, 10 civic leaders and 5 NGOs officials. Purposive sampling methodology was used to select respondents from the district executives and traditional leaders. Random sampling was used to select respondents from the rest in order to achieve a rich and varied collection of information from the stakeholder's representatives. Self-report questionnaires were administered to the stakeholders as well. In addition, in-depth interviews with chiefs in their respective chiefdoms were conducted. Zambia today as a nation is a federation of chiefdoms voluntarily united to meet their common economic, social, cultural needs and aspirations through a jointly-owned and democratically-controlled central government which is run by tribes, women and men from various chiefdoms within the territorial boundaries. Data was further collected from group discussions, Focused Group Discussions (FGDs). Qualitative and quantitative data was then analyzed. Data analysis required organization of data into categories, coding, tabulations, etc.

Research design utilized a combination of both field work and desk review to collect data so as to increase reliability. A number of documents including chiefdom development strategic plans (2015-2019), government policy documents etc. were reviewed.

## Sample size.



## RESULTS

The government and other development agents in trying to attain rural development in the province were faced with a multitude of social, political, cultural and technical impediments. Development could be experienced differently by different people in different regions and communities. The governance structures of the traditional leadership was one factor limiting the ability to drive own development. The leadership structures were enough to provide direction on the traditional issues but inadequate to coordinate and manage complex developmental undertakings, especially those carried out with external stakeholders. Zambia land administration was divided into customary and leasehold tenure. Customary tenure accounts for 93% of the Zambian land (ECZ, 2008). Zambia still faced significant challenges with respect to land tenure administration. There was power struggle over control of land between two well established traditional authorities of Nkoya Royal Establishment (NRE) and the Lozi BRE in the eastern part of Western province. The Zambian

government has continued to watch the situation from the terrain. Internal conflicts/wrangles over land are established part of life in the region. The authorities over land in the region are the government, the Nkoya Royal Establishment and the Barostse Royal Establishment. The exclusion of the local leadership structures, the village indunas and the community, for example, had created a very serious law enforcement vacuum in the management of forest resources (EFZ, 2012). While there was some evidence that consultations with some traditional leaders were initiated on development projects, there was overwhelming evidence that consultation at identification and prioritization of development projects was not there. So was at detailed analysis of selected development issues as well as finding solutions to identified development issues and involving traditional leaders in developing an action plan. This resulted in delayed or abandoned development projects. Some of the identified barriers include political atmosphere, socio-cultural beliefs, and attitudes of the formulators of development projects, intimidation and biases, corruption, non-transparent and unpredictability of chieftom administration. Others are ethnocentrism/selfishness and syndrome of betrayal by the traditional leaders, insecure land tenure system under the customary land administration was also a challenge. Non-implementation of chieftom strategic plans was as well a contributing factor. Lack of institutional framework guiding the chiefs and the development agents, superstition and fear were a threat to networking. Government's treatment of BRE as a special royal establishment was fueling tension in the province and promoting the caste system. While the Constitution of Zambia clearly states that the Institution of chieftaincy was

guaranteed and existed in accordance with the culture, customs and traditions of the people to whom they apply (Constitution of Zambia, amended 2013), BRE has continued to trample on Nkoya Royal Establishment and others at will. A Lozi chief had been given a status of a senior chief demeaning the indigenous Nkoya chiefs. The Lozi BRE has certain deep –rooted caste differences that need to be analyzed and questioned in a constructive way. The caste system has divided the people of the province, and is very apparent in

## DISCUSSION

### *Tribal conflicts.*

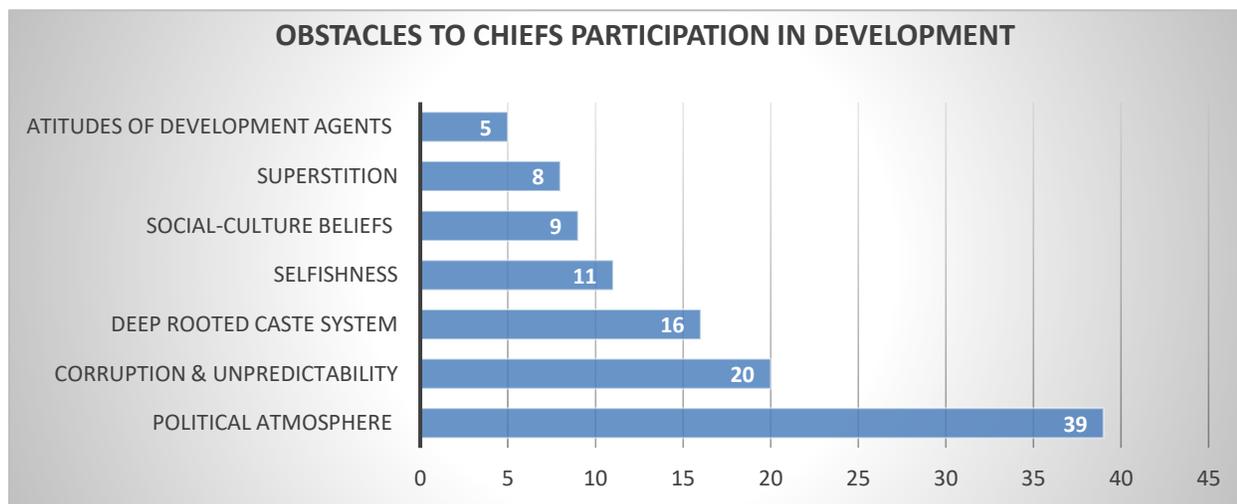
Nkoyas are different from Lozis despite living in the same province. Their lifestyles differ in the type of food they eat, cultural expressions, tradition and custom. The Nkoya speaking people are the indigenous people of Kaoma district, the well-watered savannah, characteristically wooden with the branchystegia (muputu) tree, which had eminent agriculture opportunities leading to Kaoma, (Mankoyaland), the proud identity of granary of Western Zambia in addition to its rich game and fishing environment. Nkoya speaking people celebrate Kazanga ceremony annually performed as a thanks-giving occasion to God Almighty for life and safety during game hunting and for providing a good harvest for the people. In short it is a ceremony to indicate the tasting and showcasing the harvest of crops in the agriculture season. The Nkoya powerful traditional music and drums has penetrated Lozi tradition such that it is used in Lozi chiefdoms on daily basis as praise songs and beat and so

how the benefits of development are shared. People considered to be of the lower castes have for long been deprived of the opportunities. Despite government effort Nkoya dominated areas still retains the ugly face of the caste system

Vulnerability of large numbers of people in the province is what held back overall development.

### **Obstacles chiefs encounter**

pronounced during Kuomboka ceremony. The Lozis celebrate Kuomboka ceremony which literally means to get out of water when the Barotse plains became so flooded that low-lying areas got completely submerged in water. Comparative culture can be used to understand systems of culture in regions or areas of the same country for instance cultural practices between tribes, Nkoya and Lozi, provinces or districts. The point is that different cultures are likely to have different practices. Different areas have different development priorities. There was need to study the culture and the way of life in particular areas before suggesting development policies and before implementing development projects. It is therefore important that traditional leaders are consulted with their communities in development affecting their areas. Appropriate education and training for indigenous and local communities that could enable sustainable rural development while being compatible with their traditions was necessary. Lukewarm relationship existing between the Barotse Royal Establishment (BRE) and other ethnic groups in the province was a stabling block to development.



## ***Rural development.***

The rural population is isolated; they are rarely asked their views. The majority views were that rural development generally was concerned with development of their rural areas with much emphasis on agriculture. It meant improvement of the well-being of the people who had decided to settle in rural areas as a means to sustain their livelihood. At individual level, development implied empowerment and access to resources. On the other hand, they felt that rural development was mainly concerned with decreasing the gap among individual villagers to the point where their livelihoods became compared with their counterparts in urban areas. Rural development to them was having clean and safe water, accessible roads (all weather), health facilities and availability of food among others. Most of the interventions designed to help the communities to become more secure, such as farm technology, extension services and nutrition programmes did not reach them. Public support for the agriculture sector,

including land reform and improvement of infrastructure, had been slow and inadequate. They believe that employment opportunities were so restricted that the only way forward in most cases was to foster self-employment. It was revealed that urban areas were developing faster at the expense of the rural areas rendering rural areas unattractive to development investments. These factors had accelerated rural to urban migration. Emigration had tended to be more pronounced in the more remote areas due to the presence of relatively less opportunities.

## ***Chiefs/Traditional leaders.***

Traditional leaders/chiefs were chosen by the local communities in accordance with the culture, customs and traditions or wishes and aspirations of the people to whom it applied. This was in line with the Constitution of the Republic of Zambia in Article 127 (1) which states that "Subject to the provision of this Constitution, the Institution of Chief shall exist in any area of Zambia in accordance with the culture, customs and traditions or wishes and aspirations of the people to whom it applies."

Culture was relevant to development process. Chiefs did not only look at custom and culture, the development that was there was custom and culture, the way people lived, how they carried themselves and conflict resolutions. As custodians of tradition in the country, chiefs and their establishments seriously discouraged vices that retarded national development and that lead to moral decay. For instance, child marriages were being discouraged as well as child labor in chiefdoms. Girl child was being encouraged to go to school. Parents were being discouraged from marrying off their children. Chiefs were frontline community leaders or first community managers who were respected, listened to, and generally their views and actions had a huge impact on their subjects. They administered the affairs of the traditional community in accordance with customs and tradition and above all promoted peace and stability amongst members of traditional communities. Therefore, chiefs used their privileged position and influence to help bring about development in their chiefdoms. Customary practices was undergoing various forms of adaptation. While some were almost phasing out, others seemed to have been sustained but existed in modified forms. Cleansing process which was being conducted after the death of a spouse has undergone modification. Mainly, this was in order to counter the negative implications that they had on individuals and on communities in general.

There was need therefore to study the culture and the way of the life in particular area, before embarking on various development projects. The policy objectives of the government under decentralization were to promote the

participation of chiefs and other traditional leaders in governance and preservation of culture and heritage whilst respecting cultural diversity (National Decentralization Policy, 2013).

### *Stalled development projects.*

Kaoma district identified two developmental projects that failed because Chief Mwene Mutondo of Nkoya Royal Establishment did not assent them. These were Kaoma farming block and JTI (Japanese Tobacco International), an institution involved in growing and marketing tobacco which was scheduled to be in the chiefdom of His Royal Highness Chief Mutondo. Japanese Tobacco International fell out of favor of Chief Mutondo because they had overlooked him in the first place by going to another chief, a Lozi representative, who the tobacco company thought was in control of land they intended to settle on. The earmarked land was later realized that it was in Chief Mutondo's chiefdom. Naliele palace was a Lozi chief's village within Chief Mutondo of Nkoya Royal Establishment. The regulatory framework that was in existence in Naliele (imposition) originated from the colonial past and was inappropriate to current conditions. Traditional land in Kaoma was mainly controlled by Nkoya chiefs Mutondo ( Lukena royal village) and Kahare (Litoya palace). The land wrangles between the traditional leaders, Nkoya/Lozi in Kaoma ( formerly Mankoya district) currently divided into three districts, namely Kaoma, Nkeyema and Luampa was an impediment to national development as they deterred potential investors from going to resource rich areas. Chief Mutondo informed the government that he could not allow a third farming block in his

chiefdom when the government had failed to fully utilize the already existing Kalumwange and Lalafuta farming blocks while other districts in the province had none.

In Senanga district, there were land wrangles between the local authority (Senanga District council) and the traditional leadership, BRE- Lwambi Royal Establishment. The district wanted to extend the township boundary but it met resistance from the traditional leadership. At the time of study, the case was taken to court and local authority had engaged lawyers to take it up. During this period development of the district suffered infrastructure development. The construction of institutional council houses project came to a standstill. Villagers uprooted beacons installed by land surveyors and encroached on the land reserved for the council housing project. It was therefore important to engage the traditional leaders to understand the rural development strategies in order to improve the livelihood of their subjects. Chiefs need to develop positive attitudes and ideas towards rural development and accept that land was a natural resource that belonged to all Zambians. Strong partnership of chiefs and the government was very important in fostering unit, peace and development.

### ***Chiefdom development strategic plan.***

Nkoya Royal Establishment (NRE), Kahare Chiefdom and the Barotse Royal Establishment (BRE), Lwambi Chiefdom has development strategic plans running from 2015 to 2019. It was discovered that both chiefdoms recognized the limitations in their existing structures and decided to enhance their management structures by adding extra

responsibilities into existing structures and formalizing groups that had previously lacked defined membership, roles and duties. After careful thought and consideration, they designed new sets of responsibilities and expanded the roles of bodies in the management structures. The new structures could propel development in a systematic and collective manner with their partners, both locally and outside the chiefdoms. It would make it easier to network and connect with major stakeholders like the government, while providing strong links between chiefdom leadership at all levels and other development stakeholders. The structure is responsible for managing the development of the chiefdom, and which defines the relationships between the royal establishments, the development wing and the traditional aspects of chiefdom life. The study found that perspectives on customary practices were changing hence modification over time, some dying out and other still persist. Enlightened traditional leaders and the church were in the forefront in discouraging some of the negative practices and encouraged more positive ones.

### ***Reaction to BRE dominance.***

Western Province was one of the underdeveloped areas in the south-western corner of Zambia, where it shared boundaries with Angola, Namibia and Botswana. It was the second largest province in the country covering a 126,386-km squared with a population of 881,524 segregated into 416,885 males and 464,639 females (CSO, 2010). The province had the highest poverty levels in the country. There were 11 gazetted chiefs for the Lozi and Nkoya people divided into Nkoya Royal Establishment and Barotse Royal Establishment. The two

establishments administered land rights in the province and observed their own traditional annual ceremonies with different meanings and at different times. According to Zambia Daily Mail, Nkoyas and Lozis belonged to the nine main ethnolinguistic groups, the Nyanja-Chewa, Bemba, Tonga, Tumbuka, Lunda, Luvale, Kaonde, Nkoya and Lozi, the demographers say more than 90% of Zambians make part of the group (Zambia Daily Mail, 26.07.2015).

Despite the fact that there were many ethnic groups in the province and two major royal establishments, BRE would like to take control and dominate other royal establishments. The Nkoya Royal Establishment has resisted this move. The Nkoya speaking people lobby the government to come up with another province where their rights would be fulfilled and their customs, cultural expressions and language would not shrink and diminish, if not disappear entirely but continue to grow. The standoff between the two establishments is affecting the development of the province negatively. While Lozis were calling for the province to be an independent state while Nkoyas have maintained that Western province remains part of Zambia. In the present global information system, people can inform and learn from each other, assist each other in decision-making, or join forces in negotiating and lobbying.

There was worry in the way traditional leaders were providing leadership in the development process of their areas. It may be that they are copying from the state leaders. The nation state has thus become an anonymous body, which attracts corruption, and is common in Africa to talk about the 'national cake' from which everyone can take a slice. Those who try to be

honest are seen as abnormal or foolish. This makes national leadership often more problematic than traditional leadership, as the latter is more easily identifiable and seen as part of people's cultural identity. Traditional leadership should avoid engulfing themselves in such activities and not allow slow or non-development in their chiefdoms due to;

***Corruption, non-transparent and***

***unpredictability:*** Kuomboka ceremony never took place for three consecutive years but how the donated resources were utilized still remained a guarded secret. Inconsistency in application of laws and policies, rules and regulations were a threat to rural development.

***Political atmosphere:*** Chiefs were one of the most targeted leaders in society among others for donations by politicians hence their failure to speak against the underdevelopment in their chiefdoms. The dual governance system in Western Province encouraged divided royalty between the state and the BRE. Public workers and development agents were uncomfortable with these arrangements. The failure to respect the court ruling that a gazzeted Mbunda chief runs his chiefdom without interference from the BRE in Western province was a clear testimony that the Zambian government allowed the abrogation of the state laws by BRE.

***The caste system and gender biases:*** People of the lower castes have for long been deprived of the opportunities. Few women hold top traditional positions.

***Selfishness/Ethnocentrism:*** Traditional leaders have enriched themselves at the expense of their subjects by for example selling land. Cultural

background influences the present situation giving rise to selfishness.

**Syndrome of betrayal:** Chiefs overrule decisions by the majority who are their subjects. They are the final authorities. They can even overturn the judgment of their traditional courts. They also break their own standing orders or traditional norms.

**Social-cultural beliefs:** It is a taboo to expose the weaknesses of a chief. It was the prerogative of the chief to hire and fire the Indunas without consulting. Many traditional practices, leaders and institutions continued to function secretly. This is due to vulnerability of large number of people.

**Superstition:** They believe in spirits and Gods that can be communicated with, can be flattered or offended and therefore can either hurt or help humans. People consider themselves dependent on these forces to which they can pray, worship, or make sacrifices for support.

It was worth noting that the attitude of development agents towards traditional leaders lives much to be desired. They dictate the procedures that recipients must follow in order to become eligible to any development assistance or intervention. Chiefs were disillusioned because development projects were imposed on them. Combining the efforts of innovative rural people, development organizations and policy-making bodies was required to bring development to the districts in particular and the province in general.

## CONCLUSION & RECOMMENDATION.

Since political independence was attained in Zambia (1964), several development programmes and projects of all sorts had come to try to uplift people's lives in one way or another. Some parts of the country had the rural people left far much behind in terms of social services or development in general. This lack of development options in the rural areas has led to an increase in rural poverty, and migration in search of greener pastures. Developing country like Zambia needed customized strategies which took its specific situation into account. Zambia needed to understand its own dynamics and apply its own theories because culture played a big role in development. Kaoma and Senanga districts did not have roads raised to bituminous level leading to service centers and the province has no university. There seemed to be very little care about what was happening or not happening and yet they are part of Zambia. It is important to also realize that traditional societies are not uniform. Often there is a communication gap, or marked difference of opinion, about the best way forward. Nkoya Royal Establishment and Barotse Royal Establishment are different entities. Efforts could be made to increase participation and consultation particularly paying attention to hearing the voices of traditional leaders of both institutions in the province. No single tribe can claim to have the monopoly of knowledge. Reaction to dominance differs as people respond in a variety of ways individually and collectively. Local ownership and public participation were essential for success of any development programme or project. This would enhance capacity in local communities to debate,

articulate and negotiate the development agenda. The local people can be the starting point for local development activities. The researcher suggested that there should be enhanced coordination between traditional authorities and development agencies in the quest for rural development. The traditional leaders, the rural development agencies and the community need to be effectively linked and the relationships between them mediated by institutions that favor inclusiveness and a framework of accountability. Development agents and agencies should take more time and effort to plan development interventions jointly with communities and the traditional leaders. This implies their active participation in the diagnosis of the situation, as well as the planning, implementation and evaluation of activities. Chiefs possess unique tools and mechanisms that could be employed in efforts to developing rural development. Chiefdoms have to open up and include accountability, transparency, predictability, participation and dynamism in their governance if they have to enforce development in their respective areas. Chiefs therefore have to adopt the strategy designed to improve the economic and social life of those who sought a livelihood in the rural areas. The government had also expressed equity and harmony especially as regards gender issues, protection, peace and security as well as an end to corruption and abuse, more honest and fair treatment (NDP, 2013). . Although the study generally shows that traditional leaders are an important component in rural development process, the results are not conclusive. Clearly, a finer-grained analysis is needed. Future research should be based on data collected at different stages of development process to determine more precisely where the

gap was. Such an analysis would help clarify the impact of chiefs in rural development, and it might produce some interesting findings.

Even the most ardent critics of traditional leaders being involved in development now recognize that chiefs will continue to be important institution, can for good or ill influence the welfare of many rural dwellers.

### *Acknowledgment*

The work towards development is a challenging, difficult and energy absorbing activity. The fact that we have been able to present this work is enough proof that we are determined to carry on with the work.

Valuable basic ideas and comments came from various people who have experience of working in Western Province as civil servants, traditionalists and in NGOs involved in development programmes and projects. Guidance also came from the lecturers from Information and Communications University (ICU) Zambia. Without their moral support the work would not have been possible.

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