

THE IMPACT OF WESTERN EDUCATION
ON THE EXTENDED FAMILY SYSTEM :
AN URBAN ZAMBIAN EXAMPLE

BY

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For My Parents with Love

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A B S T R A C T

This dissertation is concerned with changes in the traditional extended family system in Zambia.

The primary aim of this study was to assess how far the process of family individuation has taken place in the Zambian extended family, as a result of the influence of western education.

The data were collected in four different residential communities representing Low-Density, Council Rental, Site and Service and a Squatter Settlement currently being up-graded. Data and information were collected using an interview schedule, which was administered to heads of households.

Theories of modernisation assume that western education is a main mechanism which helps Africans in adopting new values. However, this assumption does not appear to have been borne out by findings of this study. Moreover, the data show that the nuclear family is not the only family type that exists in the urban Zambian society, and that extended family obligations are still fulfilled by the majority of Zambians, including the western educated.

Having identified some of the major aspects of family change, the study suggests areas for possible policy changes as well as for future research in this aspect social life.

S T R U C T U R E O F T H E D I S S E R T A T I O N

- CHAPTERS 1 and 2 - provide the context, focus and methodology of the study.
- CHAPTER 3 - analyses the similarities, differences and general background of the respondents to give the reader an idea of what type of people were interviewed in the four residential areas.
- CHAPTER 4 - discusses the impact of western education on family patterns among the respondents in this study.
- Finally, CHAPTER 5 - summarises the findings of the study and makes some suggestions for future research and for possible policy changes.

CHAPTER 1

STATEMENT AND MAIN FOCUS OF THE PROBLEM

This study is concerned with examining one of society's most fundamental and important social institutions - the family, specifically the family in the Zambian historical context.

It has been noted by most social Anthropologists and family Sociologists that the process of industrialisation, urbanisation and modernisation have resulted in significant changes in African family life. In their attempt to explain this transformation and change, Anthropologists and Sociologists alike have demonstrated that labour migration (Gordon 1981, Heisler 1974), the reliance on money for a livelihood (Oppong 1974, Marris 1961), missionary and colonial administrative policies (Phillips 1953) education and the acquisition of new cultural values and perspectives (Lloyd 1964, Goode 1963), have gone a long way in facilitating the transition of the African family from one form to another.

Education and the acquisition of western cultural values will be used in this study as the main variables for examining and assessing change in the Zambian family structure for two main reasons: firstly, in the context of developing countries like Zambia, the educated elite are generally regarded as spearheads of national development and social change. Thus the future of many developing countries will, to a great extent, be influenced by the characteristics and attitudes of the educated elite. Further, most researchers in Africa have explored issues related to, for example, the effect of the urban environment on the migrant labourers' traditional norms and values. However, very few studies (Smythe and

Smythe 1960, Lloyd 1964) have been done on the African elite and their attitudes towards traditional norms and values and family patterns to mention but a few.

P.C. Lloyd (1964) observe that the

... African elite is described as the mediator between western and traditional influence, it's individual members born most probably into traditional homes have to decide what to incorporate from the western industrial world and what to reject ... the elite influences the behaviour of the masses ... a group which continually defines the norms of society.¹

Secondly, and perhaps unfortunately in the developing countries, the sociology of the family has been difficult to study because often it is based upon theoretical perspectives developed in very different social and historical contexts.

It is not within the scope of this paper to provide a detailed and comprehensive information or study on the changes in the Zambian urban family. This is due to a number of limitations such as time, length and nature of this paper and lack of the necessary resources. The intention of this paper however, is to provide data, present problems and ideas for study with regards to the Zambian urban family life as it is influenced by western style of life, attitudes and aspirations. The understanding of the emergence of these changes and their trend is essential if family policy makers in Zambia are to be effective in effecting national policies and development strategies affecting the family. This raises some important questions. For example, in a country like Zambia where the national philosophy of Humanism emphasises the importance of the extended

family, what kind of family policy and relationships are likely to operate ? This question is considered important in this study, since it may be the case that, while Humanism on the other hand advocates the maintenance of the extended family system as an indigenous social welfare institution, both the law and courts, on the other hand, may actually operate in favour of the nuclear family system. A brief discussion of examples of some legislations which touch on family and marriage relationships is appropriate here.

The Housing Act: (Chapter 426 of the Laws of Zambia)

This Act suggests provision of housing for nuclear family units, which means that employers and local councils are not expected to accommodate other members of the extended family.

The Income Tax Act: (Chapter 668 of the Laws of Zambia)

This entitles the individual earner, in particular a married man, to both married and family (his own children only) allowances. Allowances are paid to a man or parent on production of documents, i.e. relevant marriage or birth certificates, as the case may be, confirming his marital status or fatherhood. The Law assumes that wage workers in general do not keep or maintain wider kin. Therefore, it may be argued that this particular law aims at discouraging the maintenance of the extended family system.

The Pension Act: (Chapter 410 of the Laws of Zambia)

This Act provides for the surviving spouse and the

children of the marriage as beneficiaries. Here, relatives receive the benefits only if the deceased person had no family of his own.

The Zambia National Provident Fund Act: (Chapter 513,
of the Laws of
Zambia)

The Zambia National Provident Fund Act appears to be more flexible since a member may nominate a beneficiary of his choice. However, it is stated that if no nominees are indicated or if they cannot be traced within three months of the deceased's death, the benefits are paid to the widow(er) who was actually living with the member at the time of his/her death.

In attempting to formulate an adequate family policy in Zambia, not only do the policy makers have to be aware of exactly how and what aspects of the Zambian urban family are changing, but they must also address themselves to contradictions within the law, such as those cited above.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

In view of the problems specified above, the main purpose of this study was to investigate the assumptions made by the modernisation theorists that modernisation influences the western educated to discard their traditional values and adopt new ones. Specifically, the objectives of this study were:-

- 1) To examine and assess the extent to which the process of family individuation has taken place in the Zambian urban family particularly among the western educated.

- 2) To assess the prevalent values and attitudes towards the maintenance of extended family ties among the western educated.

To attain information in relation to the above objectives the following hypotheses were formulated for testing:

- 1) Family individuation is influenced by one's level of education.
- 2) Family individuation is influenced by the nature of one's job.
- 3) Family individuation is influenced by the level of one's income.
- 4) Family individuation is influenced by the size of one's household i.e. availability of accommodation space.

RATIONALE FOR THIS STUDY

This study was considered to be important academically because it is a contribution to the debate on family change as a consequence of industrialisation/urbanisation. This is particularly so since the predominant theoretical assumptions on this aspect of life, have been applied to a nonwestern social and cultural context. It is also important because it seeks to fill the gap left by previous scholars most of whom were anthropologists writing on colonial Zambia. Again, this study is relevant for the

purpose: of policy making as it seeks to illustrate the kinds of modifications that have taken place in the urban family life which will enable policy makers to relate family policies to reality.

Operational Definitions

- a) Educational Status: In this study, educational status refers to the level of formal education attained. Therefore, a high educational level is any level attained above secondary school education, while a low education level is primary school level and below. Secondary school education was considered mid-level.
- b) Income: For the purpose of this investigation, income is the total amount of money periodically (i.e. monthly, or daily/weekly as in the case of the self-employed) accruing to a person in form of wages/earnings.
- c) Occupation:
- (i) Formal Occupation: Refers to employment in the formal sector of the economy, i.e. in government or parastatal and private establishment.
 - (ii) Informal Occupation: Is defined as employment in various types of income-generating or parastatal and private establishment.
- d) Household: For the purpose of this study this concept is used to refer to "a unit of economic viability whether or not it's members were physically dispersed at any one time."² This is to say, the household is any group of people who

lived together under one roof and who shared meals and their daily life together. This included temporary absentees and all those resident at the time of the interview.

- e) Household Head: Household head, is defined as any male or female adult over the age of 18 years with the responsibility of the day to day running of the household. A woman was considered a household head when her husband was temporarily away in another town at the time of interview.
- f) Conjugal Family: Comprised of a man and his wife only without any children.
- g) Nuclear Family: This was any group comprised of a man, his wife and their unmarried children (own or adopted). This included children from previous marriages or those born outside marriage.
- h) Extended Family: This group was considered to be any unit which was an extension of the basic nuclear unit.

... either vertical extension - for example the addition of a third generation such as the spouses' parents - and/or horizontal extension - for example the addition of members of the same generation as the spouses such as the husband's brother or an additional wife." ³

For the purpose of this study the Conjugal family was considered a small family, the Nuclear a medium size family and the Extended family as large.

Main Source of Data

Library Research: All relevant and available anthropological and sociological literature at the University of Zambia on the family was reviewed. This included official records (including press reports and articles). All these provided useful background material for the study.

Field Research: In addition to interviewing residents in the different residential areas, interviews were also conducted with officials from various organisations dealing in matters relating to family and marriage relationships. Among these were those working for the Law Development Commission, Zambia National Provident Fund, and Planned Parenthood Association of Zambia. It was considered important to interview officials from these organisations because they deal with the Zambian customary law with particular reference to succession and marriage, and hence are in a position to provide valuable information on how the Zambian public views the role of the extended family system in Zambia today.

Method of Data Collection

The survey method was employed in this study as opposed to other methods of data collection because it was found to be the most appropriate method for the purpose of this (emphasis added) investigation - i.e. to explore data that exists in the field, around, as well as directly on the subject of study so that the problem could be brought into better focus.

It is therefore, hoped that this survey will help clarify some issues pertaining to the urban family structure with particular reference to the influence of western education on the family. The survey also serves to act as a guide to the formulation of new hypotheses to be tested by further empirical investigations at a more advanced stage, either by this researcher or by other sociologists or anthropologists.

Sample Design

This research was based on data collected in four residential areas in Lusaka urban representing four typical Lusaka residential areas as defined by the Lusaka Urban District Council. The areas were:-

- 1) Low density (high income) - Woodlands
- 2) Council rental (middle income) - Libala
- 3) Site and service (middle/low income) - Mtendere
- 4) Squatter settlement currently being upgraded (low income) - Kalingalinga

Data and information were collected using an interview schedule which was administered by self to heads of households from these areas. 79 heads of household were interviewed.

In the case of the low income area, assistance was obtained from the District Council Community Development Officers in translating the questionnaire from English to the local language - Nyanja. In all cases questionnaires were completed on the spot to increase the response rate.

Heads of households were selected for interview because information was required from those who could speak with authority on household patterns. The household was selected as the unit of enumeration because often the term household is used alternatively with the term family. This is because the term household often implies co-residence although the household is distinctive and not identical but closely related to family structure (see Kayongo-Male and Onyango 1984 P. 12).

Due to many limitations, the time factor being one of the most crucial ones, it was not possible to observe family patterns over a long period of time such as that which is required when analysing the family development cycle. For the purpose of this investigation, it was sufficient to collect data which applied only to the composition of the households on the actual day of the survey. After all, the information gathered was intended to provide only baseline information for further future and more in-depth studies.

The purpose of selecting (4) residential areas was to offer a contrast in various socio-economic characteristics such as income, education, age and sex. Also, many other community studies have indicated that people are often grouped into social groups usually depending on these and other variables.

This observation influenced the decision to employ the probability sampling method of stratified random sampling using street plan maps of Lusaka - provided by the Lusaka Urban District Council, information from the Central statistical office cartographic maps and the 1980

population census maps, the residential areas were stratified into low-density (high income), site and service (middle/low income), council rental (middle income) and squatter (low income) on the basis of income level as defined by the Lusaka Urban District Council.

The Central Statistical office from where more detailed information was obtained, term the residential areas Census Supervisor Areas (C.S.A.). Using the Central Statistical Office information, the choice of C.S.A.'s was purposefully determined by the size and geographical location of each. In other words, due to the limitation of time, funds and personnel, the Census Supervisor Area had to be small enough to manage and easily accessible to public transport which was what the researcher relied on for mobility. The C.S.A. were picked using the simple random method with replacement.

From this point, the chosen Census Supervisor Areas were broken down further into what Central Statistical office calls Number of Standard Enumeration Area (N.S.E.A.) which is the smallest unit which can provide information on population size, number of households per enumeration area etc. The N.S.E.A. were picked in the same manner as the Census Supervisor Areas. Woodlands was found to have nine (9) N.S.E.A.'s two (2) were randomly selected and 5% of the households were chosen to represent this area. Libala had 16 fairly large N.S.E.A.'s. One (1) area was randomly selected and 7% of the households represented this area. The middle income area Mtendere was found to have 39 N.S.E.A.'s and two (2) areas were randomly selected. 10% of the households were selected for interview from these two areas.

In the case of Kalingalinga, the cartographic maps were inadequate and incomplete because of the upgrading that was taking place at the time the survey was conducted. Additional information had to be obtained from the Kalingalinga Community Development office. There it was learned that Kalingalinga was divided into seven (7) branches and each branch had four (4) sections. Zambezi branch was randomly selected and 18% of the households from here represented Kalingalinga. In all the areas, the sample size was proportional to the population size of the Number of Standard Enumeration Area from where households were finally selected for interview.

To obtain the interval, the total number of households in a particular stratum were divided by the sample size for that particular stratum. Then every 12th house was picked starting from a selected point, by using the skip interval method. To facilitate this process, a street plan map of Lusaka was provided by the Lusaka Urban District Council. The information from the Central Statistical office cartographic maps was transferred on to this map, since street names were clearly printed on it.

In the Field : Problems and Limitations

Field research went on fairly smoothly. However, there were a few problems which are briefly explained here. One of these problems related to lack of sufficient funds. This problem partly explains the small sample selected and also the fact that the researcher could not hire an assistant, but had to conduct all the interviews on her own. However, council officials in the areas concerned gave me help in terms of translating the

questionnaire into Nyanja, a language most commonly spoken in Lusaka. The researcher is able to understand the language but does not have a good command of it. Zambia has about 73 tribes and about 5 official local languages in addition to English. These are: Nyanja, Bemba, Tonga, Lozi and Kaonde. Lusaka province is dominated by Nyanja. Therefore, it is not possible for one whether indigineous or not to have full command of each language. Secondly, there was a limitation of time. For, instance, by the time the proposal was accepted by the sociology department and by the time the Lusaka District Council granted permission to conduct the research, the researcher was already two months behind schedule because of bureaucratic red tape.

Most of the problems which were experienced were in the squatter and site and service areas, where the people tended to argue that they were "tired of research." (The University of Zambia students have for some time been using the low income areas for a number of survey studies). Others felt that the topic was too sensitive, and, consequently, some of those who agreed to be interviewed did not give too much information, especially about details of the members of their household. The topic was considered sensitive because the extended family kin were regarded as "family" and thus it was considered improper to discuss kin in their absence.

Another problem experienced by the researcher related to transport, particularly that field research was done during the rainy season. However, all this

did not affect the quality of the data and information collected for the study. Most of the respondents were very considerate and offered the researcher shelter until the rain stopped. This time was used to gather more information out of the respondent through an informal conversation as by this time the questionnaire had already been completed.

Notes

1. P.C. Lloyd : The New Elite of Tropical Africa Studies Presented and Discussed at the Sixth International African Seminar at the University of Ibadan, Nigeria - July, 1964. (London, Oxford University Press) P. 50.
 - For information on the Acts cited in the text see:-
 - The Housing Act Vol. 5 Chapter 426
 - The Income Tax Act Vol. 13 Chapter 668
 - The Pension Act Vol. 7 Chapter 410
 - The Zambia National Provident Fund Act Vol. 10 Chapter 513

2. Diane Kayongo-Male and Philista Onyango:
The Sociology of the African Family. (London, Longman (1984) p. 12

3. Michael Haralambos: Sociology: Themes and Perspectives (London, University Tutorial Press 1980) P. 355

C H A P T E R 2

INTRODUCTION AND CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

INTRODUCTION

The theoretical perspective within which this study is placed is the modernisation theory of social change. Norman Long (1970) defines modernisation after the modernisation theorist, Wilbert Moore (1963) as being:

... a total transformation of a traditional pre-modern society, into the type of technology and associated social organisations that characterises the advanced, economically prosperous, and relatively politically stable nations of the western world. ¹

It has been observed that modernisation theorists sometimes use the term modernisation inter-changeably with the term westernisation, which is said to occur through the process of cultural diffusion, by which modern western systems of values and social institutions are transmitted from advanced to less advanced societies.

Many authors (sociologists and anthropologists) have examined the impact of modern/technological institutions on the developing societies in particular, their impact on the kinship structure. The assumptions of modernisation theory concerning the transformation of societies and the family itself are presented most reputedly by Talcott Parsons. Talcott Parsons an American family sociologist in the 1960's analysed the relationship between urbanisation, industrialisation and the family, and postulated that the family became structurally isolated due to increased geographical mobility. In his view, the isolated nuclear family

is best suited to the needs of modern industrial society for the following reasons. Firstly, Parsons argues that a modern industrial society requires geographical mobility among its labour force. Individuals (with specialised skills) have to move to where their skill or labour are required. Secondly, the emergence of the isolated nuclear family implies the breakup of the traditional kinship ties in which status was ascribed, thus, giving way to a new system of stratification in which status is achieved on the basis of universalistic values - i.e. individual characteristics of competence and merit. In summary, Parsons (1969) identified three main changes in the family as a result of urbanisation, industrialisation and other modernising influences:

- a) The isolation or independence of the nuclear family from wider kin;
- b) the fact that the family has lost many of its functions including the economic function of production to other more specialised institutions;
- c) the internal relationships within the family have become more egalitarian both between husband and wife and between parents and children. ²

Of the changes identified by Parsons (1960), the one that has received the greatest criticism in the literature is the one that relates to the assumed isolation of the nuclear family unit.

Eugene Litwak (1960)³ in the same year that Parsons noted the above mentioned changes in the family, observed that the classical extended family that Parsons referred to may be incompatible with industrialisation

and urbanisation especially in their early stages. Litwak (1960) however, although asserting this portion of Parson's theory, was opposed to the idea of over generalising about the incompatibility of the extended family for the following reasons. According to Litwak (1960), Parsons saw the emerging isolated nuclear family in terms of his theory of social evolution as all modernisation theorists did. In this regard, the classical extended family which was comprised of:

... a male head, his wife and children and aging parents from whom he has inherited the farm and any unmarried brothers and sisters,⁴

phased out as industrialisation advanced because the new industrial society was no longer based on kinship, and the extended family was no longer the basis or unit for economic production. Parsons (1960) in conclusion says that the isolated nuclear family is thus the most suited because any larger unit would create conflict and threaten the solidarity of the family.

Litwak (1960) however, sees the family as a little more adaptable and flexible. In Litwak's view in order to clear up the confusion that the isolated nuclear family brought about, a new term - i.e. the 'modified extended family' should be used when attempting to illustrate the typical family in a modern industrial society. Litwak defined the modified family as:

... a coalition of nuclear families in a state of partial dependence. Such partial dependence means that nuclear family members exchange significant services with each other, thus differing from the isolated nuclear family, as well as retains some considerable autonomy (that is not bound economically or geographically), therefore differing from the classical extended family.⁵

Parsons in 1965⁶ replied to his critics and continued to maintain that the nuclear family was structurally isolated. He further clarified his point by saying that the family was isolated from other parts of the social system, in particular the economic system. In this regard, the extended family of the modern industrial society did not form structured units of the social system. Furthermore, any outside relationships outside the nuclear family were not obligatory because they were a matter of choice. (Emphasis added).

Empirical studies that preceded Parsons both in the west and in Africa to some extent found evidence to support his counter argument which mainly emphasised the ideology of individualism which was said to be characteristic of the modern urban society. This argument was notably supported by William Goode (1963).

Goode (1963) in examining empirical data on the family in world perspective, agreed with Parson's (1960) earlier theory that industrialisation did not favour large kinship groups. But Goode (1963) went further and observed that industrialisation was not the only reason for the breakdown of the extended family ties. Goode recognised the "independent power of ideological variables."⁷

In Goode's opinion, the conjugal family is differentiated from the nuclear family which comprises a man, his wife and their unmarried children (see Murdock 1960, Levi-Strauss 1960 etc. for different definitions) because the conjugal family in Goode's theoretical and empirical analysis retains some kinship relationships outside the immediate family. As such, the conjugal rather than the nuclear family becomes more appealing in the modern industrial society because while on the one hand the ideology of the conjugal family advocates the prestige of western ideas, life styles and offers freedom to its members from their kin, on the other hand it is strongly appealing especially to the educated in the non-western societies because it allows them to maintain links with selected members of the extended kin by virtue of their direct emotional tie with some member of the immediate family. 8

Other studies in modern Africa indicate similar results. Lloyd (1964), for example noted that there was an increasing tendency towards the development of nuclear family organisation and assistance is only given to close kin. Lloyd explains that the educated urbanite tends to choose which kin obligation to accept and which to ignore. Lloyd (1967) however, admits that responsibility and loyalty towards one kin is an eradicable feature of African family life. 9

Results of studies on family life have revealed the existence of great variations in family life due to social change. Of great importance therefore in this study is to distinguish between ideal family patterns and actual family behaviour especially because a plurality of conflicting norms and ideologies relating to family and marriage life may exist in the Zambian urban family.

Literature Review and Perspectives on Family Change

Both anthropological and sociological literature on the African family life is abundant. However, this section makes no attempt to review all the vast literature because firstly, it would be impossible to review adequately all the literature in a paper of this length. Secondly, the purpose of this section is to identify, review and illustrate important findings and assumptions or conclusions reached on African family life with particular reference to the Zambian family life in relation to the topic being studied.

Michael Haralambos (1980) has made an observation that a major topic under discussion in much of literature is the relationship between the family and the process of industrialisation. Haralambos has observed that a number of problems have arisen from trying to relate the family to industrialisation. He says that the process of industrialisation is complex and is not homogeneous in every society i.e. its magnitude and patterns differ from society to society. Secondly, industrialisation is a continuous developing process and is not a fixed thing. Haralambos thus concludes that a lot of literature on the family has led to a lot of confusion because it lacks clarity as to what the family in the industrial society is being compared to and within the industrial society there are variations in family structure. Others have expanded this point further and have said that families are also at different stages in their life cycles. ¹⁰

According to Meyer Fortes (1962), the domestic group goes through a cycle of development similar to that of a growing organism. In this regard, Fortes says that in order to establish or determine reliably

the structure of a domestic group in any society, it is imperative to use representative samples of domestic groups in that society and to take note of their age specific characteristics.

The development cycle of the domestic group is said to have three main stages: Phase one - the family formation or expansion stage which exists from the marriage of the couple until they have children. The expansion phase is limited by the duration of the wife's fertility. Phase two is referred to as the dispersion or extension phase because this is the phase whereby the children begin to get married starting with the eldest and form their own families of pro-creation. The last stage is the family dissolution or phase of replacement. This phase ends with the death (or divorce) of the parents and their replacement in the social structure.¹¹ This type of family analysis is most reputable in anthropological studies which go into detailed and descriptive community studies (See Watson 1958 Pxiii).

It has been illustrated above how the effect of industrialisation, urbanisation and modernisation on family life has been explained by different scholars. From the debate one may be easily convinced and influenced to assume all too quickly that families in different societies and cultures are converging towards the same family type. However, a number of researchers on the other hand have rejected the idea of the isolated nuclear family and that family transition does not necessarily begin from a larger unit to a smaller one under the influence of industrialisation, urbanisation and other modernisation influences.

Peter Laslett (1972) conducted a study on family size and composition in pre-industrial England from 1564 - 1821. His findings indicate that only 10% of the households studied contained kin beyond the nuclear family. Laslett failed to find evidence to support the earlier Parsonian theory that the classical extended family was a pre-industrial family type in England.¹²

Michael Anderson (1971) also argues that in England during the early stages of industrialisation, the industrialisation process seems to have strengthened kinship relationships beyond the nuclear family rather than weakened them. Anderson (1972) found in a study of Preston in 1851, that a large kinship network was enforced and actually more advantageous in the absence of a social security system (welfare state) and great poverty. The extended family supported the sick, the aged and young children while their mothers were at work. In this way, Anderson (1972) says that the working class family in mid-nineteenth century England was a mutual aid organisation and during the early stages of industrialisation increased rather than decreased extended kin relations and family size.¹³

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Young and Willmot (1962, 1975) who have conducted a number of studies on family life in London, also reach the same conclusion as Laslett (1972) and Anderson (1971). That, the advent of the industrial revolution in the mid-nineteenth century brought about extreme poverty and suffering especially among working class families. This resulted in nuclear families maintaining extended kin relationships for security.

In the book The Symmetrical Family (1975) Young and Willmot attempt to describe the development of the family from pre-industrial England to date. Stage 1 is described as the pre-industrial family which was characterised by the family being the unit of production either in agriculture or textiles. The stage 2 family arrives with the industrial revolution. Here Young and Willmot (1975) see the extension of the nuclear family unit being maintained and encouraged by the women who form strong ties between the mother and her married daughter(s), thus making the conjugal relationship of husband and wife weak. The stage 2 family began to decline in the early twentieth century but is still pre-dominant among the working class families.

Young and Willmot describe the survival of the stage 2 family in their book Family and Kinship in East London (1962). This study was conducted in the 1950's in a low income traditional working class area in London's East End Bethnal Green. In their study of Bethnal Green, Young and Willmot (1962) show how extended kinship networks were maintained. They describe how children even after marriage remained in Bethnal Green and maintained close ties with their parents. Thus, they found that a high interaction existed with a constant exchange of services such as shopping, baby-sitting and washing between female relatives. According to Young and Willmot (1962), in many families, the households of mother and married daughter, to some extent, merged. In this regard, these households are termed extended families. Young and Willmot (1962) further define extended families as a combination of families who to some degree form one domestic unit. (See The Symmetrical Family for a detailed discussion on the families from stage 1 - 4).

In the Symmetrical Family, Young and Willmot (1975) go on to describe how the most obvious characteristic of the stage 3 family is its separation from the extended kin. The women are no longer seen to interact daily with kin outside their own nuclear family. Young and Willmot (1975) call the stage 3 family a symmetrical home-centred family because the conjugal relationship becomes strong. This family type more or less resembles the industrial family that Talcott Parsons lamented about earlier. Young and Willmot (1975) noted that the husband and wife begin to share household duties. However, the conjugal roles are not regarded as interchangeable but symmetrical i.e. - complementary. For example, the rearing of children was still considered a woman's role although now with the husbands's help. Young and Willmot (1975) attribute this transition to four factors, namely: increase in the wages of the men, increase in employment opportunities, greater working opportunities for women, the introduction of the welfare state which provides for the sick, the aged and employment benefits. In addition, geographical distance was also observed as reducing kinship groups from being mutual aid groups.

BACKGROUND TO FAMILY CHANGE IN ZAMBIA

This section seeks to examine briefly how the Zambian family life was affected by deliberate colonial administrative policies and missionary influence. In addition, this section also takes a look at how social changes due to industrialisation, urbanisation and modern influences began to challenge traditional authority and how this affected the domestic group and family life patterns. It should be pointed out on the onset that this section does not aim at giving a full and comprehensive review of government policies, missionary influences and indeed the industrialisation process, but at highlighting some factors that have played a major role in influencing changes in family life in the context of Zambia.

In Zambia, as in most ex-colonial countries, the urban process was not an indigeneous or automatic one. Gavin Williams (1970) (quoted in Gulger and Flanagan 1978) says the colonial City developed ... as a centre of commerce and administration, rather than industrial production. Nevertheless, although the motive for colonialisation in different parts of Africa was the same (i.e. exploitation of indigenous labour and raw materials), the methods and policies for organising African labour to facilitate this process differed from country to country.

In Zambia like anywhere else in central and southern Africa where migrant labour economies were common, only men at first were allowed to be legally

employed as wage workers. The migrant's family remained in the rural area in addition, the migrant was not paid any family allowance, as it was assumed by his employers that his wife and family in the village would maintain themselves from crop production. Thus the migrant's wage was very low, but sufficient to enable him to pay his tax. The rural families, women in particular, therefore subsidized the low wages paid by the mining companies by assuming this new responsibility for family maintenance and by reproducing labour.

The system of migration was essentially a policy of retarding labour stabilisation.¹⁷ The system was basically a cost-saving measure for the colonial government because it ensured that in the event of a slump in copper production, the government would not be faced with the problem of a large mob of unemployed, urban-based Africans, totally dependent upon the colonial government.

The colonial administration's aim was therefore, to encourage industrialisation without urbanisation, which implied that workers were expected to remain permanent target workers. Heisler (1974) explains that the migrant was not expected to become a permanent industrial man, migrating to establish himself in the urban area and to become totally dependent upon the capitalist economy for his livelihood.

Urban residence therefore, was tied to employment which under the contract system, lasted from six to twelve, and sometimes eighteen months. This system operated against establishment of family life in towns. This was partly reflected in the administration's

refusal to allow employers to provide family housing. As a matter of fact, migrants were sometimes forced to provide their own accommodation when they could not afford to pay high rents. This led to the development of squatter settlements in the early days of urban growth. ¹⁸

As indicated above, women were not permitted to migrate to the urban areas for a number of reasons. Firstly, native authorities were given powers to restrict women within the rural areas. They were instructed by the colonial administration to inspect all lorries and lorry routes. Secondly, some ethnic groups also considered it to be immoral for any woman to be independent and to go to the urban areas unaccompanied by a man (see Watson 1958 on the Patrilineal tribes - the Mambwe). Thus, any women going to the urban areas had to be in possession of an official permit. However, despite the restrictions imposed upon women, a substantial proportion eventually broke the law and found themselves in the urban areas (see also Richard Hall 1965, P. 130). It has also been indicated that the first women in the African urban areas were largely prostitutes seeking adventure. ¹⁹

This development forced the colonial administration and mining companies to find alternative methods of controlling rural-urban migration. In 1940, a new policy called 'Balanced Stabilisation' was introduced. This simply meant that while some families were legally allowed to live in urban areas, the majority were prevented from doing so (Turok 1979, P. 11).

However, generally African housing conditions continued to be poor, and the colonial administration continued to be opposed to the establishment of a policy that would eventually mean the creation of a permanent industrialised native population (Hiesler 1974). However the attitude of the colonial administration changed after the second world war when copper prices rose greatly which meant an increase in job opportunities and, consequently, more migrant labourers in the urban areas. As a result, in 1948, the local authorities were required by law to build more family houses for which the colonial government was prepared to pay. Thus, from the early 1950's onwards, the government no longer put any restrictions on the migration of women in the urban areas. This was the first step towards a positive urban policy, because it meant the African families could now live permanently and legally in the urban areas.

With respect to the impact of the money economy on traditional rural Zambian kinship systems, early anthropological studies dwelled on urbanisation and the increasing difficulty of family members to enjoy common residence due to new conditions of land use, labour migration and wage employment. The most reputable anthropologists to write on Zambia are Elizabeth Colson (1958) on the Plateau Tonga; Audrey Richards (1939), (1940) on the Bemba, Joan Buckley (1967) on a number of matrilineal groups in Zambia, Barnes (1951) on the Ngoni, Gluckman (1950) on the Lozi, Watson (1958) on the Mambwe, Long (1958) on the Lala and Wilson (1941) and Epstein (1967) on urbanisation in Northern Rhodesia.

According to Joan Buckley's analysis on the matrilineal tribes in 1967, cash cropping provided a new means of individual wealth and independence from their kin - i.e. Not only did cash cropping make the peasant farmer grow more, but the money he obtained from a good harvest acted as security.

Norman Long (1968) in a discussion on the Dynamics of power and prestige among the Lala people in Serenje District also highlights the difficulties that arise over inheritance and property holding among many farmers and store keepers in the Serenje District. Under customary law in matrilineal custom, only close male descendants may inherit wealth. Long however, found that increasing involvement in the money economy and the greater opportunities which this offered for capital accumulation resulted in a situation where property inheritance was becoming indeterminable because many storekeepers and farmers preferred to leave their property to their own children, rather than their sister's sons as was the custom. The conflict however, arose because these successful businessmen had maintained close relationships with their own matrilineal kinsmen and often received assistance from them to set up their now successful business ventures.

Elizabeth Colson (1958) also noted radical changes in family relationships among the Plateau Tonga as a consequence of cash cropping. In her view, the uneven distribution of wealth in a once egalitarian society greatly affected the organisation of kinship groups. She found that ideologically the Plateau Tonga continued to stress the importance of the matrilineal kin, but in practice the extended group was seen to

be declining and the father's group gaining more and more authority. The modern conditions gave the father new responsibilities such as payment of tax, the expense of buying clothes, paying school fees etc.. According to Colson, this development greatly undermined the position of the mother's brother, whose nephews no longer depended on him. Moreover, Colson (1958) also observed that claims of distant kin became more and more resented and that some of the more progressive Tonga even wished to change the system of inheritance in the interests of their own children (see also Long 1958 P. 193, Buckley 1967 P. 173). Further, Colson reports that the peasant farmer began to regard his wealth as belonging to his wife and children, because they worked hard to increase his wealth.

The introduction of the money economy also led to radical changes among tribes affected by labour migration - for example the Bemba (Richards 1940). The Bemba society was traditionally organised on the basis of service, as a form of marriage payment. A Bemba man had to work for his father-in-law for a number of years. Richards (1940) observed that the Bemba family organisation provided a poor base for the new economic situation.

Richards explains that economic links form the basis of traditional kinship structure and that migratory labour had different effects on different ethnic groups depending upon the form of economic transaction that took place at the time of marriage - i.e. whether the transfer was of cattle or the giving of service over a period of time. Richards (1940)

in this regard, suggests that the matrilineal family groups such as that of the Bemba was less likely to adapt to the new economic situation than the patrilineal tribes because, there was no stable and permanent economic co-operation in the Bemba society based on the kinship of it's male members to bind the men to their homes. The patrilineal kinships were closer in relationship between kinsmen and were more likely to survive under the new modern conditions, because of their stable economic unit based on joint ownership and property holding (cattle). This provided the basis for economic support and obligation between kinsmen especially in terms of the payment of lobola (brideprice) for marriage.

According to Richards (1940) analysis, the Bemba ties of sentiment and reciprocal services and gifts were subject to variation because they became imprecise especially with the advent of European wage labour which was a means of escape for the young men from their wives' sometimes too demanding relatives. Further, the customary rule of matrilineal descent and the mother's brother who before assumed responsibility for his sisters' children, provided conflict of authority between him and the father. Here again the patrilineal tribes were seen to be more stable because children were answerable to their father and his brothers all their lives. And as such, when the new modern conditions dictated that the father's authority over his children be stronger because he paid their hut tax, bought their clothes, paid their school fees and other expenses coupled with the European missionary teachings that the father was the legal guardian, the patrilineal tribes were further coerced.

In summary, Richards (1940) concludes that the effects of the new economic situation on marital and family ties in Northern Rhodesia whether of patrilineal or matrilineal origin depended on three factors:

- 1) The type of economic conditions on which extended and other effective kinship links were based i.e. whether on joint ownership of land and property or exchange of services.
- 2) The composition and size of traditional kinship units and the extent to which these units continued to exist under the new industrial situation.
- 3) The tension that existed between family members and/or groups in the old kinship structure and those provided by the new industrial situation. For example, the conflict of interests between the father and the mother's brother. Richards (1940) says if the authority was divided in the original family system, migratory labour acted as a facilitator in breaking the already weakened kinship obligations because the concerned household, unit or village was disrupted.²²

It is acknowledged here that Richards (1940)

was correct in pointing out that inspite of the general similarities observed as a result of migratory labour, the reactions of the different ethnic groups to this particular form of industrialisation was not entirely identical.²³

Watson (1958) in his study of the Mambwe found that the Mambwe, both as individuals and as a group, benefited from labour migration as it appeared to have raised their standard of living. Watson (1958) noted that industrialisation brought about many cultural changes but it did not destroy the cohesion of the patrilineal Mambwe society. Like Richards (1940), Watson (1958) also observed that in the case of the patrilineal Mambwe their tribal cohesion and stability were attributed to the Mambwe's permanent economic unit - the right to landholding as inheritable property. In addition, the Mambwe men like the Bemba worked in their in-laws' gardens but where as this was an essential part of the Bemba custom, the payment of cattle and money was more important in the Mambwe custom. Thus cattle was important in social transactions.

The Mambwe had a common economic unit among them and this encouraged everyone's co-operation. The Mambwe were also attached to the same village and the same land for their entire lives. Their neighbours were usually agnatic and cognatic kin who had obligations towards one another. This pattern of residence created solidarity and held the Mambwe village together even when like the Bemba, a Mambwe village moved site because of the nature of shifting cultivation.

Watson (1958) again noted that the Bemba besides being matrilineal, practiced uxorilocal marriage and this resulted in the lack of permanent economic interests between the men in Bemba villages, which in turn accounted for their unstable residence. In the case of the Mambwe, Watson (1958) also noted that the family was an independent economic unit only in a limited sense. The family was not self-sufficient and still required the co-operation of others. Therefore, the absence of men's labour in the community did not hinder food production as it did with the Bemba. In the Mambwe society Watson also observed that the division of labour between men and women was also well defined. In addition, on the death of his brother a man inherited his brother's wife. A wife was an investment for agnatic kin.

Watson (1958) described the problem of detribalisation of the Africans as being misunderstood and exaggerated. Granted, the new industrial situation had influenced the Africans to quickly assimilate the European mannerism of dress and other material culture it had not completely destroyed tribal institutions. (Watson 1958).

Watson (1958) concludes on the Mambwe that their kinship ties continue to function within the new economic situation because of the Mambwe's stable economic unit - i.e. land rights which Watson found the Mambwe cherished more than casual wage employment, because land rights were part of their status as Mambwe tribesmen. Watson (1958) like Mead (1942) and Richards (1940), concludes that patrilineal tribes adjust themselves better and show greater stability under the influence of the new economic situation. ²⁴

WESTERN IDEOLOGICAL INFLUENCE ON TRADITIONAL

ZAMBIAN CULTURAL VALUES

Many studies on the urban African societies indicate that it is not only the influence of urbanisation and industrialisation which have led to changes in African family life, and marriage, but also other aspects of industrialisation and urbanisation such as education and the development of class identification (Lloyd 1964, Oppong 1974, Marris 1961), the introduction of Christian missionary teachings and the British laws (Mair 1953, Philip 1953).²⁵

As regards changes in the Zambian family due to the influence of Western ideologies, earlier studies in Zambia show that the educated Zambians on the Copperbelt, began to see a certificate as a symbol of stable marriage. It is reported that even couples who had been married for a long time and according to custom found it necessary not only to have their marriage registered, but to have a church blessing as well (Powdermaker 1962).²⁶ Elsewhere, Lucy Mair (1953) also noted how African family life and marriage were changing due to deliberate colonial administrative and missionary influences to conform to western standards (see pages 7 - 155).

It was observed by the authors cited above that polygamous marriages became less common, not necessarily because of the registration requirement and christian teachings, but also because the urban housing system of one house per family was incompatible with the practice of polygamy. However, the abandonment of the traditional system was not complete, in other ethnic

groups like the Bemba where polygamy was socially insignificant, missionary teachings were less disruptive than where the institution was more intergral to the culture such as in the patrilineal Ngoni (Richards 1940). In addition, even prior to christian missionary influence, the Bemba man made his own choice when it concerned choosing his bride. Only afterwards did he refer his suggestion to his parents. (Mair 1969). Thus the western ideology of individual choice was only a reinforcement of the traditional Bemba pattern rather than a new thing altogether.

In assessing changing patterns of social status in Kapepa Parish in the Serenje District of Zambia, Norman Long (1968) used a prestige ranking study to achieve a general view of what criteria was used to describe prestige in Kapepa. Each person in his study was asked to indicate the degree of respect he thought should be given to people holding certain positions in the community. These positions were chief, village headman, parish head, court clerk, UNIP (United National Independence Party) party branch chairman, overseer of the local congregation of the Jehovah's Witness, primary school teacher, agricultural demonstration officer, peasant farmer and storekeeper. The chief was at the top of the list, followed by educated people, the teacher, religious leader and agricultural demonstration officer. Education and specialised knowledge was found to be important criteria for determining prestige and status in Kapepa. Long (1968) also found that the local people used specific words to specify status achieved through a high standard of living - i.e. western style of life (basambashi) wealth (bawina), the educated (basambilila)

... Hence differences in wealth, education and life style are often expressed in terms of dichotomy between town and country.²⁷

Further still, Norman Long (1968) examined the behaviour of Jehovah's Witness in the light of the influence of religious ideologies on patterns of economic and social behaviour, as first examined by Max Weber in his study of the protestant Ethic and The Spirit of Capitalism. Long (1968) found a close relationship between value orientation and the economic and social characteristics of the members of the Jehovah's Witness - i.e. the religious ethic of the Jehovah's Witness "served as an ideology for changing patterns of social and economic action."²⁸

It was discovered that the Jehovah's group in Kapepa lived outside their villages in small settlements in nuclear families or small extended families. They adopted new farming methods and hired labour to work on their farms. They preferred this to depending on kin labour. In addition, they engaged in non-farming occupations through which they obtained an additional income and thus were in majority, of high economic status.

The Jehovah's Witness teaching emphasized a high standard of living. The emphasis was on a western style of life i.e. eating European food, dressing in European clothing and acquiring European/Western furniture and other property. In addition, the Jehovah believers were taught to concentrate on their families of procreation by providing them with a comfortable life. In this regard, they left their property to their children rather than their sisters' children as was tradition because most of them felt their sons

were their blood and not their nephews. The ethic legitimized and offered moral justification for their mode of life, achievements made, and status aspirations and for all the actions of the Jehovah's Witness believers. This enables the believers to have more freedom from their kin and

... to manipulate, a wider range of social ties based on a number of different criteria such as kinship, friendship and, membership of common religious sect.²⁹

Other studies done in Zambia on the life style of educated Zambians and Africans elsewhere reveal that traditional values including the persistence of the extended family exists even under the modern conditions (Wilson 1941, Ngwisha 1978, Goode 1963, Marris 1961, Handwerker 1973, Oppong 1974, Smythe and Smythe (1960).

Wilson (1941) in a study of an urbanised community Broken Hill (now Kabwe), ... looked into the length of time spent by mine workers away from home and the extent to which they supported relatives in the rural areas both in the form of money and goods. Wilson observed that a good number still felt a sense of obligation towards their kin. Wilson (1941) noticed that

... their sense of obligation is strong enough to make them afraid and ashamed to go home or send their wives home without gifts and they feel obliged, equally, to give presents to relatives who visit them.³⁰

Gifts by the young to their elders were seen as return due to their elders for the food, clothing and support which they had received as children. The feeling of repayment was in fact stronger towards a person of the older generation who had actually participated in the upbringing of a child. This did not mean the Mambwe society was unchanging. In the same study however, Wilson (1941) noted that change in Northern Rhodesia was taking place in an uneven manner. For example, status was now expressed in the European context and was based on prestige, wealth and the authority one commanded. Economically, the African was no longer solely dependent upon the assistance of extended kin. Wilson noted that for many African couples in Broken Hill, domestic prosperity depended more on the husband having an industrial job than on economic co-operation with their extended kin.

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John Ngwisha (1978), in a more recent urban study on the Copperbelt, explored the impact of urbanisation in general on the urban family in Kitwe. His study involved dwellers from low cost housing areas only. Ngwisha discovered that the family size was large and included both affinal and cognatic kin in addition to the nuclear family. A high interaction also existed between the Kitwe families he studied and their rural relatives as well as relatives living in other towns. Ngwisha measured levels of interaction between kin in terms of the amount of financial aid flowing between them. The financial aid included gifts for special occasions during the year, material goods and services rendered to relatives by the families he studied. Ngwisha (1978) discovered that Kitwe families provided more and to their rural

relatives than they received. Ngwisha concluded that the relationship between the families he studied and their relatives was very close and his respondents still regarded kinship links as very important.

Other studies in Modern Africa also indicate and confirm the findings in Zambia that reaction to industrialisation and other modernisation influences were not identical from place to place. Smythe and Smythe (1960) confirm this when they observed that

... traditional culture is being re-shaped under the impact of influence from the West. The elite appear to respect and honour traditional customs by attending certain extended family ceremonies ... even though he may have enshrouded himself in western urbanity.³³

Elsewhere, Peter Marris (1961) observed that the educated urbanite following the new cultural values he had acquired through his western education, felt he no longer had much to gain from the support of his relations. This is because, Marris argues that the education the urbanite has attained has provided him with an alternative source of security - his pensionable job. This is reinforced by factors such as the urban housing system, which reflects values in favour of nuclear family organisation. Further, it has been argued that the educated urbanite finds more support for his individualism in the western conception of marriage which is said to be based on romantic love, freedom to choose his/her own spouse and in which the conjugal bond is regarded as more important than the bonds of kinship.

Marris (1961) further illustrates the role of the urban environment in influencing change in the family. Marris discovered that when nuclear families were relocated away from their extended relations, the frequency of visits and mutual aid decreased. In addition to education, Marris (1961) discovered thus, that geographical distance was a contributing factor in altering family relationships because it reduced the frequency of face-to-face contact and intense interaction.

Evidence also shows that in some cases a variety of household patterns may co-exist. In this regard, Handwerker (1973) based on his study findings in Monrovia, provides evidence that the isolated nuclear family is not the only household type compatible with industrialisation and urbanisation in the African situation. He identifies eight household systems in Monrovia - i.e. (1) single male, (2) single female, (3) mixed parent, (4) child matrifocal, (5) matrifocal, (6) consanguineal matrifocal/patrifocal, (7) nuclear, (8) nuclear family extended with affines and cognates. In terms of obligation to kin, he found that heads of households who held skilled and highly paying jobs or who were highly educated tended to be the focus of the extended family. In other words, rural dwellers preferred to send their children to such households. He noted that the fostered children, both affines and cognates were supported, accepted and educated, and not merely taken in as household help. Handwerker found that by contrast, unskilled and illiterate men with low paying jobs tended to head nuclear families. He explains the differentiation of households in his study in terms of various factors - i.e.

- a) Income available to the household;
- b) the size of the kinship group;
- c) the presence of kinsmen who could not go to school, because of lack of money or school facilities; and
- d) the ownership of income generating property such as shops, houses and land.³⁴

In the foregoing discussion it has been illustrated and demonstrated that the family is changing, is adaptable and flexible because it exists in an environment that is not static but ever changing because of the constant interactions between individuals, families, communities as well as technological economic, political events and exchange of ideas.³⁵ In adapting itself to external changes, the family experiences modifications in its structure, functions and responsibilities and values in order to continue to meet the needs and requirements of its family members even though the family in the urban areas ceases to be the centre of all economic activity.³⁶

However, while acknowledging that change has taken place in African family life in general, many complex factors reinforce the persistence of extended family ties and traditional values. Further, and in support of Kayongo - Male and Onyango (1984),³⁷ although it has been observed that similar characteristics such as industrialisation, urbanisation, the western ideology of individualism, the modern occupation system etc.. have caused some common characteristics in African family life, it would not be correct to assume that these factors alone can explain the transition of the African family from one family type to another. In addition, Kayongo-Male and Onyango (1984) conclude that.

... it would be difficult to equate the African family life with the western models of family life. 38

especially Goode's (1963) conjugal family described earlier. In their final analysis Kayongo-Male and Onyango (1984) conclude that convergence is unlikely to happen for the following reasons:-

- 1) The African family today is neither purely traditional nor western because traditional family values are being merged with modern ones.
- 2) Traditional systems of marriage continue to co-exists side by side with modern civil systems and thus there is an integration of African religious, cultural beliefs and practices with western practices even among the western educated.
- 3) Family size in reference to the number of children continues to vary, as many men and women even among the educated continue to go against family planning techniques especially those influenced by religion.
- 4) Convergence of the family is seen to be unlikely because of the high degrees of cultural diversity on the African continent and thus all the cultural groups cannot all converge and adopt one family type and life style. Kayongo-Male and Onyango (1984) clarify cultural diversity by explaining that firstly, the starting point in many traditional African families is not the same because African cultural

groups are not homogeneous. They give an example of the Bassa of Southern Cameroon who prefer smaller families and less interaction with kin and Mandingo of Mali who prefer large families with strong extended family relations.³⁹

In this regard, Kayongo-Male and Onyango (1984) explain that cultural diversity may also mean that the direction and magnitude of type of family change may vary and thus it would be hard to really conceptualise an ideal African family. They conclude then, that "as social scientists" we can only justifiably speak of common characteristics but not of an ideal type as that which is often referred to in the theories of family sociology. Also, Kayongo-Male and Onyango (1984) see convergence being far off because the extended family continues to play an essential role for its members even in the urban environment. However, they also note that the extended family still persists even when in some cases, the demands of the extended family for financial and material assistance may cause tension and inconveniences to their relatives.

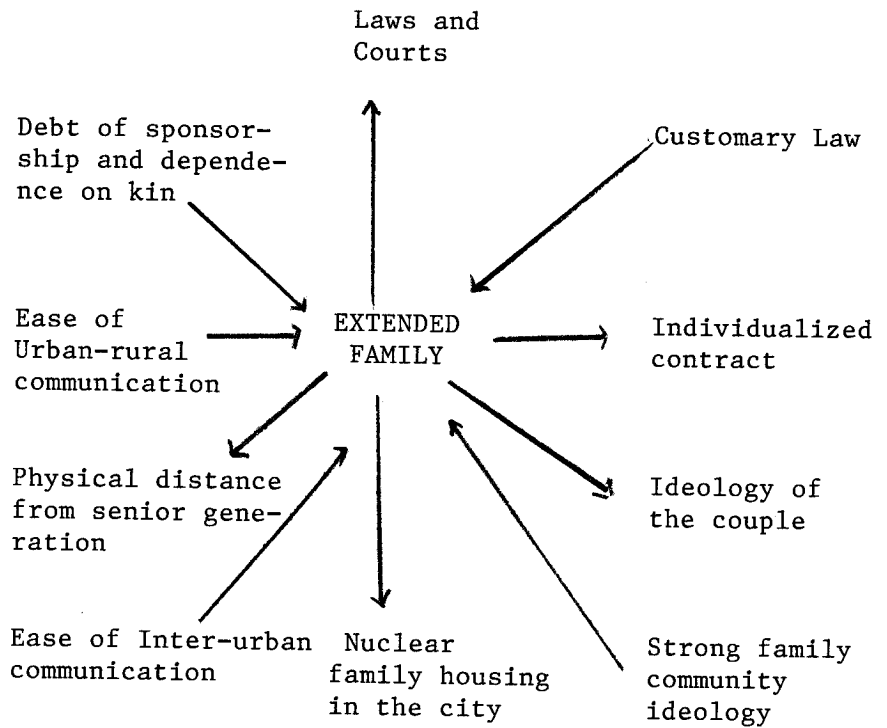
Finally, Kayongo-Male and Onyango (1984) say that the difference between the current practice and obligation fulfilment in the past is that presently people feel they are in a position to reject some demands and select those family members who seem worthy of support. Kayongo-Male and Onyango see the traditional African family as representing a synthesis of traditional and western family forms.⁴⁰

SUMMARY

The foregoing discussion has highlighted some of the changes that have taken place in the traditional family system. These changes have been due to factors such as urbanisation, western education and christian teachings. However, previous studies also show that despite changes in the socio-economic system, the traditional extended family system tended to persist. In this regard, Gulger and Flanagan (1978) demonstrate forces that are said to operate to modify the extended family. (see figure 1). The figure provides evidence of the complexities of change in family relationships, which may make explaining trends and basis of change rather difficult. The extent to which some or all of these have influenced changes in the Zambian family will be assessed in the chapters to follow.

It should be noted that the variables illustrated in the diagram have to some extent been examined both in relation to the Zambian family and the African family in general by the authors examined in the foregoing discussion. However, these variables have been seen to have a significant impact on the Zambian family system.

FIGURE 1: Forces Supporting and Straining the Extended Family



Source : Adopted from Joseph Gugler and William Flanagan, Urbanisation and Social Change in West Africa.
 (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 1978) P. 122

Note: The arrows pointing towards the extended family reinforce its existence while those pointing away from it indicate factors working to eradicate the traditional family system.

NOTES

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3. Eugene Litwak "Occupational Mobility and Extended Family Cohesion." American Sociological Review Vol 25 No. 1 (February 1960)
4. See C.M. Arensberg and S.T. Kimball Family and Community in Ireland 2nd Edition (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, U.S.A. (1968) Quoted in M. Haralambos 1980 P. 344
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C H A P T E R 3

DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS

This Chapter examines the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of repondents, for the purpose of giving the reader a picture of the type of people interviewed. In this respect, the characteristics that are considered are sex, age, education, marital status, ethnicity, religious affiliation, income, occupation and residential patterns.

Sex

TABLE 1 - Sex of Heads of Households (%)

SEX CATEGORY	ABSOLUTE (N) FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGES
1. Males	56	70.9
2. Females	23	29.1
TOTALS	79	100.0

Table 1 indicates, that the majority of households selected were headed by men. An official report from the Central Statistical ¹ Office also indicates a similar pattern. According to the report, the rural-urban classification

of households show that nearly eight out of ten houses are female headed in rural areas, while the majority of the urban households are male headed. It is explained that, the increase in female headed households is the result of a number of socio-demographic characteristics, such as rural-urban migration, marital instability and mortality differences among the sexes.²

In this study, eighteen of the women interviewed were temporarily heads of households in the sense that they assumed full responsibility of the day to day running of the household while their husbands were away either on business or studying abroad. Only five out of the twenty three women interviewed were permanent heads of households. Of these, three were single and two were widowed.

Age

Table 2 - Household Heads by Sex and Age (%)

AGE CATEGORY		SEX			
		MALES		FEMALES	
		N	%	N	%
1.	16 - 19	1	1.8	0	0.0
2.	20 - 24	2	3.6	4	17.4
3.	25 - 29	8	14.3	5	21.7
4.	30 - 35	23	41.0	7	30.5
5.	36 - 45	12	21.4	3	13.0
6.	46 - 55	9	16.1	3	13.0
7.	Above - 56	1	1.8	1	4.5
Totals		56	100.0	23	100.0

This study revealed that generally male households heads were much older than the females (see Table 2). The data show that women predominated over men in the 20 - 24 age group category in which women comprised 17 percent, compared with the men who comprised 3.6 percent. By contrast, men predominated over women in the 30 - 45 age group category. As regards age distribution, official statistics also show that the majority of the Zambian population is young. For example, the computed age specific ratios for 1969 and 1980 show that there were more females in the young and middle age group (i.e. 0 - 39), while most males were concentrated in the old age groups of forty years and above (see Central Statistical Office report for 1980, P. 8). The reasons suggested in the report for this tendency are:-

- (a) A possible understatement and/or over statement of ages among both sexes.
- (b) out-migration among males from rural areas; and
- (c) a high maternal mortality rate.³

Education

TABLE 3A - Household Heads by Education and Sex (%)

EDUCATION CATEGORY	SEX			
	MALES		FEMALES	
	N	%	N	%
1. Nil	4	2	2	8.7
2. Primary	16	12	4	17.4
3. Secondary	31	21	10	43.5
4. College	19	14	5	21.7
5. University	9	7	2	8.7
TOTALS	56	100.0	23	100.0

TABLE 3B - Heads of Households by Type of Education
Certificate and Sex (%)

CERTIFICATE CATEGORY	SEX			
	MALES		FEMALES	
	N	%	N	%
1. None	8	14.3	4	17.5
2. Grade 7	8	14.3	3	13.0
3. J.S.S.L.E.	13	23.2	8	34.8
4. G.C.E.	8	14.3	3	13.0
5. Certificate	6	10.7	2	8.7
6. Diploma	7	12.5	3	13.0
7. Degree	6	10.7	0	0.0
TOTALS	56	100.0	23	100.0

KEY: J.S.S.L.E. = Junior Secondary School
Leaving Examination

G.C.E. = General Certificate of
Education

In relation to the highest educational certificate attained, the Junior Secondary School Leaving Examination Certificate (J.S.S.L.E.) was found most frequently among both sexes. 5 women had university education compared to 13 men. Thus whereas only 13% of the women had university education, 22% of the men had been to university. However, none of the women had a degree, they were diploma holders.

In general, the 'Nil Education Category' was the least represented compared with other categories of education. In this respect, it was generally found that the majority of males and females interviewed were educated, with the males being more educated than females.

This situation may be explained historically - i.e. in terms of colonial policies which discriminated against Africans, in particular women. However, colonial policies were not the only factors that hindered the education of women in Zambia. For instance, education for girls was not very much encouraged by parents because the general view was that educated girls tended to be too proud and arrogant to their husbands. It was also felt that women did not require education since their place was in the home. Thus, when later, schools for girls were opened mainly by missionaries, the curriculum emphasized domestic arts - i.e. sewing, cooking, childcare, etc.⁵

When the women diploma holders were compared to the men who held the same qualification, more variety in terms of their diploma qualification was found among the latter. The distribution of diplomas among the male respondents was one in each of the following: post-graduate diploma in Public Administration, diplomas in Journalism, Library Studies, Architecture and Accountancy. On the part of women, the diplomas were in Nursing and Social Work.

For those males who held degree qualifications, these were in Education, Natural Science, Accountancy and Public Administration. One male respondent had a Masters Degree.

This study revealed that men not only dominate all levels of education, but that they were also dominant and more widely distributed in occupational fields than women (see also Zambia Association for Research and Development, 1985).

Marital Status

TABLE 4A - Heads of Households by Marital Status and Sex (%)

MARITAL CATEGORY	SEX			
	MALES		FEMALES	
	A.F.	%	A.F.	%
1. Single	3	5.3	7	30.4
2. Married	52	92.9	10	43.5
3. Separated	1	1.8	4	17.4
4. Divorced	0	0.0	0	0.0
5. Widowed	0	0.0	2	8.7
6. Deserted	0	0.0	0	0.0
TOTALS	56	100.0	23	100.0

In examining the marital status of respondents, the study revealed that the majority of the men and women were married - i.e. 92.9 per cent and 43.5 per cent, respectively. There were very few households headed by single men and women. It has been suggested that social and economic conditions favour male leadership (see Central Statistical Report 1980). No desertion nor divorce cases were reported in this study.

In general, official statistics also show that most adult Zambians tend to marry rather early, but that females tend to marry younger than men, usually before they are twenty-five years of age.

It should be mentioned here that there were two cases involving female respondents where the information given on marital status was questionable. Although both women claimed to be married, their responses to other related questions suggested that they were actually not married at the time of the field research.

This problem has also been highlighted in official records.⁶ Available evidence indicate that unmarried young females with children tend to give wrong information about their marital status. This trend might be attributed to the fact that in the Zambian society, an unmarried woman with children is often looked down upon because a situation such as this is generally associated with sexual immorality.

As Table 4A shows, only two women were widowed. The fact that no men in the sample were widowed might be explained, at least in part, by the fact that men tend to re-marry earlier than females, even though the proportion of widowing and divorce increases with age for both sexes.⁷

Respondents were also asked to indicate the system of marriage under which they were married. Their responses are shown in Table 4B. It should be explained here that in Zambia, two systems of marriage are officially recognised. These have been inherited from the colonial system in which the two marriage systems catered for the two main racial groups : Customary form of marriage for Africans and Ordinance form of marriage for the Europeans. However, at Independence the Zambian government modified the Marriage Act and encouraged Zambians into contract marriage and also by allowing customary couples to remarry under the Act, but not vice versa.⁸

The customary form of marriage is potentially polygamous for men and it is validated by parental consent and marriage payments.

The Ordinance form is monogamous and is not validated by fulfilment of traditional marriage obligations and rites, but by the fulfilment of civil requirements and conditions laid down in the Act. A man or woman over 21 years of age may contract a valid marriage without parental consent.

Although by legal definition, only two forms of marriage are recognised in Zambia, there is a third type of marriage - i.e. the Christian marriage. According to Munachonga (1986, P.97) Christian Marriage may be defined either as civil or customary, depending upon the type of rites and obligations that the couple fulfilled before the marriage ceremony.

TABLE 4B - Heads of Households by Type of Marriage Contracted (%)

TYPE OF MARRIAGE	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Customary	48	60.7%
Ordinance	22	27.8%
No. Response	9	11.5%
TOTALS	79	100.0%

As the table shows, the largest proportion fell in the customary marriage category. However, 35 percent under this marriage form indicated that they had also observed Christian marriage rites. In the case of those couples married under the Ordinance, 27.8 percent stated that they had also observed Christian marriage rites, all of them indicated that they had observed traditional obligations - i.e. parental consent and payment of bridewealth. This shows that traditional rites and obligations are incorporated within the Zambian Ordinance marriage system. However, the conflicts created, as a consequence of this, are beyond the scope of this study (see Munachonga 1986 for more details).

Reference to different types of marriage is considered important in this study, because of the assumptions in most of the available literature that Western educated Africans tend to adopt western patterns of marriage and family life (Lloyd 1964). However, the data for this study show that the majority of respondents were married according to customary law.

The reported tendencies and shifts towards western type of behaviour as regards marriage practices among some of the respondents are, however, explained in terms of the influence of various elements of the British culture that have been mixed with those of the indigenous culture to create a new one. This observation was made in one of the local newspaper articles.⁹

Ethnicity

Official Statistics for 1980 show that Bemba and Nyanja were the most widespread and most commonly spoken languages in the country.¹⁰ This fact has been confirmed by findings of this study in that the majority of both men and women interviewed spoke Nyanja (39.2 percent) and Bemba (15.1 percent). However, the data shows heterogeneity in terms of ethnicity.

Religious Affiliation

In terms of religious affiliation the data show that Catholics predominated although, in general respondents belonged to many different churches. The 'other' category included church denominations such as Seventh Day Adventist, New Apostolic and Dutch Reformed. Religious affiliation is often seen to affect family structure. However, this study did not go into

this aspect. Perhaps this could be done in future research on the family.

Income

The data indicate that men tended to earn higher incomes than women, perhaps because of their relatively high levels of education and greater access to formal employment. Details on the distribution of income among respondents are given in Table 5.

TABLE 5 - Household Heads by Income and Sex (%)

INCOME CATEGORY (IN KWACHA) (a)	SEX			
	MALES		FEMALES	
	N	%	N	%
Below K100.00	1	1.8	4	17.4
Between K199 - 200	9	16.0	2	8.7
Between K200 - 299	16	28.6	5	21.7
Between K300 - 499	7	12.5	7	30.5
Between K500 - 699	7	12.5	4	17.4
Above K700.00	16	28.6	1	4.3
TOTALS	56	100.0	23	100.0

(a) K is the symbol for the Zambian currency - Kwacha, valued at K5.64 per one US Dollar, for the week beginning Monday, 15 September, 1986.

As Table 5 shows, only 1.8 percent of the male respondents earned below K100.00, compared with 17.4 percent of the females who were in this income level. Inequalities between the sexes in terms of income may be explained in terms of the fact that women still lag behind men in education and so they tend to hold less responsible positions. This situation has been borne out by findings of this study. (see Table 6A).

Occupation

TABLE 6A - Heads of Households by Occupation
and Sex (%)

OCCUPATION CATEGORY	SEX			
	MALES		FEMALES	
	N	%	N	%
Unskilled	7	12.5	3	13.0
Semi-skilled	5	8.9	2	8.7
Skilled	26	46.5	10	43.5
Blue-collar	2	3.6	0	0.0
White-collar	10	17.8	4	17.4
Self-employed	6	10.7	2	8.7
Other (Specify)	0	0.0	2	8.7
No response	0	0.0	0	0.0
TOTALS	56	100.0	23	100.0

As the Table shows, the largest proportions for both men (46.4 percent) and women (43.4 percent) were in the skilled occupation category followed by those in the white collar occupation category. Only 17.4 percent of the women compared with 30.3 percent of men were in professional jobs and these were mainly in teaching and nursing (see Table 6B). The occupational distribution among the men in professional jobs was: teachers 8; auditors 2; editors 1; journalists 1; surveyor 1; dentist 1; architect 1; and accountants 2.

TABLE 6B - Heads of Households by Occupation
Description and Sex (%)

OCCUPATION DESCRIPTION (a)	SEX			
	MALES		FEMALES	
	N	%	N	%
Professional	17	30.3	4	17.4
Managerial	3	5.4	1	4.3
Civil Servants	1	1.8	1	4.3
Technical	2	3.6	1	4.3
Sales Workers	2	3.6	0	0.0
Clerical	8	14.3	6	26.0
Craftsmen	4	7.1	0	0.0
Operatives	7	12.5	0	0.0
Service Workers (Domestic/Public)	5	8.9	5	22.0
Labourer	1	1.8	0	0.0
Self-employed	2	3.6	2	8.7
No response	4	7.1	3	13.0
TOTALS	56	100.0	23	100.0

(a) The occupation description categories have been adapted from Nan Lin, Foundation of Social Research. (New York, McGraw Hill 1976) P. 415 - 427.

Table 6B also provides evidence that men also tended to dominate the managerial and administration category. Only one woman was reported as belonging to this group. The largest occupation category for women was the clerical category where they comprised 26.8 per cent as compared with 14.3 percent for men. The majority of women in this category were in secretarial jobs. The men who fell in the clerical tended to be unwilling to specify what kind of clerical duties they were doing.

In terms of self-employment, only two men (one a food supplier to the government and the other a garage owner) and two women reported to be self-employed. Of the two self-employed women, one had a food take away business in partnership with her husband and the other was a marketeer.

Residential Patterns

Another variable that was examined in this study related to residence patterns. In this respect, residence is considered to be important, not only because it tends to be related to income levels, but also because in many cases, it is related to size of houses occupied by respondents. It is argued here that the availability of accommodation space may sometimes influence or determine the number of extended family relatives one might keep. As regards, residence patterns, the distribution of respondents according to type of area is shown in Table 7A.

TABLE 7A - Heads of Households by Residential Areas (%)

RESIDENTIAL AREA	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Woodlands	12	15.2
Libala	28	35.4
Kalingalinga	16	20.2
Mtendere	23	29.2
TOTALS	79	100.0

As indicated in the table, most respondents were from the medium cost area, Libala, followed by those from a self-help housing scheme, Mtendere, and thirdly by those from a squatter area, Kalingalinga. The least represented was the high cost residential area Woodlands.

Consideration of residential patterns is based on the fact that, in Zambia, residence tends to be generally associated with income levels which in turn, tends to be associated with levels of education. In this respect, Table 7B below suggests that a relationship exists, between residence and social status. This relationship was tested by a chi-square test at .001 level of significance.

TABLE 7B - Heads of Households by a level of Education and Residential Area (%)

EDUCATION LEVEL	RESIDENTIAL AREA							
	WOODLANDS		LIBALA		KALINGA (a)		MTENDERE	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Nil	0	0.0	1	1.3	2	2.5	1	1.3
Primary	0	0.0	3	3.8	6	7.6	7	8.9
Secondary	3	3.8	8	10.1	7	8.9	13	16.5
College	5	6.3	11	13.9	1	1.3	2	2.5
University	4	5.1	5	6.3	0	0.0	0	0.0
TOTAL	12	15.2	28	35.4	16	20.2	23	29.2

(a) Abbreviated for Kalingalinga

$\chi^2 = 32.1$, DF = 12, Significance level = .001

Libala, a medium cost housing area, was one of the residential areas where all the status groups were represented followed by Mtendere, a self-help housing area. The Table suggests that the higher the level of education, the more expensive the residential area that the respondents lived in.

Only one uneducated and retired man lived in the medium cost area. However, interviews revealed that he received assistance for paying rent from his employed son who was living with him.

Table 7C below, illustrates that a relationship exists between income levels and residence patterns among respondents in this study. A chi-square test was applied to determine the closeness of this relationship.

TABLE 7C - Heads of Household by Income and Residential Area (%)

INCOME CATEGORY	RESIDENTIAL AREA							
	WOODLANDS		LIBALA		KALINGA (a)		MTENDERE	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Below K100.00	0	0.0	3	11.0	2	12.5	0	0.0
Between K100-199	0	0.0	0	0.0	5	31.3	6	26.1
Between K200-299	0	0.0	2	7.0	6	37.5	13	56.5
Between K300-499	0	0.0	9	32.0	1	6.2	4	17.4
Between K500-699	8	67.0	3	11.0	1	6.2	0	0.0
Above K700.00	4	33.0	11	39.0	1	6.2	0	0.0
TOTAL	12	100.0	28	100.0	16	100.0	23	100.0

(a) Abbreviated for Kalingalinga

$\chi^2 = 76.92$, DF = 15, Significance level = .001

As shown in the table, the higher the level of income, the more expensive the residential area. Those who lived in the low-density (or high cost) area earned above K699.00 and were also better educated (see Table 7B) than those in the Squatter area.

Summary

In this Chapter it has been shown that the majority of households in Lusaka are male headed. This chapter has also demonstrated the sample was heterogeneous in terms of age, educational level, marital status, religion and occupation categories. Residentially, the majority of respondents lived in the medium cost area. A close association between levels, of income and type of residential area, as well as between levels of education and type of residential area has also been established.

Notes :

1. 1980, Population and Housing Census of Zambia: Analytical Report Vol. III. Major findings and conclusions. (Lusaka Central Statistical Office, September 1985) P. 35.
2. IBID
3. IBID P. 8
4. An Annotated Bibliography of the Research on Zambian Women. (Lusaka, ZARD, 1985) P. 5.
5. Hortense Powdermaker, Copper Town: Changing Africa, the Human Situation on the Rhodesian Copperbelt. (London, Harper and Row 1962) p.274
6. See for example, 1980, Population and Housing of Zambia P. 20
7. IBID P. 21
8. For more details, see: Munachonga, "Conjugal Relations in Urban Zambia: Aspects of Marriage under the Marriage Ordinance." (Master of Philosophy theses, University of Sussex 1986 Chapter 3)
9. National Mirror Newspaper, June, 14th, No. 251 P. 8
10. 1980, Population and Housing Census of Zambia. P. 3 - 6.

C H A P T E R 4

FAMILY ORGANISATION AND KIN RELATIONSHIPS AMONG HOUSEHOLD HEADS

Introduction

This Chapter presents a description and analysis of family patterns and behaviour, as well as the kin relationships of respondents in this study. In so doing, Western education is used as a main variable for assessing trends of change in family patterns and behaviour in urban Zambia.

The chapter is divided into three parts. Part one examines the type of family patterns among the people interviewed. This is done through examination of aspects such as household composition and family size. Part two of the chapter looks at kinship relationships between respondents and their relatives in both rural and urban areas. Thirdly, the chapter assesses respondents' attitudes towards the persistence of the traditional extended family system, with the aim of comparing changes at the level of ideology and practice.

Of relevance here is an assessment of what constitutes a family in the urban Zambia situation - i.e. the position as regards types of family identified among the respondents is presented in Table 8.

TABLE 8 - Patterns of Family Organisation by Education of Household Head

FAMILY CATEGORY	EDUCATION OF HEAD					TOTALS n = 79
	NIL n = 4	PRIMARY n = 17	SECONDA- RY n = 30	COLLEGE n = 19	UNIVER- SITY n = 9	
Nuclear	3 (8.1%)	11 (29.7%)	12 (32.4%)	9 (24.3%)	2 (5.5%)	37 (100.0%)
Extended	1 (2.4%)	6 (14.3%)	18 (42.8%)	10 (23.8%)	7 (16.7%)	42 (100.0%)

$\chi^2 = 5.6$, DF = 4, Significance Level = .02

The study revealed the existence of six different types of family patterns, however, for analytical purposes and in the context of this study, the six types were merged into two main categories - i.e. nuclear and extended. The nuclear family category comprised;

1. Nuclear family which consisted of a man, his wife and their unmarried children;
2. Conjugal family was made up of just the man and his wife;
3. Single male or female only;
4. Single parent. In this study, this involved only women - i.e. separated or widowed who were living with their child(ren).

The extended family category on the other hand in this study comprised;

5. Extended family which included affinal and blood relatives in addition to nuclear family members.
6. Compound family which included not only nuclear and extended family members, but unrelated members such as friends and domestic servants. No cases of polygamy were discovered. This is for example - a situation where two women married to the same man lived under one roof. But, this is not to say that polygamous marriages do not exist in Zambia.

The data in Table 9A show that as the level of education increased, the number of extended family relatives living with the respondent also increased, with the largest proportion in the secondary school category, which was also the highest level attained by the majority of the respondents in this study. Therefore, the findings suggest that education did not necessarily promote the nuclear family system. (The relationship was tested using a chi-square test at .02 level of significance).

Generally, this study discovered that many respondents maintained cognate family relatives of both the husband and wife (41.4 percent). A small number of people were also found to maintain non relatives. In two of the households interviewed, one had a domestic servant living with the family while the other household had one of the childrens' friend.

The heads of households were also asked to state whether or not members of their households contributed to the budget. In this respect, only 15.2 percent of the sample stated that the wife assisted in the provision of household finances, 6.3 percent reported

that the son did so, and only 5.1 percent said that the daughter contributed to the household budget. As regards, contribution by extended family members, 8.1 percent reported that their cognate relatives assisted financially, and only 3.4 percent said their affinal relatives did so.

The observations made above indicate that in the majority of the households, the man was seemingly the main bread winner. Nevertheless, this observation should be treated with caution, because the data might be based on over generalisation. It was observed during interviews that many people were reluctant to give details concerning members of their households. However, the study also revealed that in the majority of cases, extended family members living with the respondents were either of school going age and were actually in school or they had left school and were not gainfully employed, i.e. they were totally dependent upon the household head.

In general, the findings of this study indicate that families in urban Zambia are far from being individuated or independent nuclear family units (see also Ohadike 1971, Ngwisha 1978).

Family Size, Preferences and Actual Practice

An examination of respondents' views and preferences regarding ideal family size show that the majority preferred small families regardless of their educational levels (See Table 9A). Family size preference by educational level of the household head are shown in Table 9A.

TABLE 9A - Family Size Preferences by
Education of Household Head

FAMILY SIZE PREFE- RENCES	EDUCATIONAL LEVEL					TOTALS (a)
	NIL	PRIMARY	SECOND- ARY	COLLEGE	UNIVER- SITY	
Large 9-20	0 (0.0%)	1 (16.7%)	3 (50.0%)	1 (16.7%)	1 (16.7%)	6 (100.0%)
Medium 6-8	4 (12.0%)	6 (18.2%)	12 (36.4%)	5 (15.2%)	6 (18.2%)	33 (100.0%)
Small 2-5	0 (0.0%)	9 (24%)	15 (39.0%)	3 (8%)	11 (29%)	38 (100.0%)

(a) Absolute frequency totals add up to 77 because 2 respondents gave no response.

The data illustrate that the relationship between family size preferences and educational level was statistically insignificant. This relationship was tested using a chi-square at .02 level of significance.

The information in Table 9A shows that in general respondents tended to regard a large family as anything between nine and twenty children. As the data show, only 7.8 percent (i.e. 6) out of the total number of respondents who answered this question preferred this family size. A medium size family was defined by the respondents as one where the couple had between six and eight children; 42.8 percent out of the 77 responses preferred this size of family. Most of the respondents (49.2 percent) preferred a small family which they defined as anything between two to five children. (see page 42 for definition of family size)

It is generally assumed in theories of modernisation that those with low levels of education and therefore traditionally minded, prefer to have large families for social and economic reasons. (Parsons 1960). By contrast, the data for this study show that all those with no formal education (12.1 percent - see Table 9A) tended to prefer a medium size family, while the rest of the respondents were mostly distributed in the medium and small family categories. Here, what appeared to determine attitudes as regards family size preference, was the economic reason - i.e. the high cost of living. Most of the respondents (90.5 percent) indicated that they preferred a small or medium size family because of the expense of maintaining a large one.

It was discovered that the few who preferred large families actually had large families already or they themselves came from large family backgrounds. This was the situation in the case of two respondents - one university - and the other college-educated. They both indicated during the interview that they preferred large families; each had over nine children. The rest preferred a large family for traditional as well as social security reasons.

Traditionally, men have been said to want large families because this is seen to be a reflection of their virility but as the data in the Table 9B show, there were almost the same proportion of men preferring family sizes in the medium and small categories as there were women. In fact, the majority of the male respondents (51.7 percent) preferred a small family,

while the majority of females (66.7 percent) preferred a medium size family.

TABLE 9B - Family Size Preference by Sex (%)

FAMILY SIZE PREFERENCE	SEX	
	MALES	FEMALES
Large 9 - 20	6 (10.7%)	0 (0.0%)
Medium 6 - 8	21 (37.5%)	14 (66.7%)
Small 2 - 5	29 (51.8%)	7 (33.3%)
TOTALS (a)	56 (100.0%)	21 (100.0%)

(a) The absolute frequency totals add up to 77 because 2 female respondents did not wish to respond to the question.

As regards actual family size, the majority of the families interviewed had at least between three to six children, 13.9 percent had five children, while another 13.9 percent had six. As Table 9C below shows, there were very few cases with more than six children.

In other words, the data indicate that there were discrepancies between ideology and practice in this respect. This is to say that while most of the respondents said they preferred small families they actually had medium to large families.

TABLE 9C - Frequency distribution of Number of Children by Heads of Households (%)

NUMBER OF CHILDREN	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGES
None	8	10%
One	7	8.9%
Two	10	12.6%
Three	13	16.5%
Four	11	13.9%
Five	11	13.9%
Six	7	8.9%
Seven	4	5.1%
Eight	4	5.1%
Nine+	4	5.1%
TOTALS	79	100.0%

The question of family size was raised in an interview with an official from the Planned Parenthood Association of Zambia (PPAZ), who explained that the role of the organisation was not to encourage either the nuclear or extended family, rather, the main aim was to encourage a family size that an individual could afford. Secondly, the organisation aimed at promoting the health of the mother and child. The organisation's emphasis on economic factors, implies that it actually encourages couples to have small families and not the traditionally large ones. However, PPAZ has no influence in determining one's relationships with extended family members.

In the context of this study, kinship relations referred to the frequency of contact made between the respondents and their urban and rural relatives. This was measured in terms of the frequency of visits,

amount of financial aid given and the intensity of the interaction. The study revealed that a close relationship was maintained between the respondents and their rural and urban relatives. The closeness of this relationship was confirmed by the frequency of visits. When asked how often the respondents had actually visited any of their relatives in rural and urban areas in the past year, the majority (49.3 percent) said they did so occasionally for urban relatives; compared with an even larger percentage (68.3 percent) who gave this type of response for visiting their rural relatives.

The majority who gave the answer "occasionally", explained this in terms of non-availability of time. Most of the respondents indicated that their jobs did not give them sufficient time to spend with their rural relatives in general (see Table 10A below).

TABLE 10A - Degree of Contact Between Heads of Households and their Rural and Urban Relatives (%)

CONTACT CATEGORY	URBAN	RURAL
Daily	2 (2.5%)	0 (0.0%)
Weekly	9 (11.5%)	1 (1.3%)
Monthly	19 (24.0%)	6 (7.6%)
Occasionally	39 (49.4%)	54 (68.3%)
Never	5 (6.3%)	11 (13.9%)
Other such as in Emergencies	5 (6.3%)	6 (7.6%)
No Response	0 (0.0%)	1 (1.3%)
TOTALS	79 (100.0%)	79 (100.0%)

Responses show that visits to kin were not for purposes of attending customary obligations only - i.e. marriage ceremonies, births or funerals, etc., since only 17.7 percent said they visited kin only at such times. The majority felt that it was important to keep in touch with one's relatives while those who only visited when they were forced to indicated they did so because they could not afford the transport costs during other times. Some said they did not wish to visit their relatives at any odd hour because of the inconvenience of the high cost of living. However, some of the respondents gave no responses to the question on frequency of visits.

Maintenance of ties with kin was also reflected in the respondents' financial and other material help to the former (see Table 10B). The table indicates that those providing both goods and money were in the majority.

TABLE 10B - Type of Assistance to extended family members (%)

TYPE OF ASSISTANCE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY (N)	PERCENTAGE
Goods	12	15.2%
Money	20	25.3%
Both	46	58.3%
No Response	1	1.2%
TOTALS	79	100.0%

Respondents were also asked to indicate how often they sent material assistance. Their answers are shown in Table 10C. In this respect, most of the respondents indicated that they found it easier to send money than goods whenever they had the money, or whenever their relatives requested for it.

TABLE 10C - Responses on how often money and goods were sent to extended kin (%)

RESPONSE CATEGORY	FREQUENCY	
	GOODS	MONEY
Once a month	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)
Once a year	2 (2.5%)	1 (1.3%)
Anytime you have money	24 (30.4%)	29 (37.0%)
When they request	33 (42.0%)	35 (44.0%)
Numbers three and four above	13 (16.5%)	10 (13.9%)
Other	4 (5.2%)	1 (1.3%)
No response	3 (3.4%)	3 (3.4%)
TOTALS	79 (100.0%)	79 (100.0%)

Goods were usually sent with someone going 'home' or when they (the respondents) visited their relatives. The majority said that it was more appropriate to send money than goods because of the availability of goods in state shops like Z.C.B.C. (Zambia Consumer and Buying Corporation) and Mwaiseni, as well as other small stores available in rural areas.

In terms of the amounts of money spent on kin, these varied according to the respondents' ability. The general picture is presented in Table 10D.

We see here again that the respondents almost felt an obligation to provide material and/or financial assistance to their extended kin regardless of the fact that most hinted that it was rather expensive to do so.

TABLE 10D - Amounts of Money Spent on Relations in Past Year (1985) by Income Category of Respondents (%)

INCOME CATEGORY (IN KWACHA)	AMOUNT SPENT ON KIN				TOTALS (a)
	LESS THAN K20.00	K20 - 40	K40 - 80	ABOVE K80.00	
Below K100	3 (3.8%)	1 (1.3%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (1.3%)	5 (6.5%)
Between K199 - 200	4 (5.1%)	2 (2.6%)	3 (3.8%)	2 (2.6%)	11 (14.1%)
Between K200 - 299	1 (1.3%)	5 (6.4%)	2 (2.6%)	10 (12.8%)	18 (23.1%)
Between K300 - 499	0 (0.0%)	1 (1.3%)	4 (5.1%)	9 (11.5%)	14 (17.7%)
Between K500 - 600	0 (=0.0%)	1 (1.3%)	3 (3.8%)	10 (12.8%)	14 (17.7%)
Above K700.00	0 (0.0%)	2 (2.6%)	1 (1.3%)	13 (16.7%)	16 (20.4%)
TOTALS	8 10%	12 15%	13 17%	45 58%	78 100.

(a) The overall total was 78 because one respondent did not answer the question.

Table 10D above illustrates the relationship between one's level of income and amount of money sent to relatives.

A strong relationship was established between these two variables - i.e. the higher the income level, the greater the amount sent. As Table 10D illustrates, the majority (57.7 percent) who were also in the high income group said they spent more than K80.00 in the past year (1985) on their relatives.

On the question of financial assistance received by respondents from their kin, the data show that only 31.6 percent replied in the affirmative. Those relatives from whom the respondents concerned received help also lived in the urban areas. The rest of the respondents said they did not receive financial help from their relatives.

It is interesting to note that although the fact that the majority (68.8 percent) said they received no help from their rural relatives, they still felt that their rural relatives deserved more assistance than their urban relatives. Only 27.8 percent said that their urban relatives needed assistance more than their rural relatives because the problems of making ends meet were more pressing in the urban than rural areas (where the individual could at least grow their own food).

The data show that the more educated one was, the more obliged they seemed to feel towards their relatives (see Table 10E). They tended to argue that they could not have achieved all that they had been able to, had it not been for their parents, uncles or other relatives' efforts to send them to school.

TABLE 10E - Obligation to Give Assistance by Education
(%)

OBLI- GATION	NIL	PRIMARY	SECOND- ARY	COLLEGE	UNIVER- SITY	TOTALS
Yes	3 (3.8%)	13 (16.5%)	24 (30.4%)	13 (16.5%)	4 (5.1%)	57 (72.2%)
No	1 (1.3%)	3 (3.8%)	7 (8.7%)	6 (7.6%)	5 (6.3%)	22 (27.8%)
TOTALS	4 (5.1%)	16 (20.3%)	31 (39.2%)	19 (24.0%)	9 (11.4%)	79 (100.0)

$$x^2 = 7.83, Df = 4, \text{Significance level} = .05$$

A good number of the respondents that expressed resentment at the idea of helping kin claimed that the assistance they gave, made it difficult for they themselves to make ends meet in their own homes. Table 10F below shows that resentment was not related to one's level of education; it applied across educational levels. In fact, resentment appears to have been most felt among the poorly and well educated than those with middle level education.

TABLE 10F - Resentment to Giving Assistance to Kin
by Education (%)

RESENT- MENT	NIL	PRIMARY	SECOND- ARY	COLLEGE	UNIVER- SITY	TOTALS
Yes	3 (3.9%)	8 (10.4%)	7 (9.1%)	4 (5.2%)	4 (5.2%)	26 (33.8%)
No	1 (1.3%)	8 (10.4%)	22 (28.6%)	15 (19.5%)	5 (6.5%)	51 (66.2%)
TOTALS (a)	4 (5.1%)	16 (20.8%)	29 (37.7%)	19 (24.7%)	9 (11.7%)	77 (100.0)

- (a) Two of the respondents did not answer the question - i.e. making the total 77 and not 79.

These observations indicate that generally speaking, the majority of respondents accepted their responsibilities to their kin. A number of them stated that there was no one else to do it apart from themselves and therefore, they indicated that they had no choice, (emphasis added). These formed the majority of those who tended to resent giving assistance to relatives. Respondents who gave answers categorized as 'Other', included those who said they felt obliged to assist what they termed 'immediate extended relatives' - these they defined as their parents, brothers and sisters.

TABLE 10G - Reasons Given by Respondents for Sense of Obligation (%)

RESPONSE CATEGORY	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGES
It is your responsibility	26	32.9%
You Don't see why you should Do it	4	5.1%
It is part of tradition	27	34.2%
There is no one else to do it	10	12.6%
Other	11	13.9%
No Response	1	1.3%
TOTALS	79	100.0%

Another type of relationship examined related to property relations between kin. When the respondents were asked to indicate to whom they preferred their property and wealth to pass on to in the event of their own death, the majority of those who were married stated that they would leave their property and wealth to their wives and children (48.1 percent).

TABLE 11 - Distribution of Respondents According to whom Property would be left to in case of Death (%)

RESPONSE CATEGORY	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGES
Wife and Children	38	48.1%
Wife	2	2.5%
Children	21	26.6%
Parents	9	11.4%
Parents and Children	6	7.6%
Other relatives	1	1.3%
No Response	2	2.5%
TOTALS	79	100.0%

The common argument given was that wives and children deserved the wealth because they had suffered with the respondent to accumulate it. They also tended to claim that it was their responsibility to see that their wives and children were well provided for after their death. Some argued that they considered the wife and children to be "their family." These responses suggest preferences for the independence of the nuclear family. However, in practice the data

indicate that respondents had problems in achieving this. For instance, the majority, who said they wished to have their property to be left to their wives and children also appeared to doubt whether the widow and the children would be "left in peace" by the man's relatives, to enjoy the fruits of their labour.

Responses on inheritance also show that those who preferred their property to go to their parents were mainly unmarried persons. In these cases, no other relative was acknowledged as eligible apart from some relatives who had previously assisted the respondent in one way or another.

An interview with an official from the Zambia National Provident Fund (Z.N.P.F.) revealed that there were problems of implementing a law because of the predominance of the extended family system. He explained that although the Z.N.P.F. Act was established basically for the benefit of the widow and the deceased's children, in ninety five percent of the cases that his organisation had previously dealt with, the widow and children were not the beneficiaries, even when the deceased had clearly stated so in his nomination forms. This was because even when the widow collected the money left to her by her husband, she still gave it to the one who was traditionally responsible for distributing the dead man's estate. In this situation, the widow and children were usually left with almost nothing, mainly because the widow feared harrassment or even witchcraft.¹

It was further explained during interview that patrilineal tribes (who are in a minority) were more considerate to the widow than the matrilineal tribes, who are in the majority. Traditionally among patrilineal groups, the widow and her children become part of the husband's family. By contrast, among matrilineal tribes women and their children remain affiliated to their natal kinship groups.

How did respondents feel about the idea of maintaining the extended kin in modern Zambia? The rest of this Chapter examines this issue.

Attitudes Towards the Maintenance of Extended Family Obligations.

The respondents were asked to indicate how they felt about the idea of supporting their extended family relatives. A slightly higher percentage, 50.6 percent, said they approved of the idea, while 48.1 percent said they did not. There was no correlation between responses given and the level of education. A chi-square test (at .05) level of significance was applied to determine whether there was a relationship between education and attitude towards the maintenance of extended kin.

TABLE 12A - Attitudes Towards Maintenance of
Extended Family Ties by Education (%)

EDUCATION CATEGORY	APPROVE	DISAPPROVE	TOTALS
Nil	2 (2.6%)	2 (2.6%)	4 (5.1%)
Primary	10 (12.8%)	5 (6.4%)	15 (19.0%)
Secondary	13 (16.7%)	18 (23.1%)	31 (40.0%)
College	5 (6.4%)	4 (5.1%)	9 (11.5%)
University	10 (12.8%)	9 (11.5%)	19 (24.4%)
TOTALS	40 (51.3%)	38 (48.7%)	78 (100.0%)

The total came to 78 because one respondent did not wish to answer the question.

As the data in Table 12A show, half the respondents approved the maintenance of the extended family while the other half disapproved. Those who approved also indicated that they had an obligation to assist kin from whom they also expected mutual assistance. Table 12B illustrates the reasons given.

TABLE 12B - Reasons Given for Approval of Extended Family (%)

REASONS GIVEN	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
No choice	5	6.3%
Inherited through custom	2	2.5%
Responsibility	7	8.8%
Reciprocal situation	13	16.4%
Okay to Support them so long it's limited	11	14.0%
No response/Not applicable	41	52.0%
TOTALS	79	100.0%

Those opposed to the idea of supporting extended family relatives argued that it encouraged laziness (see Table 12C). Some considered the extended family to create an economic burden. Moreover, among such respondents, it was claimed that the relatives did not appreciate whatever was done for them, but that they abused the traditional extended family system by "exploiting and milking others." More blame was laid on rural relatives who were said to be often ignorant of the economic hardships in urban areas, and as such hindering one's own success, or that of one's children.

TABLE 12C - Reasons Given for Disapproval of
Extended Family (%)

REASONS GIVEN	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Burden, Expensive due to High Cost of Living	18	23.0%
Don't appreciate, exploiters	3	3.4%
Not obliged, inconvenience	7	9.0%
Hinders success	4	5.1%
No response/not applicable	47	59.5%
TOTALS	79	100.0%

A close examination of the 'No Response' category revealed that the majority tended to hold ambiguous attitudes on the issue. Not only were the respondents asked to explain how they felt about the extended family system, but they were also asked to state whether or not they felt that the extended family played a positive or negative role in national development. Their answers are shown in Table 12D and 12E, respectively.

TABLE 12D - Responses on Positive Role of Extended Family (%)

REASONS GIVEN	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Help each other	13	16.4%
Practice Humanism	4	5.1%
Extended members are part of family	10	13.0%
Reduces poverty and suffering	5	6.3%
Feel Indebted	1	1.2%
No Response	46	58.0%
TOTALS	79	100.0%

Those respondents who indicated that the extended family had a negative role to play in national development were slightly more (44.3 percent) than those who stated the role the extended family played was positive (41.7 percent). However, the majority did not wish to comment on the subject. Table 12E provides data for negative response.

TABLE 12E - Reasons given for Negative Role of
Extended Family (%)

REASONS GIVEN	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Encourages laziness	12	15.1%
Misuse of system	4	5.1%
Don't appreciate	4	5.1%
Doesn't encourage success	5	6.3%
Expensive	6	7.6%
Never help you when you need help	4	5.1%
No response	44	55.7%
TOTALS	79	100.0%

In general, although opinion expressed about the traditional family system varied, there was a tendency in favour of it's persistence because it was seen to be a source of security for the majority of Zambians. However, it was also argued by some that economic reasons would force individuals in future to limit the number of dependents. This view has also been expressed in the press.

The high cost of living is fast tearing our extended family system apart, and it is now, everyone for himself and God for us all.²

TABLE 12F - Comments on the Extended Family (%)

COMMENTS	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Good and works well in rural Area	3	3.8%
Unity of Nations	2	2.5%
Future generations should have smaller families as well as limited number of dependents	3	3.8%
Tradition so it should continue	6	7.7%
Has it's own advantages - i.e. Social Security	3	3.8%
Should learn not to inconvenience others	5	6.3%
Economic forces will lead to natural decline on extended family system	3	3.8%
Encourages laziness	2	2.5%
No Response	52	65.8%
TOTALS	79	100.0%

While there are those who hold the view that economic forces will lead to the decline of the extended family, (Marris 1961) others feel Party ideology in Zambia tends to encourage the maintenance of the extended family. This is because Zambia's philosophy of Humanism does not encourage the welfare state system, which is said to be a foreign institution. (Nyalungwe 1976).

Conclusion

The data presented in this Chapter may be summarised as follows: Firstly, the trend of change in family patterns in the urban communities of Lusaka have not necessarily been from extended to nuclear family units. The data suggest that familiar patterns appeared to vary according to the economic situations of individuals who tend to limit the number of extended kin dependent upon them according to their ability to support them. Secondly, the data show that extended family ties continue to exist and to be of significance to the individuals concerned. Thirdly, individual remuneration did not appear to have created a totally independent wage earner. This was confirmed by the fact that the individual wage earners in this study tended to share their earnings with their relatives in the form of money and other material items. Finally, the data suggest that, it was the economic situation which determined one's attitude against the extended family and not necessarily, one's level of education.

Notes :

1. See also the Law Development Commission:
Report on the Law of Succession in
Lusaka. (September 1982) P. 3

2. Times of Zambia, 'Opinion Column,'
February 26, 1986.

C H A P T E R 5

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In the introductory chapter to this dissertation, the problem was defined as relating to changes in the Zambian traditional extended family system, due mainly to the influence of western education. It was suggested that since education is a main indicator of social status in contemporary Zambia, and since the modernisation theory of social change (see for example Wilbert Moore 1963, Neil Smelser 1964, Daniel Lerner 1967) considers education to be a main mechanism for cultural diffusion - (i.e. from developed to less developed societies), it would be used in this study for examining patterns of family organisation. In other words, education was used as an independent variable influencing changes in family patterns in the urban Zambian context.

The study set out to examine and assess how far the process of family individuation had taken place in urban Zambia, as a consequence of respondents exposure to western education. Secondly, it sought to assess the relationship between education and individual remuneration (i.e. income level), on the one hand, and family patterns on the other. Whether or not predominant values favoured the persistence of extended family relationships was also of central interest in this study.

The study has revealed that western education has not necessarily promoted changes in family patterns in favour of nuclear family organisation.

Thus, the extended family system still predominated among the respondents, especially among the highly educated and highly paid. However, data also show that the high cost of living has forced individuals to limit the number of extended family relatives dependent upon them and to include in their definition of extended family only their own parents, brothers and sisters. As regards kinship ties and contact, these remain important. The majority of educated respondents are still in favour of the extended family system, mainly for both traditional and social reasons.

Evidence from this study indicates that the higher the level of education and income, the more kin obligations arose out of the belief on the part of respondents that extended kin were part of their own (*i.e.* nuclear) families. Secondly, the respondents felt grateful either to their parents or guardian for the "sacrifices" the latter had made towards educating them.

Although in Zambia, urbanisation and industrialisation do not appear to have effected radical changes in family patterns, these factors have led to modification in the traditional family system. As it was demonstrated in Chapter 4, several types of family organisation were reported among respondents in this study, with the extended family system being predominant. In terms of household composition, it has been demonstrated that the majority of urban households are large (and include members of the extended family). In general, at the

ideological level, the extended family appeared not to be favoured. Many respondents complained of the expenses of maintaining extended family relations especially at present when the value of the Kwacha is so low. This tended to force some respondents to be selective as regards fulfilling kin obligations. It has also been observed that many respondents appeared to hold ambiguous attitudes towards the social and economic role of the traditional extended family system in contemporary Zambia. Some respondents saw it as a means of exploiting others, including widows and their children.

Implications for Policy Formulation and Future Research

In order to formulate a meaningful family policy, *background research on a society and knowledge about changes taking place in that society's institutions is relevant.* This is because the formulation of an adequate policy must also be based on actual reality or practices at a particular time.

It has been shown by this study that the extended family system is still generally considered to be important for the economic and social security of the majority of the Zambian people. However, it has also been seen that the traditional extended family system has been modified by many complex external factors, mainly associated with urbanisation and industrialisation. These findings are considered to be relevant to policy makers. This necessitates consideration of some modifications, for example, those relating to income tax and pension contributions which must take into account the prevailing model of family

organisation in urban Zambia, i.e. the extended family. This study has demonstrated that traditionally as well as presently, the extended family continues to perform important functions in the Zambian society, in particular as an indigenous social welfare institution. For instance, it has been shown that although some of the respondents in this study indicated that they were not in favour of the extended family, mainly for economic reasons (i.e. dependence on money as a source of livelihood makes the maintenance of the extended family expensive for earners), the lack of meaningful alternative sources of support for needy relatives appeared to compel them to assume extra financial and material responsibilities for their extended kin. As we have seen, there is a tendency towards the highly educated who are also usually the highly paid to have more responsibilities to kin, than those in the low income and education groups. The above mentioned findings are significant for formulating policies relating to the Zambian urban family that are realistic in an urban African (emphasis added) society.

More in depth widely based research on urban family change is definitely necessary for a fuller understanding of the process of change. As was stated earlier, this investigation was aimed at merely providing baseline information for future research on the Zambian family. In this respect, researchers should not only be concerned with how fast the Zambian society is changing but also whether these borrowed cultural elements are being assimilated and integrated into local cultures.

A P P E N D I X 1

QUESTIONNAIRE ON:

THE IMPACT OF WESTERN EDUCATION ON

THE EXTENDED FAMILY SYSTEM

AN URBAN ZAMBIAN EXAMPLE

RESPONDENT NUMBER	1	2	3
	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
RESIDENTIAL AREA	4		
	<input type="text"/>		

INSTRUCTIONS: Please fill in the following questionnaire and place the number corresponding to your answer in the box beside the question. For example:-

At this moment you are feeling

1. Happy
2. Sad
3. Sick

<input type="text" value="3"/>

This indicates that you are feeling sick. When there is space after a question, this means you are required to write out the answer.

Thank you

1. SEX:

1. Male

2. Female

<input type="text"/>

2. AGE:

- | | | | |
|----|----------|----|---------|
| 1. | 16 - 19 | 4. | 30 - 35 |
| 2. | 20 - 24 | 5. | 36 - 45 |
| 3. | 25 - 29 | 6. | 46 - 55 |
| 7. | Above 56 | | |

6

3a. EDUCATION:

- | | | | |
|----|-----------|----|------------|
| 1. | Nil | 4. | College |
| 2. | Primary | 5. | University |
| 3. | Secondary | | |

7

3b. What is the highest education certificate you hold? _____

4a. MARITAL STATUS

- | | | | |
|----|-----------|----|---------------|
| 1. | Single | 4. | Divorced |
| 2. | Married | 5. | Widow/Widower |
| 3. | Separated | 6. | Deserted |

8

4b. If you are Married, what type was your Marriage?

- | | | | |
|----|-------------------------------|----|-----------------------------|
| 1. | Customary | 3. | Ordinance (Registered) |
| 2. | Customary and Church blessing | 4. | Customary, Ordinance Church |

9

5. From which Province do you come?

- | | |
|------------------|---------------|
| 1. Lusaka | 6. Western |
| 2. Central | 7. Copperbelt |
| 3. Southern | 8. Luapula |
| 4. Northern | 9. Eastern |
| 5. North-Western | |

9

6. RELIGION:

- | | |
|-------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Roman Catholic | 5. Baptist |
| 2. U.C.Z. | 6. Jehova's Witness |
| 3. Anglican | 7. Assembly of God |
| 4. Methodist | 8. Other (specify) |

10

7. INCOME: In which income bracket do you belong?

1. Below K100 p.m.
2. Between K199 - K200
3. Between K200 - K299
4. Between K300 - K499
5. Between K500 - K699
6. Above K700.00

12

8. OCCUPATION:

- | | |
|-----------------|--------------------|
| 1. Unskilled | 5. White-collar |
| 2. Semi-Skilled | 6. Self-employed |
| 3. Skilled | 7. Other (specify) |

13

8b. What exactly do you do ? _____

9. How many children do you have?

- | | |
|----------|--------------|
| 1. None | 6. Five |
| 2. One | 7. Six |
| 3. Two | 8. Seven |
| 4. Three | 9. Eight |
| 5. Four | 10. Nine+ 14 |

10. How many people actually live in this house ?

Please include any persons who usually live here but are temporarily away on business, vacation, hospital or school. All small children and babies included.

Names of usual Residents	Relation to head of household	Age	Sex	Religion	Education	Occupation
1.						
2.						
3.						
4.						
5.						
6.						
7.						
8.						
9.						
10.						
11.						
12.						
13.						

11. In relation to the above question
 (No. 10), how many people, living
 with you, help you with household
 finances? (i.e. food, clothing etc.)

Name of Resident	Relation to head of household	Occupation	Contribution

12. What number do you consider a: (write number in the box)

- 1. Large family
- 2. Medium size
- 3. Small family

	15
	16
	17

13. Which of the families you have defined above
 do you consider the best? Please give reasons
 for your answer.

14. Do you approve of the extended family system

1. Yes 2. No

18

15. How do you feel about the idea of supporting extended family relatives ?

16. How often have you seen any of your relatives in the rural area in this past year? (1985).

1. Daily 4. Occasionally
2. Weekly 5. Never
3. Monthly 6. Other (specify)

19

17. How often have you seen any of your relatives in the urban area in this past year? (1985).

1. Daily 4. Occasionally
2. Weekly 5. Never
3. Monthly 6. Other (specify)

20

21. What is the largest amount of money you have spent on your relatives in the past year?

1. Less than K20.00
2. Between K20.00 - K40.00
3. Between K40.00 - K80.00
4. Above K80.00

25

22. Do you ever receive financial aid from your relatives?

1. Yes
2. No

26

23. Do you consult any of your relatives outside your immediate family about major decisions (i.e. your job, marriage, etc.) in your life.

1. Yes
2. No

27

24. Do you feel obliged to give assistance to your relatives?

1. Yes
2. No

28

25. Please state reason for your answer.

1. It is your responsibility
2. You don't see why you should do it

- 3. It is part of your tradition
- 4. There is no one else to do it
- 5. Other specify _____

29

26. Whom amongst your relatives in your opinion deserves the most help from you, financially or otherwise? Those in rural or those in urban areas?

- 1. Rural
- 2. Urban
- 3. Both
- 4. Neither

30

27. Do you ever resent having to give assistance?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No
- 3. No response

31

28. Mark after the category the number of children whom you have educated in the following categories:

	PRIMARY	SECONDARY	POST-SECONDARY
1. Own Children			
2. Sister's Children			
3. Brother's Children			
4. Parent's Children			
5. Other Relatives			

29. Indicate who you would consult first, if you were in serious trouble, problem etc., give 1 to the first person 2 to the next and 3 to the last person.

1.	Wife		32
2.	Friends		33
3.	Relative		34
4.	Workmate		35
5.	Own Children		36
6.	Other (specify)___		37

30. Please state reason for the above:

31a. In the case of your death to whom will your property, savings, etc., go?

1. Your wife and children
2. Wife
3. Children
4. Parents
5. Own brothers/sisters
6. Other relatives

38

32b. Please state reason for above answer:

32a. Do you think the extended family plays a positive or negative role in the development of Zambia?

1. Positive

2. Negative

39

32b. Please state reason for the above answer:

33. Comments (if any)

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