



# Where Did the Money Go?

• **Kalikiliki Ward Leaders Unable to Account for K500,000 Development Fund**



**Ward Development Committee members are supposed to identify development priorities and monitor projects at ward level. But in Kalikiliki, some say they were left in the dark.**

*By Ennety Munshya*

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## Where Did the Money Go? Kalikiliki Ward Leaders Unable to Account for K500,000 Development Fund

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When it rains, traders along JK and Niza Roads in Kalikiliki must carefully step around pools of muddy water and deep potholes as vehicles struggle to pass.

Some residents say the two roads were recently “rehabilitated” using public development funds.

But there is little evidence of meaningful work.

For many residents, the question is simple: if money was spent here, where did it go?

A MakaanDay investigation has found damaged roads, conflicting accounts and unanswered questions about how funds meant to improve conditions in Kalikiliki Ward 35 of Lusaka’s Munali Constituency were used.

The condition of several roads reportedly rehabilitated under the Constituency Development Fund (CDF) has also raised concerns. Roads such as Watch-Tower Road, WEBA Road, Kalikiliki Market Road and Zaoga Komboni Missionary Road are already showing signs of deterioration only a few months after the rehabilitation works were reportedly completed.

Members of the Ward Development Committee (WDC) say they cannot account for how money allocated to their community was spent.

Some committee members say they were excluded from decisions on projects funded under both the Ward Development Fund and the Constituency Development Fund (CDF).

Meanwhile, inspections by MakaanDay found that some roads reportedly rehabilitated using the Ward Development Fund, financed through five percent of the council’s own-source revenue, are already damaged.

**Committee says it was left out**

WDCs are legally recognised structures responsible for identifying development priorities and monitoring projects at ward level.

They are established under Part Five of the Local Government Act No. 2 of 2019 to ensure communities participate in identifying and overseeing local development projects.

Governance experts say the committees are intended to strengthen transparency and local accountability.

But members of the Kalikiliki WDC say they were not informed about how the ward’s development funds were used in 2025.

Godfrey Miyanda, chairperson of the Kalikiliki Ward 35 WDC, told MakaanDay that the committee has struggled to obtain information about projects implemented using the ward fund.

“The committee has no clear information about which projects have been done using the ward fund,” Miyanda said.

He said that after making follow-ups with the area councillor, the committee was informed that part of the money had been used to rehabilitate JK Road.

However, when a MakaanDay journalist visited the road, it remained in poor condition.

Traders operating along the road said they had not seen contractors working there in recent months. The only activity they recall was minor drainage clearing carried out by community members under the government’s cash-for-work programme.

### Questions over ward development fund



A Lusaka City Council (LCC) official who spoke on condition of anonymity said each ward receives about K500,000 for ward development activities.

The funds are intended for small community projects such as drainage clearing, minor road repairs and other public works.

However, the official said the money is not deposited into ward accounts. Instead, projects proposed by WDCs are submitted to the council for approval, after which payments are made directly to contractors.

But Kalikiliki WDC Treasurer John Likolo says the committee has not been informed about how much was allocated to the ward for 2025 or how the funds were spent.

“We have a bank account as a ward, but the account is dormant. No money is deposited there. Even financial documentation for the projects is not available to us.”

Likolo also said the committee proposes projects and submits them to the council but is rarely informed when the projects are approved or which contractors have been engaged.

Without that information, he said, the committee cannot effectively monitor how public funds are being used.

Yet official council records suggest that the structure and allocation of the ward development fund are clearly defined.

Information published on the LCC website suggest a clearer framework for how the ward development fund is supposed to operate. Minutes of the Finance, Valuation and Commercial Undertakings Committee

meeting held on 22 November 2024 indicate that ward development projects across all 38 wards would be financed based on works certified by the Director of Engineering Services.

The minutes further show that each ward was expected to receive K500,000, with 10 percent allocated to WDC operational costs. The council’s 2025 budget estimates indicate that a over K19.8 million (K19,865,025.96) was allocated to the ward development fund, raising questions about how funds meant for Kalikiliki were administered when members of the WDC say they have little information about how the money was spent.

### Leadership tensions

The dispute over development funds has unfolded amid tensions within ward leadership.

Some committee members say they are sidelined during project implementation, with contractors sometimes arriving without the committee being informed whether the works are funded under the ward development fund or the CDF.

Former WDC chairperson Arnold Mutinta also raised concerns after he was expelled from the committee in September 2025.

Mutinta says he was removed without a disciplinary hearing and appealed the decision to LCC, arguing that the letter served on him did not explain the reasons for his removal.

LCC told MakaanDay that all disciplinary procedures were followed in accordance with the guidelines governing Ward Development Committees.

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Despite the disputes, Miyanda said development oversight has been weakened by miscommunication among ward leaders.

“Even when monitoring projects we are sometimes left out,” he said.

**Councillor’s response**

Area councillor Shadreck Chimwanga acknowledged that relations between the Ward Development Committee and ward leadership had previously been strained but said the situation has since improved.

He told MakaanDay that the ward development fund for last year was used to rehabilitate JK Road and Niza Road.

However, Chimwanga said procurement and contractor selection are handled by Lusaka City Council.

“I am not the one who awards contracts. That is done by the council,” he said.

“I am only informed to expect a contractor in the ward and ensure that the works are carried out.”

He added that projects funded under the CDF are approved by the CDF committee.

Governance experts say divisions within WDCs can weaken their oversight role.

Gerald Mutelo, National Coordinator of Democratic Governance and Human Rights Advocates (DEGHA), said internal disputes within committees can affect community development.

“When a Ward Development Committee is divided, development priorities can easily be overshadowed by internal disagreements,” Mutelo said.

“That weakens oversight of community projects and reduces public trust in local governance structures.”

**Council provides limited information**

For nearly two months, members of the WDC say they have been trying to obtain details from the council about how the ward fund was used.

According to the committee, they met the Director of Finance, who informed them that information about the ward fund could only be shared in the presence of the area councillor.

The councillor was summoned to attend a meeting with the committee at the council but did not attend.

Further follow-ups with other council officials, including the Director of Planning, also failed to yield information.

MakaanDay also made several attempts to obtain details from the council about projects implemented in Kalikiliki Ward 35 under both the ward development fund and the CDF.

No detailed response had been provided by the time of publication.



For residents of Kalikiliki, however, the debate about procedures and approvals matters less than the condition of the roads they use every day.

As vehicles continue to navigate potholes along JK Road and muddy water pools after every rainfall, residents say the improvements promised through public development funds remain difficult to see on the ground, leaving them still asking a simple question: what happened to the money meant to fix their roads?

contractors were engaged. Without access to such basic information, the committees cannot perform their legal role of monitoring development projects.

This raises a deeper governance concern.

The ward development fund is designed to support small but important community improvements, repairing roads, clearing drainage, and addressing local infrastructure needs that directly affect daily life. If those funds are spent without clear documentation, without community oversight, and without visible results, the risk of mismanagement or waste becomes unavoidable.

Even if no wrongdoing has occurred, the absence of transparency alone is damaging.

Public funds must never operate in the shadows. When communities are excluded from information about projects implemented in their own neighbourhoods, the system begins to lose legitimacy. Residents start to suspect that development decisions are being made without them, or worse, that funds are being diverted away from the very purposes they were meant to serve.

Equally worrying are the institutional gaps revealed by this case. The council appears to control the disbursement of funds and contractor payments, yet the WDC, which should monitor these projects, says it receives little or no information about them. That disconnect undermines the entire accountability chain.

At the same time, internal disputes within the ward leadership risk further weakening oversight. Divisions among local leaders may explain some of the communication

breakdowns, but they cannot justify the absence of clear financial information about public funds.

Ultimately, the people who suffer most are the residents.

For traders navigating muddy roads and motorists dodging potholes after every rainfall, development funds are not abstract budget lines. They represent promises, promises of safer roads, better drainage and improved living conditions.

When those promises fail to materialise, public confidence in local governance erodes.

The Lusaka City Council must therefore provide clear answers about how the Kalikiliki ward development funds were allocated, which projects were approved, who the contractors were, and whether the works were certified as completed. Transparency is not optional when public money is involved.

More importantly, this moment should prompt a broader review of how ward development funds are administered across Lusaka. If WDCs are to fulfil the role intended in the law, they must have access to project information, financial records and monitoring authority.

Otherwise, the very structures created to ensure community participation risk becoming symbolic rather than functional, as we have just established.

**OPINION**

**Development Funds Without Development**

From page 1

The question emerging from Kalikiliki Ward is both simple and troubling: where did the money go?

In our recent investigation, we found that roads reportedly rehabilitated using public funds remain riddled with potholes, muddy pools and signs of neglect. Yet official records indicate that about K500,000 in ward development funds should have been allocated to support community projects in the area.

The residents complained that they can’t see the results of public spending, and even the very committees meant to oversee the work say they were left out of the process. This shows that the problem goes far beyond damaged roads.

It is a crisis of accountability.

Ward Development Committees (WDCs) were established under the Local Government Act No. 2 of 2019 precisely to prevent this kind of situation. Their purpose is to ensure communities participate in identifying development priorities and monitoring projects at ward level. They are meant to be the eyes and ears of the community, strengthening transparency in how local funds are used.

But the situation described in Kalikiliki suggests that this oversight structure is not functioning as intended. Committee members say they were not even informed about which projects were approved, how much money was allocated, or which



## Closed but Operating: Lusaka Block-Making Factory Resumes Work Days After Council Shutdown

From page 1

By Linda Soko Tembo

A factory that Lusaka City Council (LCC) ordered shut down for violating public health regulations has reportedly resumed operations only days later, raising fresh questions about the enforcement of environmental and public health laws in the city.

Deniz Company Limited, located in Olympia along Katima Mulilo Road, was closed on 5 March 2026 after public health inspectors found multiple violations, including dust pollution, excessive noise and insanitary working conditions.

But residents told MakanDay that machinery at the factory has since started running again, with dust emissions and noise continuing to affect nearby homes despite the council's enforcement action.

The development has renewed concerns among residents who say they have complained about the company's operations for years without lasting intervention from authorities.

### Council action

LCC Director of Public Health Victor Kagoli confirmed that inspectors closed the facility after identifying several breaches of public health regulations.

According to Kagoli, the violations included failure to provide adequate personal protective equipment for workers, poor sanitation conditions, lack of proper kitchen facilities for employees, improper waste storage, and unresolved complaints of dust and noise pollution.

The facility is located in what residents say is a residential area, raising further questions about how the factory was allowed to operate in the neighbourhood.

### Complaints dating back years

Records indicate that concerns about the company's operations date back to February 2023, when LCC conducted an inspection and issued a 30-day abatement notice directing the company to address noise nuisance concerns.

The notice, effective from 16 March to 16 April

2023, warned that failure to comply could result in suspension of operations and possible legal action.

It remains unclear whether the company fully complied with the directives issued at the time.

A recent visit by MakanDay to the area earlier this year found residents still experiencing persistent dust and noise pollution from the factory.

MakanDay observed dirty water around the premises, poorly maintained toilet facilities and indiscriminate waste disposal, conditions that may violate both public health and environmental regulations.

### Residents describe daily disturbances

Residents say the factory's operations have disrupted daily life in the area for several years.



Chinda Chembe and her husband, Peter Geraerds, who purchased property in Olympia Extension between 2011 and 2012, said the area had been approved for residential use when they began building flats there.

"When we started construction, we discovered that our neighbour had rented out their property to a brick-making factory called Deniz," said Chembe.

"The machines operate within a residential area and the noise has affected our business because tenants constantly complain."

Residents say dust from the factory's operations has also affected their homes.

"The dust has caused our roof to turn black. Even when we close our windows, dust still enters the house," Chembe said.

She added that the company's operations often begin early in the morning.

"Their staff toilets are attached to our wall and the machines start running as early as 05:00 hours."

Another resident, Maria Nyirongo, said the noise sometimes begins even earlier.

"We cannot sleep properly. Sometimes the machines start as early as 04:00 hours, and when there is no power they switch on a generator. The smoke enters our house," she said.

Residents also allege that wastewater from the factory flows into nearby drainage systems.

They further claim that the company's boundary

The company was reportedly fined and instructed to insulate a noise-producing machine within 30 days.

However, residents say the measures did little to address the problem.

"They never close permanently and always bounce back," Chembe said.

A source familiar with the matter indicated that ZEMA had issued the company a licence subject to conditions requiring effective management of dust emissions and noise levels.

Failure to comply with those conditions could result in the licence being revoked.

MakanDay submitted a press query to ZEMA about the company's compliance status one month ago but had not received a response by the time of publication.

### Company response

When contacted on 4 March 2026, the director of Deniz Company Limited, identified as Hakim, declined to comment in detail, saying he was travelling within Zambia.

"But there is no dust. You have to bring equipment to measure the dust and noise," he said.

When asked whether the company had conducted its own environmental measurements, he said the last assessment had been done some time ago.

"Some time back when I measured, it was okay. The best thing is that we measure together next week," he said.

### Closure — and reopening

Despite LCC closure order issued on 5 March, residents say operations resumed within days.

The development has raised concerns about whether regulatory authorities are able to enforce environmental and public health standards once enforcement action is taken.

Residents say they are now hoping that authorities will ensure the closure is properly enforced or relocate the factory to a designated industrial area.

wall collapsed several years ago, killing a 10-year-old child. According to residents, the wall remains structurally unstable.

### Environmental oversight questions

Residents say they reported the matter to both LCC and the Zambia Environmental Management Agency (ZEMA), questioning how the factory had been licensed to operate in a residential area.

According to residents, ZEMA previously inspected the premises and identified several violations, including lack of protective clothing for workers, inadequate sanitation facilities and improper waste disposal.

## Closed but Operating: Lusaka Brick-Making Factory Resumes Work Days After Council Shutdown Cont...

For now, however, the machines are running again.

And for the residents of Olympia, the dust and noise they say they have lived with for years have returned

Days after Lusaka City Council ordered a factory in Olympia to shut down, residents say the machines are running again.



REPUBLISHED

## Power, Politics, and Procurement: How ZAMMSA Lost Its Independence

**This two-part investigation by MakaanDay exposes how Zambia's central medical supply agency, ZAMMSA, descended into chaos, from political capture and procurement manipulation to a multimillion-kwacha drug scandal that has left the country's healthcare system vulnerable.**

*Part I | By Charles Mafa | MakaanDay Investigates*

- The Zambia Medicines and Medical Supplies Agency (ZAMMSA) has become a hub of kickbacks and political patronage, with procurement authority increasingly diverted from the agency to the Ministry of Health, and in some cases, even to State House.

- Insiders suggest that ZAMMSA's apparent "failures" may be strategic. By portraying the agency as ineffective, procurement functions could be deliberately shifted back to the Ministry, creating yet another layer of political opportunity and control.

## CLOSED... BUT STILL OPERATING?

Dust. Noise. And the same pollution complaints that triggered the shutdown.

A MakaanDay investigation has uncovered fresh concerns from community members who say the factory resumed operations just days after authorities moved to stop it.

If the factory was officially closed: Who allowed operations to resume?

For the families living around the facility, the question is simple: Was the closure real — or just temporary?

By law, the Ministry of Health's role ends with the appointment of the ZAMMSA board, which is then responsible for hiring the DG. The failure to appoint a functional board creates a governance vacuum that effectively hands power to the Ministry of Health.

Without a board, the Ministry acts as both regulator and implementer, bypassing normal checks and balances. This arrangement ensures that key decisions, including DG appointments and dismissals, remain politically driven.

According to a key insider, the Ministry of Health, working closely with powerful officials at State House, continues to maintain direct control over senior appointments and procurement processes, undermining the agency's independence.

"When there is no board in place, the Minister (of Health) effectively becomes the board," said one of the sources, a former Director General.

The Ministry of Health has not yet responded to MakaanDay's request for comment, including questions on when the ZAMMSA board will be appointed.

"ZAMMSA is where the money is and where there's money, there's opportunity for kickbacks," a source close to the agency disclosed under condition of anonymity.

So, at the moment, a lot of issues are pending due to the governance gaps, he added.

MakaanDay's investigation, based on insider interviews and access to documents, has found that part of the crises leading to recent sackings and arrests can be traced back to 11 December 2023. On that date, the agency launched a "mop-up" procurement exercise to address drug shortages by purchasing ex-stock medicines.

"Mop-up procurement exercise" means that the agency conducted a rapid, unscheduled purchase of medicines (ex-stock), likely to cover shortages or spend leftover funds, which may have opened opportunities for irregularities or corruption.

Officially, the exercise aimed to stabilise supply chains disrupted by the Patriotic Front (PF)'s era

of drug debt and scandals such as Honeybee's expired and substandard medical supplies. However, concerns soon emerged such as altered documents, inconsistencies in the number of bidders, doubts about suppliers' actual stock availability and shelf life, as well as signs of collusion among suppliers.

According to ZAMMSA's records seen by MakaanDay, contracts worth K700 million were awarded to 24 companies. But insiders claim the real figure was K685 million, while other documents show inflated totals of up to K1.4 billion.

The record show that the Zambia Public Procurement Authority (ZPPA) reportedly advised ZAMMSA to issue a brief national call advertised for only seven days targeting suppliers and manufacturers holding ex-stock. Respondents were required to submit basic information, including product description, total quantities available and expiry dates.

Priority was to be given to products with high public health impact and a remaining shelf life of at least 80%.

Notably, the procurement was executed under the Limited Bidding method, using a prequalified shortlist of bidders, in accordance with the Public Procurement Act No. 8 of 2020.

While the initiative was intended to fast-track the availability of medicines, concerns remain about the transparency, fairness, and integrity of the process.

On Wednesday, 20 December 2023, ZAMMSA issued enquiries to prequalified bidders for the supply and delivery of essential medicines, medical supplies, anti-cancer medicines, adjuvants, and reproductive health commodities. From the initial call for bids, 31 companies were shortlisted.

According to the original mop-up exercise document seen by MakaanDay, Maz Pharmaceuticals Limited, Lab Galore Limited, Inter Med Pharmaceuticals Limited, and Lumumba Pharmaceuticals did not submit their bids. Consequently, only 27 bidders participated in the final stage of the process.

Power, Politics, and Procurement: How ZAMMSA Lost Its Independence Cont...

The document further indicates that the Management Procurement Committee recommended that Director of Supply Planning, be granted authority to award and negotiate contracts for products whose prices exceeded the 10% threshold.

The director was also directed to retender contracts for essential and overpriced medical commodities, including anti-cancer medicines and reproductive health products. The recommendation was subsequently forwarded to ZAMMSA management for action.

The total value of the procurement was estimated at over K1.1 billion (K1,121,025,619.09), with a stipulated delivery period ranging from ex-stock to a maximum of six weeks, following completion of the mop up exercise.

After the exercise was concluded, the report was submitted to ZAMMSA. At the request of the then Director General, Victor Nyasulu, the agency's Internal Audit Department conducted a further due diligence review of the K1.2 billion mop-up procurement.

**Findings from ZAMMSA's due diligence report**

MakanDay has established that the due diligence report analysed by ZAMMSA's Internal Audit Department, which aimed to verify the 27 companies shortlisted for contract awards through checks on stock availability, shelf life, and other compliance factors, also included Lumumba Pharmaceuticals, bringing the total number of companies assessed to 28.

However, Lumumba Pharmaceuticals was not among the officially shortlisted companies, as it did not submit a bid during the mop-up exercise.

According to the report, out of about K730 million (K729,508,077.67) worth of stock assessed, only K384 million (K384,091,808.42) worth of medicines and medical supplies had a shelf life above 80%.

The exercise further revealed indications of possible supplier collusion and coercive practices, as several suppliers reported

that portions of their stock were being kept at other premises or by sister companies. This pattern was particularly common among smaller suppliers. However, the report noted that no evidence was provided to confirm ownership of the stock allegedly stored at these alternative locations.

Yet, behind the official numbers lie questions about altered documents, inflated figures, and opaque decision-making. The audit findings, internal memos, and accounts from insiders all point to a procurement system vulnerable to political interference and manipulation.

**In Part II, MakanDay digs deeper into the politics behind the procurement chaos — how ministerial interference, favoured suppliers, and a mysterious truck scandal combined to topple ZAMMSA's leadership and expose systemic rot at the heart of Zambia's drug supply chain.**

**This story was first published on October 09 2025**

**This week in the Bulletin & Record**

**Tussle over the Broken Hill Man**

**The skull of an early man found at Broken Hill - now Kabwe — in the 1920s is housed in London's Museum of Natural History. Now it appears that the Lusaka National Museum would like it back**

*By Toni Tilley*

Between 200,000 and 300,000 years ago a certain "early man" was living with a companion in a cave below the surface of the Broken Hill (now Kabwe) lead and zinc mine.

We know this because in 1921 a Swiss miner called Tom Swiglaar unearthed this ancient cave, containing a nearly-complete skull of one individual, the jawbone of another, and some leg bones.

Anthropologists began to study the skull, or rather to argue over it. Should this early man be classified as Homo Erectus,

Homo Neanderthalensis, Homo Sapiens — or what? Where did he fit into the developmental stages of man?

Broken Hill Man, as he is usually referred to, is believed to be of late Pleistocene age, but accurate modern radiometric dating cannot be derived from the site where the skull was found as it has long since been flooded. So no one really knows yet exactly how old this ancestor of ours is. However, Chris Stringer, research leader of human origins at the Natural History Museum, where the skull currently lives, said in an article with British newspaper The Guardian that it is believed to be about 300,000 years old.

One thing that is known, judging from ten cavities in his teeth still fixed into the skull, is that the poor fellow must have had bad toothache, and possibly died of dental infection. Meanwhile our man is referred to scientifically as Homo Rhodesiensis, although more recently experts at the Natural History Museum have relabelled the skull Homo heidelbergensis, a type of big-brained, powerfully built hunter-gatherer who may also have been our direct ancestor.

The Natural History Museum's Mr Stringer said the skull had special historical importance. "In the 19th century, Charles Darwin had predicted science would show that the origins of humanity lay in Africa. But for the next 50 years the only fossils dug up were in Europe and Asia. The Broken Hill Skull... changed that perspective and helped show our birthplace is, indeed, an African one."

The London museum argues that Lusaka cannot provide the sort of modern climate-controlled conditions in which to keep it. The Lusaka National Museum retorts that now the skull has fossilized and it is no longer thin bone, it does not need it. The London museum believes that the skull belongs to mankind and that more of mankind can view it there. The Lusaka museum reckons it is part of Zambia's heritage, and should be here. This is typical of a current worldwide argument about what belongs where and will take time to settle.

Broken Hill Man's skull was sent to the Natural History Museum in the 1920s for international anthropologists to identify. Zambia has no quarrel with its departure, as the scientific work could not have been done here. But now Zambia would like Broken Hill Man's remains to come home.

The pros and cons of where the skull should rest are as complicated as only scientists can make them. Zambia feels that as there is a new national museum in Lusaka the skull can be cared for there.

**Toni Tilley was a writer based in Lusaka**

***This story was first published in the March 2013 edition of Bulletin and Record Magazine.***



a replica of the Broken Hill skull that was discovered in 1921 which is displayed at the Natural History Museum in London. Photograph: Natural History Museum