



**CITY PROFILING REPORT 2025**

# Ndola



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## City Profiling Report 2025

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**COVER PHOTO:** Premium Plaza residential flats in Ndola, Zambia.

Photo: [instagram.com/myfrikaa](https://www.instagram.com/myfrikaa)

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

The City of Ndola Profile Report is part of the African Cities Profiling project, which aims to enhance our understanding of individual cities across the continent. With Africa's rapid urbanisation, cities face significant challenges, including the growth of informal settlements and deficiencies in service delivery. Addressing these issues requires a comprehensive understanding of city dynamics and the factors influencing them.

The report supports local authorities by providing comparative data that facilitates learning from peers and incentivises improvements in underperforming areas. It assists national government to regulate and support local authorities. For citizens, the report offers accessible information on the developmental context of their cities, fostering transparency and engagement.

By profiling multiple cities using standardised measures, the project enables stakeholders – local authorities, national governments, and citizens – to compare cities, identify best practices, and foster mutual learning. This comparative approach supports evidence-based decision-making and promotes improved governance, ultimately addressing urban challenges such as informal settlement growth and service delivery problems.

This report is for one of ten cities in the SADC region for which GGA is preparing city profiles, the others being: Bulawayo and Harare (Zimbabwe), Cape Town and Johannesburg (South Africa), Dar es Salaam (Tanzania), Luanda (Angola), Lusaka (Zambia) and Maputo (Mozambique). The cities were selected as a blend of primary and secondary cities in the region. Where relevant, comparisons are drawn with the other cities. The report utilises available data to provide insights into key challenges and opportunities that shape the city's development.

## 2. URBAN GEOGRAPHY AND HUMAN SETTLEMENT

The Copperbelt Province of Zambia is named after the copper mining industry that remains a dominant economic activity in the country. In addition to Ndola, the province includes the city of Kitwe (two of the five city councils in Zambia) and 15 other municipal councils.

The original inhabitants of Ndola were the Lamba people, an ethnic group that was part of a larger Bantu community in central Africa. In 1904, Ndola was established as an administrative fort and trading post.<sup>1</sup> Due to its strategic location near the Congo and its abundant resources, it quickly emerged as an attractive commercial and administrative hub for colonialists. Three years later, Rhodesia Railways cemented Ndola's status as a principal hub of colonial trade and transportation. The railway from Cape Town connected Ndola to Bulawayo, facilitating trade across the Copperbelt Province into what is now the DRC.<sup>2</sup>

Zambia achieved independence in October 1964, and by 1967, Ndola was officially proclaimed a city,<sup>3</sup> playing a crucial role in the nation's development as an urban industrial centre. In the 1960s, copper mining was at the centre of Ndola's economic growth and supported downstream economic activities in the city. Ndola's economic prosperity attracted internal migration, and many Zambians relocated to Ndola, Kitwe and other Copperbelt towns in search of job opportunities.

In the 1980s, Ndola's industrial sector began to decline alongside copper mining during a period when copper mines were nationalised. Between 1992 and 2002, over 549 firms in the city ceased operations.

Ndola then began a gradual recovery, with the cement and oil refining sectors contributing to an economic resurgence and the broader growth of Zambia's economy. Ndola's emerging local economy is now driven by commerce and industry, with mining contributing but no longer the primary focus.<sup>4</sup>

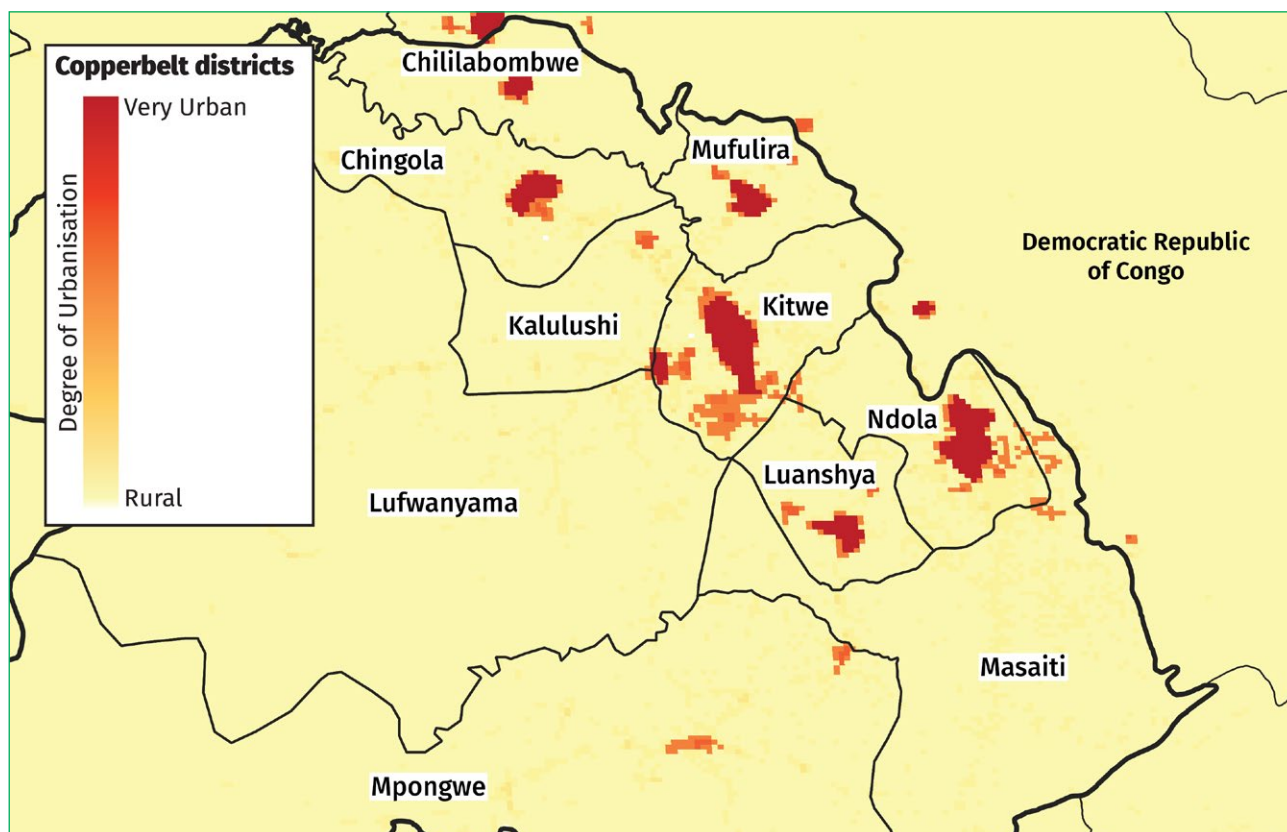
1 Siegel, B, "Bomas, Missions, and Mines; the Making of Centers on the Zambian Copperbelt," *African Studies Review* 31, no. 3 (December 1988): 61, <https://doi.org/10.2307/524073>.

2 Ibid.

3 Munshifwa, Ephraim K, et al., "Urban Development, Land Use Changes and Environmental Impacts in Zambia's Major Cities: A Case Study of Ndola." 2021.

4 Nel, Etienne, Jessie Smart, and Tony Binns, "Resilience to Economic Shocks: Reflections from Zambia's Copperbelt," *Growth and Change* 48, no. 2 (January 31, 2017): 201-13, <https://doi.org/10.1111/grow.12181>.

**Figure 1: Map of Ndola within Copperbelt Province<sup>5</sup>**



The province where Ndola city is located was established at independence in 1964 and renamed Copperbelt Province in 1969. The province now has ten local authorities (Figure 1).

Ndola is governed by the Ndola City Council, which includes four constituencies: Bwana Mkubwa, Chifubu, Kabushi, and Ndola Central. Ndola Central, the urban core of the municipality, is surrounded by peri-urban areas. Ndola Central is a smaller, more urbanised zone and the urban core of Ndola city, including the central business district and nearby residential neighbourhoods.

The administrative area of the municipality is 1,108 km<sup>2</sup>.<sup>6</sup> In 2025, the settlement area of the city measured 109 km<sup>2</sup>, with an average population density of 51 inhabitants per

square hectare.<sup>7</sup> In comparison, the average density of the ten SADC cities in the GGA sample is 69 people per square hectare (ranging from 28 (Bulawayo) to 125 (Luanda)).

According to the Atlas of Urban Expansion, Ndola's urban growth increased from 1989 to 2014, with a significant increase in built-up areas<sup>8</sup> associated with growing informal settlements. While data on the proportion of people living in informal settlements in Ndola specifically is not available, according to the World Bank, about 70% of the Zambian population resides in informal settlements nationwide, with a particular concentration in larger urban areas.<sup>9</sup> Ndola City Council reported at least 10 informal settlements, notably Twapia, Chipulusuku, Mackenzie, Senior, Kaloko, Mwenye, Kanyala, Kantolomba, Nkwazi, and Sakania.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Map prepared by authors based in data from Global Human Settlements Layer.

<sup>6</sup> AMALI online city profile.

<sup>7</sup> Global Human Settlements Layer.

<sup>8</sup> Atlas of Urban Expansion, "Atlas of Urban Expansion: Urban Extension - Ndola". 2016. New York: New York University, UN-Habitat, and Lincoln Institute of Land Policy. <http://www.atlasofurbanexpansion.org>.

<sup>9</sup> World Bank, "Zambia Urbanization Review: Leveraging Cities and Towns for Zambia's Future," Policycommons.net, December 2, 2022, <https://policycommons.net/artifacts/3330790/zambia-urbanization-review/4129630/>.

<sup>10</sup> Ndola City Council, "Ndola City Council Minutes of Meeting of the Community Development and Social Services Committee Held in the Council Chamber, Civic Centre, Independence Way on Thursday, 14TH October, 2021 at 15:30 Hours Present," 2021, <https://www.ndolacouncil.gov.zm/wp-content/uploads/2024/02/MINUTES-OF-COMMUNITY-DEVELOPMENT-AND-SOCIAL-SERVICES-COMMITTEE-MEETING-HELD-ON-14TH-OCTOBER.pdf>.

**Table 1: Population of Copperbelt Province by local authority, 2022<sup>11</sup>**

COUNCIL NAME	COUNCIL TYPE	POP: TOTAL CENSUS 2022	% URBAN	% PER LA
Luanshya District	Municipal	212,864	95%	7.7%
Masaiti District	Town	178,405	26%	6.4%
Mpongwe District	Town	135,621	30%	4.9%
Ndola District	City	627,503	100%	22.7%
Chililabombwe District	Municipal	142,138	91%	5.1%
Chingola District	Municipal	300,651	86%	10.9%
Mufulira District	Municipal	200,857	91%	7.3%
Kalulushi District	Municipal	170,918	82%	6.2%
Kitwe District	City	665,961	100%	24.1%
Lufwanyama District	Town	133,274	6%	4.8%
<b>Total</b>		<b>2,768,192</b>	<b>83%</b>	<b>100%</b>

### 3. DEMOGRAPHICS AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

#### 3.1 POPULATION

The population of the Copperbelt Province in 2022 was 2.7 million, of which 83% was urban. The total population of Ndola was 627,000, 23% of the provincial total. Kitwe, the other city on the Copperbelt, has a similar population (665,000), with both municipalities classified as urban. Population statistics for the Copperbelt Province are shown in Table 1.

Ndola City (equivalent to Ndola district) had 132,751 households in 2022.<sup>12</sup> This gives an average household size of 4.7.

Zambia Statistics Agency (ZamStats) figures show a population growth rate of 2.2% per annum and household growth of 3.2%.<sup>13</sup>

#### 3.2 POVERTY

At independence, Zambia was a prosperous country with one of the highest incomes per capita in Sub-Saharan Africa.

In the mid-1970s, a decline in copper prices triggered a prolonged drop in per capita income. Despite a fast-growing economy with an average annual growth of 5.7% over the past three years, Zambia remains one of the poorest countries globally. Nearly 64% of its population lives on less than \$2 a day, and about 73% of households are in poverty, with rural areas the hardest hit.<sup>14</sup>

Turning to Ndola city, a useful indicator of broad-based poverty is the International Wealth Index (IWI), which measures the position of households regarding assets, access to services and housing. The value for the Copperbelt was 49.4 in 2023, compared with the average for the ten SADC cities in the GGA sample of 63, ranging from 28.7 (Lilongwe) to 89.4 (Cape Town).

Regarding income poverty, ZamStats defined poverty as a household income of ZMW518 per adult equivalent per month in 2022, equating to about \$31 per month or \$1.02 per day. The ZamStats Living Conditions Monitoring Survey (LCMS) of 2022 does not provide estimates of the share of the population that is poor at local authority level. Based on LCMS data, 31% of households in Ndola City were poor in

<sup>11</sup> Zambia Statistics Agency. 2022 Census.

<sup>12</sup> Zambia Statistics Agency, "2022 Census of population and housing preliminary report Republic Of Zambia," December 2022, <https://www.zamstats.gov.zm/wp-content/uploads/2023/12/2022-Census-of-Population-and-Housing-Preliminary.pdf>. 2022-Census-of-Population-and-Housing-Summary-Report-Part-2.pdf

<sup>13</sup> African Development Bank. 2025. "Programme for strengthening capacity for subnational infrastructure service delivery and financing; & private sector participation - Long-Term Financial Plan for Ndola City Council" Unpublished report.

<sup>14</sup> Habitat For Humanity. 2017. "Housing Poverty in Zambia: 60% Living under the Poverty Line." Habitat for Humanity GB. 2017. <https://www.habitatforhumanity.org.uk/country/zambia/>.

2022.<sup>15</sup> The figure of \$1.02 per person per day is close to the \$1.25 figure used as the lower poverty indicator for SDG 1.1, with 31% taken as a proxy for the SDG 1.1 goal.

Poverty in the Copperbelt increased between 2015 and 2022 from 30.8% to 35.9%.<sup>16</sup> It can be speculated that there has been some improvement since 2022, as the economy of the province has grown rapidly since (see section 4).

### 3.3 QUALITY OF LIFE AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

In 2022, the Copperbelt Province Sub-National Human Development Index (SHDI) stood at 0.64. In 2021, the SHDI dropped marginally to 0.63, likely due to the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic, but has since recovered. The city's average is close to the average for the 10 SADC cities in the GGA sample of 0.65. Ndola is comparable to Lusaka (0.64), with the range from Lilongwe (0.52) to Cape Town (0.76).

### 3.4 EDUCATION

Primary and secondary school education is a national government function, with Ndola city only responsible for pre-schooling and skills training.

The level of education in Ndola is typical of SADC cities in the GGA sample, with 9.0 years of schooling received by adults in Ndola compared to the average 9.9 for the 10 cities in the GGA sample, led by cities in South Africa and Zimbabwe. Average schooling for Zambia is 7.7 years.<sup>17</sup>

Additional education statistics for Ndola are not readily available, and reliance is made on statistics for Zambia as a whole. A UNESCO report on education for the country states: "indications are that the country achieved near-universal primary school completion levels with a completion rate of 97% at Grade 7 in 2019. However, the COVID-19 pandemic disrupted these gains, causing a drop to 86.4% in 2020. Despite the progress made,

the completion rate for Grades 9 and 12 remains low. Average examination pass rate in Grade 9 was at 53%, while the pass rate at Grade 12 recorded an average of 64% at national level."

### 3.5 HEALTH

Primary and secondary health care is a national government function, with Ndola City responsible for public health (environmental health).

Under-5 mortality rates are a key indicator, with the figure for Copperbelt Province in 2021 being 39.3 deaths per 1,000 live births, lower than the national average of 63.9.<sup>18</sup> The average under-5 mortality rate for the 10 cities in the GGA sample is 53.4, ranging from 79.1 for Maputo to 19.7 deaths per 1,000 live births for Cape Town.

Infant mortality for Copperbelt Province in 2020 was 26.3 deaths per 1,000 live births, below Zambia's national rate of 47.2.<sup>19</sup> The province's infant mortality rate is close to the GGA sample of SADC cities' average of 48.8 deaths per 1,000 live births.

Ndola city's health infrastructure has been expanding. For example, in 2016, two additional health centres were provided, resulting in a total of 31 government-run facilities, along with 28 primary health centres or clinics, two referral hospitals, and one infectious disease reference laboratory.<sup>20</sup>

#### Health outcomes

Life expectancy is also a key indicator of health outcomes. In 2022, life expectancy in the Copperbelt was 64.2 years, a slight decrease from 2019 (65.2 years). The province's life expectancy is still slightly higher than the average of 60 years in the 10 cities in the GGA sample. Ndola fares better than Lilongwe (52 years), but is below Cape Town, the highest in the sample (68 years).

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> ZamStats, 2022, "2022 Living Conditions Monitoring Survey Report," 2022.

<sup>17</sup> Global Data Lab, "Copperbelt Mean Years Education of Adults Aged 20+," Globaldatalab.org, 2023, [https://globaldatalab.org/education/table/edyr20/ZMB/?levels=4](https://globaldatalab.org/education/table/edyr20/ZMB/?levels=4;); Jeroen Smits and Roel Steendijk, "The International Wealth Index (IWI)"; Jeroen Smits, "GDL Area Database: Sub-national development indicators for research and policy-making."

<sup>18</sup> Global Data Lab, "Copperbelt Health Indicators" Globaldatalab.org, 2023, [Child mortality \(2021\) - Table - Health - Global Data Lab](#); Jeroen Smits and Roel Steendijk, "The International Wealth Index (IWI)"; Jeroen Smits, "GDL Area Database: Sub-national development indicators for research and policy-making."

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Ngula Monde, Musso Munyeme, and Sydney Malama, "A Review of Tuberculosis in Ndola District of Zambia," *Journal of Tuberculosis Research* 04, no. 01 (2016): 1-8, <https://doi.org/10.4236/jtr.2016.41001>.

## 4. ECONOMY

There is no economic data specifically for Ndola, hence data for the Copperbelt Province is used. The province has the second-largest share of Zambia's GDP at 22.5%.<sup>21</sup> The dominance of mining in the province, with strong forward linkages to other economic sectors, has led to large swings in the economy as control of mines has shifted between the government and private sector, and the international copper market has varied.

From 2015 to 2022, the Copperbelt's economy contracted, averaging a real GDP growth rate of -1.0%, four percentage points below the national average.<sup>22</sup> However, in the two subsequent years, the Copperbelt economy expanded, achieving 6.3% growth in 2023<sup>23</sup> and a GDP per capita of US\$2,469 in 2024.<sup>24</sup>

This is comparable with Lusaka (\$2,200) but well below the average of the 10 cities in the GGA sample of \$5,640 per capita, the range being \$1,144 (Lilongwe) to \$16,370 (Johannesburg).

### Employment

695,000 people were employed in the Copperbelt Province in 2024, the second largest provincial share of national employment (17.5%).<sup>25</sup> Table 2 provides a breakdown of employment by sector in the Copperbelt Province.

Although Table 2 encompasses the entire province, it provides an indication of the key industries in Ndola. If mining and agriculture are subtracted, as there is little of this activity within the city boundary (though some mining personnel will live in Ndola), secondary activity makes up 31% (manufacturing 16%) and tertiary activity 69%, with wholesale, retail and accommodation the dominant sector.<sup>26</sup> Lastly, according to AMALI, 64.2% of the population works in the informal sector, a very high percentage.<sup>27</sup>

**Table 2: Employment by sector in Copperbelt Province and nationally**

SECTOR	SPLIT	
	NATIONAL	COPPERBELT
Agriculture, forestry and fishing	25%	17%
Mining and quarrying	2%	8%
<b>Total primary</b>	<b>27%</b>	<b>25%</b>
Manufacturing	8%	11%
Transportation and public utilities	5%	6%
Construction	6%	6%
<b>Total secondary</b>	<b>19%</b>	<b>23%</b>
Wholesale and retail incl accommodation	27%	28%
Finance, real estate, professional services & IT	3%	3%
Public administration	6%	7%
Health, education and social work	9%	7%
Households (domestic and personal services)	5%	4%
Other services	4%	3%
<b>Total tertiary</b>	<b>53%</b>	<b>52%</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>

21 Zambia Statistics Agency, "The Monthly - October," Monthly Bulletin Volume 223 (2021).

22 IGC. 2024. "Unlocking economic prosperity in the Zambian Copperbelt".

23 African Development Bank. 2025. "Programme for strengthening capacity for subnational infrastructure service delivery and financing; & private sector participation - Long-Term Financial Plan for Ndola City Council" Unpublished report.

24 Author's own calculations based on a national GDP of US\$26.3bn in 2024 and a share of the Copperbelt of 22.5%.

25 Zambia Statistics Agency, "2023 Labour Force Survey (LFS)," (Lusaka, Zambia: 2023).

26 Author's estimates.

27 AMALI, "Ndola, Zambia: 2024 AMALI City Profile."

## 5. LEGISLATIVE AND INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK

### 5.1 LEGISLATION

The structure of Zambia's local government is outlined in acts and policies, which include:

- The Constitution of Zambia (Amendment) Act No. 2 of 2016
- The Local Government Act No. 2 of 2019
- The Public Finance Management Act No. 1 of 2018
- The Urban and Regional Planning Act No. 3 of 2015
- The Health Services Act No. 36 of 2018
- The decentralisation policy – although not a law, the policy outlines the government's commitment to transferring powers and responsibilities to local authorities to enhance local governance and service delivery.

The Constitution of Zambia (Amendment) Act No. 2 of 2016<sup>28</sup> separates the government into two spheres, national and local government. At local government level, Zambia has 103 local authorities: five city councils, including Ndola, 15 municipal councils and 96 district councils.<sup>29</sup> While *de jure* all three types of council have the same functions, in practice they differ due to resource availability and capacity.

### 5.2 FUNCTIONS OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Ndola, the largest of the five local authorities in Zambia designated as 'cities', is legally responsible for a wide range of exclusive local authority functions, which can be grouped as follows:<sup>30</sup>

- Electricity, including street lighting.
- Water and sanitation services.
- Local roads and local public transport, including associated functions: stormwater management; traffic management and parking; traffic automation and maintenance; and district airports.

- Refuse removal, including waste disposal and local cleansing.
- Economic and business development, including tourism and abattoirs.
- Public health and environmental protection.
- Community amenities, including parks and gardens; libraries; museums; markets and bus stations; community centres; sporting facilities; child-care facilities; cemeteries and crematoria; and the promotion of sport, culture, and religion.
- Public order and safety, including firefighting services.
- District health services, including ambulance services.
- A range of regulatory functions, including pollution control, trading, street trading, liquor licensing, vehicle licensing, and noise pollution.

However, while the municipality may have the 'authority' relating to these functions, it is not the provider of the higher value services. Electricity, water supply, and sanitation services are provided by national or regional entities: the Zambian Electricity Supply Company (ZESCO) and Kafubu Water and Sewerage Company, with roads within the city largely under national control.

There is also a set of concurrent national and provincial functions intended for devolution to local authorities, the most significant being: agriculture; education at all levels, including tertiary; and housing. Although covered in the 2023 national decentralisation policy, this process of devolution has not advanced.

### 5.3 INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK

Responsibilities for the key urban services in Ndola are summarised in Table 3.

<sup>28</sup> Republic of Zambia. 2023. The national decentralisation policy. Office of the President – Cabinet Office.

<sup>29</sup> Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development. 2024. "Zambia Devolution Support Programme (P178492) Environmental and Social Management Plan." <https://www.mlgrd.gov.zm/wp-content/uploads/2025/01/Environmental-and-Social-Management-Plan-ESMP-Zambia-Devolution-Support-Program.pdf>.

<sup>30</sup> Republic of Zambia. 2023. The national decentralisation policy. Office of the President – Cabinet Office.

**Table 3: Institutional framework for Ndola City Council**

FUNCTION	INSTITUTION PROVIDING	NOTES
Water supply	Kafubu Water and Sewerage Company	Provincial-scale utility, owned by local authorities.
Sanitation	Kafubu Water and Sewerage Company	
Electricity	ZESCO	National utility
Roads - collector and distributor	Roads Development Agency (RDA)	
Roads – local (streets)	Ndola City Council (NCC)	With some sharing of responsibility with the Ministry of Local Government.
Public transport	Private operators	Ndola City Council regulates public transport within its jurisdiction.
Solid waste management	Private operators	NCC issues licences to private waste collection companies.
Community services	Ndola City Council	
Emergency and security services (fire, police etc)	Ndola City Council Fire Brigade, Zambia Police Service (ZPS)	ZPS is responsible for law enforcement, crime prevention, and public security across Ndola.
Primary health care	Ministry of Health, Ndola District Health Office	Ministry of Health provides and manages medical staff and equipment while NCC is responsible for infrastructure and clinic building maintenance.
Education	Ministry of Education,	NCC activity is limited to managing local pre-schools and skills training centres.

## 6. ACCESS TO SERVICES

### 6.1 WATER SUPPLY

Water is provided by the Kafubu Water and Sewerage Company (KWSC) responsible for water supply to four municipalities in the Copperbelt. They co-own the utility with shareholding as follows: Ndola (86%), Luanshya (11%), Masaiti (2%) and Mpongwe (1%).<sup>31</sup>

The board is made up of 10 members from different sectors, including:<sup>32</sup>

- A Mayor or Chairperson from one of the four councils
- A Town Clerk or Council Secretary from one of the councils
- The Provincial Local Government Officer
- A representative from the Engineering Institution of Zambia
- Two representatives from the private sector
- A commercial and a domestic consumer representative
- Two members appointed by the Minister, one being the chairperson of the board.

A member can hold the position for three years and may not serve on the board for more than two terms.

The utility company is regulated by the National Water Supply and Sanitation Council (NWASCO) along with the other 10 water and sanitation companies across Zambia. NWASCO's role is to approve three-year service provision agreements and set tariffs. However, tariff-setting recommendations were recently overridden by the Zambian Cabinet, reflecting the key role the state plays in managing the provision of water across Zambia.

#### Raw water supply

The raw water supply to Ndola city relies on the Kafubu River and surrounding aquifers, mainly the Kakontwe aquifer.<sup>33</sup> The water is treated at two water treatment plants, Kafubu and New Kanini. Recently, efforts have been made to improve the treatment plants, mainly Kafubu. Challenges include expensive chemicals and a lack of monitoring systems.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>31</sup> "Home page," Kafubu Water and Sanitation Company Limited, accessed August 13, 2025, <https://kafubu.co.zm/>.

<sup>32</sup> Office of the Auditor General, "Report of the Auditor General on the Accounts of Water Supply and Sanitation Companies for the financial year ended 31st December 2020" (Office of the Auditor General, 2025).

<sup>33</sup> JICA, "The second preparatory survey report on the project for the improvement of water supply condition in Ndola city in the Republic of Zambia," (JICA and Sanyu Consultants Inc., May 2011).

<sup>34</sup> Kafubu Water and Sanitation Company Ltd., "Strategic Plan 2023 – 2027," (NWASCO, 2022).

**Table 4: Performance statistics for Kafubu Water and Sanitation Company, 2022-2024<sup>35</sup>**

INDICATOR	VALUE	SOURCE
a) Improved water coverage access – % of city residents with access to improved water supply	85%	AMALI <sup>36</sup>
b) City population served by utility – number of residents served by utility	0.68 million <sup>37</sup>	NWASCO WSS Sector Report 2024
c) Residential water consumption in city or utility coverage area – litres per capita per day	56 l/cap/day.	NWASCO WSS Sector Report 2024
d) Water sold by utility that is metered – % of water sold by utility	77%	NWASCO WSS Sector Report 2024
e) Collection rate – % of collection rate from population billed	67%	NWASCO WSS Sector Report 2024
f) Non-revenue water – % of non-revenue water from total water supplied into the system	64%	NWASCO WSS Sector Report 2024
g) Average hours of supply per day	15 hours	NWASCO WSS Sector Report 2022

The recently built Kafulafuta Dam has begun supplying water after a seven-year construction period. The hope is that the dam will ease the demand for water in the Copperbelt province and serve as an additional water supply to Ndola city.

### Performance

Table 4 demonstrates that KWSC performs inadequately across most measures. Only an estimated 85% of Ndola citizens have access to water, with others relying on shallow hand-dug systems.<sup>38</sup> The utility has struggled to keep up with demand as infrastructure maintenance and expansion remain key issues.<sup>39</sup>

Non-revenue water remains a challenge, with the figure of 64% very high in relation to the 30% benchmark for African utilities. Improved performance against this metric would ameliorate the need for additional water resources.

Billing is an additional challenge, with the utility historically struggling to raise revenue. Between 2018 and 2022, the

utility intended to increase the revenue base by 50%, achieving a figure of 40%.<sup>40</sup> Their financial viability is also hampered by limits on tariff increases imposed by national government, despite NWASCO’s recommendations.

### 6.2 SANITATION SERVICES

Sanitation services are the responsibility of Kafubu Water and Sewerage Company (KWSC). While it does not perform well based on most water and sanitation metrics used by the regulator (NWASCO), it is the top performer when compared with the 10 other water and sanitation utilities in the country, and 98.1% of households were provided with an adequate service in 2024.<sup>41</sup>

59% of households had access to sewerage, with wastewater treated at the Lubuto wastewater treatment plant. The balance of households had septic tanks (35%), improved pit latrines (4%), and unimproved (traditional) pit latrines (2%).<sup>42</sup> The percentage of people who rely on unimproved pit latrines decreased significantly between 2023 and 2024.

<sup>35</sup> Primary source is NWASCO, “Water Supply and Sanitation Sector Report 2024.”

<sup>36</sup> AMALI, “Ndola, Zambia: 2024 AMALI City Profile.”

<sup>37</sup> This is a figure for the whole KWSC supply area.

<sup>38</sup> Liddle, Elisabeth, Sarah Mager and Etienne Nel, “The suitability of shallow hand dug wells for safe water provision in sub-Saharan Africa: Lessons from Ndola, Zambia,” *Applied Geography* 57, (February 2015): 80-90.

<sup>39</sup> NWASCO, “Water Supply and Sanitation Sector Report 2024,” (2024). <https://www.nwasco.org.zm/index.php/media-center/publications/water-supply-and-sanitation-sector-reports?task=download.send&id=110&catid=12&m=0>.

<sup>40</sup> Kafubu Water and Sanitation Company Ltd., “Strategic Plan 2023 – 2027.”

<sup>41</sup> NWASCO. 2024. “Water Supply and Sanitation Sector Report 2024”.

<sup>42</sup> NWASCO. 024. Chart 13.

Faecal sludge is collected and transported by private firms contracted by KWSC. In the case of septic tanks, vacuum tankers are used, while pit latrine sludge is removed manually.

### 6.3 SOLID WASTE MANAGEMENT

Ndola City Council is responsible for solid waste management (SWM) but contracts the service to private operators. The system is inadequate, despite efforts by both national and local governments, and difficult to regulate. Concerns include illegal dumping and environmental degradation.<sup>43</sup>

The SWM system in Ndola was one of the best in the country during the 1990s when the copper industry was booming, and mining companies supported municipal service delivery.<sup>44</sup> With the loss of mining company support, the system effectively collapsed, leaving much of the city without solid waste collection. Further, the economic downturn in the copper mining industry in the 2000s undermined the cities' ability to dedicate financial resources to manage the system. Since then, Ndola has seen some improvement, with a number of businesses created to collect and dispose of waste.<sup>45</sup> However, the service has not kept pace with the growth in waste generated.

Statistics on the proportion of households in Ndola that receive a weekly waste collection service could not be obtained. However, the 2022 living conditions survey undertaken by Zambia Statistics indicated that only 9.9% of Copperbelt households have refuse collected, with the majority (64.4%) using pits to dispose of refuse.<sup>46</sup>

The waste generation rate in Ndola is 0.6kg per person per day, somewhat higher than in Lusaka, with a rate of 0.5kg per person per day.<sup>47</sup> Ndola's waste is predominantly organic (71%). It is estimated that 63% of waste collected in

Ndola is disposed of in landfills, with the rest split between recycling (15%), illegal dumping (10%), burning (9%), and composting (3%).<sup>48</sup>

### 6.4 ELECTRICITY AND ENERGY

Zambia's energy supply comes from the national electricity grid (which relies on hydropower, coal, oil, and solar). For domestic cooking and heating, many Zambians still rely on biomass (charcoal and wood).<sup>49</sup>

Electricity is supplied by the national electricity utility, Zambia Electricity Supply Corporation (ZESCO). The state-owned enterprise is responsible for generating, transmitting, and distributing electricity across the country, including Ndola. The current energy mix for the national grid is hydropower (85%), coal and fuel oil (12%), and solar (3%).<sup>50</sup> These sources make up 3,700 MW of electricity generation capacity for the country.

According to the 2023 National Energy Access Survey (NEAS) report, 82% of households in the Copperbelt Province had access to electricity, the second highest in the country, just behind Lusaka at 85%. Of these, 64% of households are connected to the national grid, with the balance using solar home systems (16%), generators (1%), and other sources (1%).<sup>51</sup> While this is a provincial figure, it is representative of Ndola. Compared to the other cities in the GGA sample, Ndola is close to the 79% average for the 10 cities (ranging from 18% for Lilongwe to 98% for Cape Town).

With high dependence on the national grid, Ndola is obviously reliant on the success of ZESCO, and it is thus a concern that ZESCO's financial position is in decline. While revenue from sales is increasing due to an expanding customer base, ZESCO's 2020 integrated report<sup>52</sup> showed declining profit margins and increasing debt. This continued in 2024, with the utility facing a cash crunch.<sup>53</sup>

43 Edema, Mojisola, Sichamba Victor and Ntengwe Felix, "Solid Waste Management- Case Study of Ndola, Zambia," *International Journal of Plant, Animal, and Environmental Sciences* 2, 3 (2012): 248-255.

44 Ibid.

45 Ibid.

46 Zambia Statistics Agency. 2022. "2022 Living Conditions Monitoring Survey Report".

47 Luwaya, Edwin "Waste to Energy Potential Assessment: Case Study for Ndola," *International Journal of Innovative Science and Research Technology* 8, 03 (March 2023): 1207-1215.

48 Ibid.

49 Brandt, Katerina, Dr. Pam Jagger, Dr. Gillian Kabwe, Dr. Felix Kalaba, Charles Lindsey, Ryan McCord, Dr. Cheryl Weyant, "State of Knowledge Energy Access in Zambia," (EPPSA, December 2022).

50 Ministry of Energy, 2023, "Integrated Resource Plan for the Power Sector in Zambia – Summary Report", October 2023.

51 Ministry of Energy and ZamStats, 2025, "2023 National Energy Access Survey," February 2025. <https://www.zamstats.gov.zm/wp-content/uploads/2025/02/National-Energy-Access-Survey-NEAS.pdf>.

52 ZESCO. 2020. "7<sup>th</sup> Integrated report – Journey towards turnaround strategy".

53 Interview with senior officials as reported by AfDB consulting team working on Integrated Investment Framework for Zambia.

## Household energy use

While electricity is the primary source of energy used by households for lighting, biomass – mainly charcoal – is the primary source of energy for cooking, with 70% of households using charcoal to cook.<sup>54</sup> Aside from the negative impact on the surrounding woodland, this is a concern for public health experts who argue that it contributes to a range of health and environmental issues.<sup>55</sup> Efforts to address this have been slow, as charcoal is the most economical fuel for cooking, and there is limited access to the national electricity grid.

## 6.5 INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATIONS TECHNOLOGY

The Information and Communications Technology (ICT) sector in Zambia is small but growing, with the sector contributing 2.7% of the national GDP in 2023.<sup>56</sup> Its biggest driver in recent years has been digital financial services, but efforts have been made in the areas of education and health as well.

At a city level, much of the focus is on Lusaka as a focal point of the National Smart Zambia Initiative. This has largely left secondary cities like Ndola out of the growing ICT sector. However, as McCluskey et al. highlight in a paper on ICT, the problem also lies with a lack of political will from the Ndola City Council to fully embrace ICT systems.<sup>57</sup>

### Connectivity

In terms of access to ICT, reliance is on Copperbelt Province figures, with Global Data Lab estimates indicating that only 11% of households have access to the internet.<sup>58</sup> This is low compared to the other cities in the GGA sample, where the average is 39% (ranging from 2% in Lilongwe to 90% in Cape Town).

## Access to information

Internet access is not the only measure, as content and information can be intentionally blocked. As such, freedom to access information is a useful measure for ICT. Freedom House reports on the extent to which content is accessible. According to the 2024 Freedom on the Net report, Zambia is considered partly free, with a score of 62 out of 100.<sup>59</sup> In this regard, Zambia does quite well, as other countries in the GGA sample rate poorly, excluding South Africa (with a score of 73).

Regarding access to other information and communication technology, Ndola fares quite poorly. Global Data Lab estimates that 90% of households have access to a phone, while only 11% have access to a computer.<sup>60</sup> Compared to the other cities, Ndola has one of the lowest scores in both instances. For access to a phone, Ndola has more access than Lilongwe (54%), but all the other cities have greater access. Similarly, for household access to a computer, Ndola scores higher than Lilongwe (6%), but in cities like Dar es Salaam and Lusaka, households have greater access to a computer.

## 6.6 ROADS

At a national level, three agencies are responsible for various aspects of the road system:

- Road Development Agency (RDA): responsible for, among other things, constructing and maintaining public roads across Zambia.
- Road Transport and Safety Agency (RTSA): responsible for the implementation of traffic and safety policy.
- National Road Fund Agency (NRFA): responsible for the mobilisation, administration, and management of financial resources for the roads sector.

Local authorities are technically responsible for the provision and maintenance of primary feeder roads within their jurisdiction, with the RDA responsible for the trunk and primary roads. However, limited capacity and

<sup>54</sup> ZamStats, 2022, "2022 Living Conditions Monitoring Survey Report," 2022. <https://www.zamstats.gov.zm/wp-content/uploads/2024/07/2022-LCMS-Report-2022.pdf>.

<sup>55</sup> Likonge Makai and Olawale Popoola, "Assessment and selection of a micro-hybrid renewable energy system for sustainable energy generation in rural areas of Zambia," *Renewable Energy* 232, October 2024 (2024): 1-19.

<sup>56</sup> Zambia Development Agency, 2024, "ICT Sector Profile: 2024," (2024). <https://www.zda.org.zm/wp-content/uploads/2024/09/ZDA-ICT-Sector-Profile-2024.pdf>.

<sup>57</sup> William McCluskey, Riël Franssen, Mundia Kabinga and Chabala Kasese, "The Role of Information Communication Technology to Enhance Property Tax Revenue in Africa: A Tale of Four Cities in Three Countries," ICTD Working Paper 88 (November 2018): 1-29.

<sup>58</sup> Global Data Lab, "Wealth, Poverty, Assets," Globaldatalab.org, 2023. [https://globaldatalab.org/wealth/table/2010/computer+internet+cellphone/ZMB/?levels=1+4](https://globaldatalab.org/wealth/table/2010/computer+internet+cellphone/ZMB/?levels=1+4;); Jeroen Smits and Roel Steendijk, "The International Wealth Index (IWI);" Jeroen Smits, "GDL Area Database: Sub-national development indicators for research and policy-making."

<sup>59</sup> Freedom House, "Freedom on the Net 2024: Zambia." <https://freedomhouse.org/country/zambia/freedom-net/2024>.

<sup>60</sup> Global Data Lab, "Wealth, Poverty, Assets"; Jeroen Smits and Roel Steendijk, "The International Wealth Index (IWI);" Jeroen Smits, "GDL Area Database: Sub-national development indicators for research and policy-making."

resources mean that the RDA and the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development (MLGRD) are still largely responsible for primary feeder roads and support local authorities with the provision and maintenance of local roads in residential areas.

Road length and split in Ndola is detailed in Table 5, based on data from OpenStreetMap<sup>61</sup>.

**Table 5: Road lengths for Ndola City**

ROAD CATEGORY	KM	SPLIT
Trunk	54	1.4%
Primary	37	0.9%
Secondary	33	0.8%
Tertiary	112	2.8%
Residential & service	1,526	38.5%
Paths, tracks etc	1,317	33.3%
Unclassified	881	22.2%
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,960</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

The road classification system on OpenStreetMap is slightly different to the one used by the RDA, which categorises roads into trunk, main, district, primary feeder, urban and 'non-core' roads. The first three categories likely match the first three in the OpenStreetMap system.

The total road length in Ndola (3,960km) equates to 3,07m per capita. Of this, only 4.2% of the road is paved. Compared to the other SADC cities in the GGA sample, Ndola has the smallest proportion of paved roads, with Maputo having a slightly higher paved road percentage at 4.5%. The average for the 10 SADC cities in the GGA sample is 19.7% with Johannesburg having the highest proportion, with 63% paved.

Interestingly, as Ndola sits on the main route through Zambia to the adjacent Democratic Republic of Congo, the trunk roads have been a priority for the RDA.<sup>62</sup> This further highlights the limited capacity of the NCC to improve the roads within the Ndola city area.

## 6.7 PUBLIC TRANSPORT

There is limited data availability on public transport in Ndola. Data that is available suggests Ndola's public transport system is an informal paratransit, with most people relying on these private services to get around. According to an UN-Habitat report on safe and affordable transport, only around 9.4% of the population live within 500m of public transport, the lowest on the continent.<sup>63</sup> Most private vendors are minibuses which travel around the city with little information about routes, frequency, etc.

Cross-country services are widely used, especially on the main highway that connects Ndola and Lusaka. Various private bus services provide regular trips between the two cities, making it one of the busiest highways in the country. Regular flights are also available between Lusaka and Ndola.

## 7. ENVIRONMENTAL FOOTPRINT

### Carbon emissions

With climate change a major concern internationally, carbon emissions from cities are an important measure of climate change impact. In 2020, Ndola's carbon emissions were approximately 0.9 tons of CO<sub>2</sub> per capita.<sup>64</sup> This is slightly below the average 1.04 tons across the 10 SADC cities in the GGA sample, ranging from 0.12 tons per capita for Lilongwe to 3.2 tons per capita for Johannesburg.

### Air quality

In relation to air quality in Ndola city, the PM<sub>2.5</sub> particulate concentration in Ndola's air ranges from about 22 µg/m<sup>3</sup> to 30 µg/m<sup>3</sup>. This is higher than Lusaka's estimated 16 µg/m<sup>3</sup> but lower than Johannesburg's 42 µg/m<sup>3</sup>. Compared to other cities in the GGA sample, Ndola's level is relatively high, second only to Johannesburg, with this assumed to relate to the mining and manufacturing activity in and around the city.

### Water quality

Water in Ndola is generally of poor quality, with surface waters exhibiting the highest levels of contamination, including aluminium (176 mg/L) and manganese

<sup>61</sup> Openstreetmap.org

<sup>62</sup> Ito, Tsuyoshi, "Ex-Post Evaluation of Japanese Grant Aid Project: The Project for Improvement of Ndola and Kitwe City Roads" (Zambia: JICA, 2014).

<sup>63</sup> UN-Habitat, "Chapter 3: Access to safe and affordable transport," *Walking and Cycling in Africa - Evidence and Good Practice to Inspire Action* (United Nations, 2022)

<sup>64</sup> "Global Human Settlement - Stats in the City Visualisation - European Commission." 2016. Copernicus.eu. July 6, 2016. <https://human-settlement.emergency.copernicus.eu/ucdb2024visual.php#HDC=2130>.

exceeding WHO limits. Shallow wells also show elevated concentrations of aluminium and manganese, while boreholes tend to contain more zinc, iron and copper. Additionally, dissolved metal levels increase with depth.<sup>65</sup> Along the Kafubu River, the city's primary water source, unplanned housing without adequate water and sewerage services has meant residents rely on shallow wells and poorly managed sewage disposal, further contributing to water contamination and associated health risks.<sup>66</sup>

## 8. ORGANISATIONAL PERFORMANCE

### 8.1 ACCESS TO INFORMATION

Access to information on urban development is generally good in Zambia. However, in common with most secondary cities, access to information is not as easily available as it is for Lusaka and the primary cities in other countries. There is, however, good information on the Copperbelt Province, which is reasonably indicative of conditions in Ndola, and the Ndola City Council website includes the city budget and financial statements<sup>67</sup>.

### 8.2 PLANNING AND PERFORMANCE MANAGEMENT

In line with the country's National Development Goals (NDGs), every city in Zambia prepares an Integrated Development Plan (IDP) to guide spatial and socioeconomic development at the local level. This is part of Zambia's long-term plan, outlined in Vision 2030. Ndola city has an IDP and is utilising gridded population data to improve planning, education, and health services in the peripheral areas where many new settlements are located.<sup>68</sup>

The city's performance management system has development goals for each department, but has struggled to meet them. This stems from limited capacity and unrealistic goals given the resource and capacity constraints.

### 8.3 ADMINISTRATION

Ndola comprises four constituencies (Ndola Central, Chifubu, Bwana, Mkubwa and Kabushi) with 30 wards within them. Each of the wards is represented by a ward development committee responsible for establishing the key development priorities. These priorities determine a significant portion of the revenue that is received from the national government, giving the wards considerable leverage at a local level.

Despite the policy emphasis on decentralisation, specifically the Constitution of Zambia (Amendment), 2016 Act No. 2, the NCC has faced various challenges executing this constitutional mandate. According to the amendment, local authorities are responsible for administering and overseeing programmes and projects within the district as well as making by-laws and implementing services for the public. However, due to limited capacity and financial resources the council has struggled to deliver on this mandate. A key challenge for the NCC, as discussed, is maintaining the standard of services previously supported by mining companies when these were controlled by national government. Additionally, there is a need to expand these services to meet the growing population.

For the financial year ending 31 December 2022, Ndola City Council was recognised for improvements but received a qualified audit opinion from the Auditor General in 2022 and again in 2023. One reason the 2022 audit was qualified was that NCC failed to introduce the accrual accounting methodology.<sup>69</sup>

The 2023 performance report for the NCC records that they were unable to meet their revenue target, only generating K96 million of the K113 million Kwacha target. This was largely due to challenges in collecting taxes and fees from citizens.

65 Liddle, Elisabeth S., Sarah M. Mager, and Etienne L. Nel. 2015. "The Suitability of Shallow Hand Dug Wells for Safe Water Provision in Sub-Saharan Africa: Lessons from Ndola, Zambia." *Applied Geography* 57 (February): 80–90. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.apgeog.2014.12.010>, p85.

66 Munshifwa, Ephraim K, et al., 2021. "Urban Development, Land Use Changes and Environmental Impacts in Zambia's Major Cities: A Case Study of Ndola."73. <https://www.ndolacouncil.gov.zm/>

68 Ibid.

69 Ndola City Council. 2022. "Financial statements for the year ended 31<sup>st</sup> December 2022".

**Table 6: Ndola City Council budget: Revenue, 2024**

ITEM	KWACHA 000'S	MILLION (\$)	SPLIT	PER CAPITA (\$/CAP)
<b>Own-source revenue</b>				
Property Tax	87 631	3.3	30%	5.45
Fees and Charges	23 236	0.88	8.1%	1.44
Licenses	4 071	0.15	1.4%	0.25
Permits	16 504	0.62	6%	1.03
Charges	16 092	0.61	6%	1.00
<b>Subtotal – own source</b>	<b>147,534</b>	<b>5.57</b>	<b>51%</b>	<b>9.18</b>
<b>Transfers</b>				
Constituency Development Fund	113 200	4.27	39.3%	7.04
Roads Grant				
Health Grant				
Equalisation Fund	27 395	1.03	9.5%	1.70
Grants in lieu of rates				
<b>Sub-total transfers</b>	<b>140,595</b>	<b>5.30</b>	<b>49%</b>	<b>8.74</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>288 129</b>	<b>10.87</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>17.91</b>

## 9. LOCAL GOVERNMENT FINANCE

Ndola's revenue and expenditure in 2024 were reported to be \$10,8 million and \$11,2 million, respectively. This is one of the smallest city budgets across the GGA sample, in part because Ndola does not provide many services (including electricity, water, sanitation and solid waste management). This limits its budget as well as its revenue sources.

A summary of the city's revenue and expenditure budgets is provided in Tables 6 and 7.

### Operating revenue

The city's own sources of revenue make up 51% of the total revenue. This includes:

- Property tax: this is the biggest proportion of own-source revenue, with commercial property taxes accounting for 82% of property taxes, mining 9% and residential only 10%. The city does not earn anything from grants in lieu of rates for government properties. Budgeted revenue from property rates amounted to 5.45 per capita, which, while much lower than in South African and Zimbabwean cities, is high compared with Lusaka, Luanda, and Lilongwe (average 2.69 per capita).

- Fees and charges make up the third largest portion of revenue at 8%. This includes market fees (1,3%) and billboards and banners (1,4%).
- Permits also make a contribution to revenue with health permits at 2,6% and fire certificates at 1,9%.

Zambia has a well-developed system of transfers to local government from national government. Grants to Ndola city make up 49% of the city's revenue. This includes:

- The Constituency Development Fund: this is allocated for initiatives identified by the ward committees. In many wards, the fund is used to pay for services such as road maintenance, grass cutting and public infrastructure maintenance. In Ndola, this fund makes up 39% of the revenue. In 2024, the city did not receive any grants for health and roads.
- The Equalisation Fund: this is a formula-based grant to local authorities to support their operational activities. Ndola is given \$1 million, which translates to 10% of the annual budget for the city.

### Operational expenditure

Expenditure of US\$18.55 per capita is far lower than for most SADC cities in the GGA sample (average \$226 per capita), primarily because the Ndola City Council executes relatively few service provision functions. However,

**Table 7: Ndola City Council budget – Expenditure - 2024**

	KWACHA 000'S	MILLION (\$)	SPLIT	PER CAPITA (\$/CAP)
Governance and Administration	80 579	3.04	27%	5.01
Integrated Development Planning	6 937	0.23	2.3%	0.43
Economic and Business Development	158	0.01	0.1%	0.01
Public Health and Environmental Protection	19 129	0.72	6.4%	1.19
Community Services	115 577	4.36	38.7%	7.19
Housing	6 724	0.25	2.3%	0.42
Roads and Drainage	35 045	1.32	11.7%	2.18
Public Order and Safety	21 758	0.82	7.3%	1.35
District Health Services	5 869	0.22	2.0%	0.36
Electricity (street lighting)	2 843	0.11	1.0%	0.18
Transport Services	3 743	0.14	1.3%	0.23
<b>Total</b>	<b>298 363</b>	<b>11.26</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>18.55</b>

expenditure is higher than in Lusaka (\$12.05 per capita) and Lilongwe (\$7.74 per capita).

Regarding items of expenditure, 27% is for governance and administration (essentially overheads) and is typical for the 10 SADC cities in the sample (with the average being 32%). The most notable expenditure item is the \$7.19 per capita spent on community services (constituency development, markets and bus stations, community centres, sport, recreation and culture). This is the highest of the 10 SADC cities in the sample (average \$5.8 per capita) and reflects the emphasis of the Community Development Fund in prioritising community services.

#### **Budgeted figures in relation to actual expenditure**

Turning to the actual revenue and expenditure figures as stated in the annual financial statements, it is notable that Ndola, along with all other local authorities in Zambia, apply a cash accounting system. The Government of the Republic of Zambia (GRZ) is planning for all local authorities to shift to accrual accounting in the coming years. Looking at the 2022 statements, the latest available, it is evident that NCC received 96% of the budgeted revenue (based on an adjusted budget) with receipts from property rates, licenses and levies close to budget.

However, expenditure was only 59% of the budgeted amount, with only salaries (personal emoluments) close to the budget. This implies that maintenance was well under budget, and some service providers were not being paid.

#### **Capital expenditure**

Capex in the 2022 financial year was only 4.2 million Kwacha (US\$160,000) and was limited to grant funding received through the Equalisation Fund and Constituency Development Fund. Most capital works in the city are funded from the NCC budget by national government and international development agencies.

## **10. CLOSURE**

Ndola is typical of cities dependent on mining in that its economy varies in tandem with mining interests and commodity market variations. Recently, the city has been more economically stable as its economy diversifies, and the benefits of rapid growth in the national economy (currently 6% per annum) are felt.

As a provider of services, Ndola's role is limited. It does not provide infrastructure-intensive services (other than a limited role in road provision). Instead, it relies on national government for health and education; public utilities for water, sanitation and electricity; and private providers for solid waste management and public transport.

In this context, Ndola city is primarily a development facilitator and provider of community services. Using outcomes as a measure, it achieves middling performance in relation to other SADC cities in the GGA sample.





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