

**THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN RELATION TO FERTILITY  
IN ZAMBIA DURING THE PERIOD 1980 - 1999:  
THE CASE OF LUSAKA**

**BY**

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# APPROVAL

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## **DEDICATION**

To my dear husband, Eric (Kamayoyo); my only daughter, Grace (Litombo); Dad and Mum; brothers and sisters who have been a source of inspiration.

**DECLARATION**

I, **Eunice Ntwala Samwinga-Imasiku**, declare that this dissertation has been compiled by me and that the work recorded is my own. The sources of all materials used have been specifically acknowledged and the dissertation has not been previously submitted for a degree at any University.

Signature: ..... **Ensk** .....

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**ABSTRACT**

Women in Zambia, just like in any other developing country, have for a long time, been marginalised in society. This is because social and cultural attitudes in traditional Zambian societies assigned women an inferior status in the social, economic and political life of our country. It took events such as the International Women's Year (1975) to help the Zambian government to recognise that women constitute an important resource in any meaningful development. Though, this was the case, Zambian women still face barriers in contributing to and benefitting from development.

This study aimed at investigating the relationship that exists between the status of women and fertility in Zambia, with special reference to Lusaka Urban. This was achieved by, among other things, finding out the extent to which a woman's educational attainment influences the number of children that she has, finding out the relationship between a woman's age at first marriage and fertility and investigating if a woman's involvement in formal employment influences the number of children that she is likely to have.

Six out of the fifty nine residential areas in Lusaka Urban were purposively selected. These were Kabulonga and Rhodes Park (low density); Kamwala and Libala (Medium density); and Kalingalinga and Misisi (High density). The stratified random sampling method was used to get a sample of 360 and the simple random sampling method was used in selecting the respondents.

This study has among other things revealed that women in Lusaka are discriminated against in their access to education and employment. The mean educational attainment for women is Grade nine whilst that for men is Grade twelve.

The difference between the two means is statistically significant at 0.05 level ('t' value is 4.5 and probability level is 0.00). Only 32.8% of the women are in employment compared to 100% of the men. Due to the women's low access to Salaried employment, they have less income compared to men. The mean income for the former is ZMK 198,559.32 (US\$75.35) whilst that for the latter is ZMK369,035.71 (US\$140.05).

This study has also revealed that the number of children wished for is higher among those with no school/Primary education (5.6) while those with Secondary education rank second (5.0) and those with Post Secondary education rank third (4.0). There is a weak inverse correlation (-0.34) between the number of children a woman in Lusaka wishes to have and her educational attainment. This is statistically significant at the 0.01 level.

There is also a weak inverse relationship (-0.17) between the number of children a woman in Lusaka has and her age at first marriage. Though the relationship is weak when all the areas are considered, the situation varies from one residential area to another. In Kamwala, the relationship is strong and inverse (-0.72). It is statistically significant at the 0.05 level. In the rest of the areas, the relationship is either weak and inverse or strong and inverse, but not statistically significant.

This study has also revealed that the average number of children that women in formal employment have (2.8) is less than that of those who are not in formal employment (3.7). Though this is the case, the difference is not statistically significant.

The Zambian government had for a long time had no policy on gender. The nearest that the former ruling party, the United National Independence Party (UNIP), came to having one was when it included a chapter on Women and Development in the Fourth National Development Plan in 1989. The goals in this chapter just revolved around the notion of increasing women's participation in the development process. When the Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD) came into power in 1991, it gave some initial promise of a more defined and radical gender policy in that its manifesto reveals that it recognises the specific oppression that women in Zambia have continued to suffer from and therefore, will accord full and equal rights to women in all aspects of national life. In 1996, the MMD government, through the Gender in Development Division, formulated the National Gender Policy. This policy which has now been approved by cabinet\* has, as its goals, the attainment of equality and equity in all aspects of life in the context of sustainable national development and redressing gender imbalances and disadvantages.

It is in view of the above status quo that the following recommendations are made in this study.

- a. Government should establish a national machinery for women's advancement as government departments and ministries cannot easily implement a national gender policy.

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\*Cabinet approved the National Gender Policy on 6th March, 2000.

- b. The mass media should also be used in a serious campaign targeted primarily at men in order to raise the nation's consciousness about the importance of women's role and their potential contribution to development.
- c. The government should substantially improve the implementation of the ongoing programs in the social sectors. Many of its stated policies are credible, but projects are implemented too slowly or not at all.
- d. All discriminatory laws and ordinances should be repealed. This will contribute to improving the status of all Zambian women.
- e. Future researchers should among other things, include information on other major allocative decisions families make, such as, children's schooling and the organisation of childcare. This is more especially useful when considering the relationship between work and fertility.
- f. There is also need for future researchers to make comparison between the distribution of the status of women in rural and urban areas. Mapping this distribution would be beneficial to planners, more especially, if the areas to be studies are many.

# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Introduction

This study aimed at looking at the status of women in relation to fertility in Lusaka. It was based on a survey of 360 respondents (177 men and 183 women). The survey was conducted in the following six residential areas of Lusaka Urban: Kabulonga, Rhodes Park, Kamwala, Libala, Kalingalinga and Misisi.

### 1.2 Advancement of the Status of Women: A Universal Cry

It is only recently that the status of women has aroused widespread interest among students of population world wide. This is because traditionally, the concentration of researchers has been on the status of men, that is, the opportunities men have in life. As such, before the 1970s it was rare for women to be mentioned in the great works on class and status (Blake, 1974). At this point, it is worth noting that serious studies on the status of women in developed countries began earlier than in developing countries (in the early 70s for the former and late 80s for the latter).

The neglect of women's social positions came about due to the fact that the status of women is derived. Traditionally, the ranked position of women in society is in such a way that for the whole of their life time, they are expected to participate in terms of kinship attachment to men, that is, to a father when they are still young and to a husband when older. In this case, they are viewed as being dependent on men (Blake, 1974; United Nations [UN], 1994 and Rivebangira, 1996). The domination of women by men is more prominent in developing than it is in developed countries.

It has become clear from all the world conferences held on the status of women that the marginalisation of women in society continues to be distressingly universal, “From Nairobi (1985), Vienna (1993), Cairo (1994) to Beijing (1995), the agenda has been the same: removing the gender imbalances and advancing the status and role of women....” (Government of the Republic of Zambia [GRZ], 1996b:3). When one considers the relationships between men and women, it appears that every country experiences tensions that hinder women’s full participation in the social, economic and political life of the community. Indications are such that power and control of resources are more of a responsibility of men than women. According to Boserup (1990), though men are the main producers of cash crops, their female family members are required to provide the manual work needed in the production and processing. It does not matter whether women do most or all the work on cash crops for at the end of it all, it is the men who often sell the crops and pocket the income.

What happened in the Kenyan Parliament in 1979 acts as an example of how men are generally very negative towards the emancipation of women. When an attempt was made to alter the power imbalance between husbands and wives, the predominantly male Kenyan Parliament soundly defeated it. To most of them a bill which would have required a wife’s permission for her husband to take a second wife and given wives in polygamous unions equal property and inheritance was considered as un-African and culturally unacceptable. The bill would have also made adultery legal ground for divorce and spouse beating a crime (Mott and Mott, 1980). In view of the above scenerio, Kelly (1994:7) argues that

so universal is this discrimination, and so pervasive and subtle are its manifestations, that an insidious outcome has been that until very recently most men, women themselves, and virtually all children

accepted it as self-evident that the proper and almost unique role of a woman was as a wife and mother, as a provider for the family, as a subordinate companion and helpmate to a husband, as a domestic worker, as a dependent person who, in many cases, enjoyed little right to a life of her own or to control over such a life as she had.

The gender discrimination in women's access to decision making positions is a good example which shows the inequalities which exist between men and women. According to UN (1991) and Southern African Economist [SAE] (1995), the hurdles that women face when they try to succeed in the world of politics, be it traditional or financial, are compounded by the obstacle that is theirs by birth - that of gender.

Women constitute 50% or more of the world's population, but their representation in the highest circles of government is less than 10%. Actually, only 3.5% of the world's Cabinet Ministers were women in 1990 (UN, 1991). UN (1991:52-53), further states that:

Al Bukhari, an Islamic text ordained that a nation will never attain success whose control has been entrusted to a woman'. Even in the twentieth century a British Member of Parliament had the nerve to argue: 'A woman in the House of Commons is a contradiction in terms.....' It is still in politics where they (women) have the least access. Here, perhaps more than any other profession, women have discovered that to reach the top, they often cannot match men, but must outdo them. A proverb makes this point clear: 'whereas a man can be made of silver, a woman must be made of gold'.

Though women have increased their participation in mass politics over recent decades, this has been concentrated in lower echelons of public administration and political parties. For example, Zambian women are actively involved in politics at grassroot levels and their active involvement as political organisers, campaigners and

fundraisers has helped in strengthening the base of a number of political parties, for example, MMD. Though it was expected that the democratisation of 1991 would automatically increase the representation of women as councillors, members of parliament (MPs) and Cabinet Ministers, there is still a disturbing absence of women in decision making bodies of political parties. Male domination has clearly adapted well to the democratic system (UN, 1991 and Zambia Association for Research and Development [ZARD], 1994). Table 1.1 shows the gender gaps in decision making in Zambia.

Table 1.1: **Gender Gaps in Top Decision Making Positions in Zambia**

Indicator	F/M* <sup>1</sup>	G.G* <sup>2</sup>	Source	F/M	G.G.	Source
Mayors	1991 0:100	100%	MLG (1995)	1995 0:100	100%	MLG(1995).
Cabinet Ministers	1988 0:100	100%	Government Secretariat, (1995).	1997 4:96	92%	Government Secretariat, (1997).
Defence Force and Police Decision Making positions	1988 0:100	100%	Ministry of Defence, (1995).	1995 0:100	100%	Ministry of Defence (1995).
Permanent Secretaries	1974 9:91	82%	Government Secretariat, (1995).	1995 19:81	62%	Government Secretariat, (1995).
Supreme Court Judges	1985 0:100	100%	High Court Registry, (1994).	1993 14:86	72%	High Court Registry, (1994).

Key

F/M\*<sup>1</sup>: Female to Male Ratio

G.G\*<sup>2</sup>: Gender Gap

MLG: Ministry of Local Government

Source: ZARD (1997:47).

When one considers women's representation in Parliament, it can be said that though there are more female MPs in the present Zambian parliament than the previous one (i.e 1991 to 1996), there is need for more representation of women. This is especially true when one considers the fact that women account for 52% of Zambia's population. Out of 150 MPs, only 15 (10%) are women. This is a sad situation more especially considering the fact that during the 1996 Presidential and General Elections more than 200 women registered to contest the parliamentary elections, only 60 were adopted as candidates and out of these only 15 were elected (Research Association of Zambian Women Academic [RAZWA], 1997). Table 1:2 shows the number of MPs by sex and election years.

Table 1.2: **Members of Parliament in Zambia by Sex and Election Years from 1968-1996**

Position	1968		1973		1983		1988		1991		1996	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
Members of Parliament	1	104	5	120	3	122	6	119	6	144	14	136

Source: Central Statistical Office [CSO], 1996:7

Local Government elections, which took place on 31st December, 1998 also reveal the gender discrimination in Zambian Women's access to decision making positions. Out of the 1,257 candidates only 220 women were adopted by political parties and yet 514 women had shown interest to stand. Finally, only 67 women were elected as councillors and worse still out of these only one was elected as Mayor. The number of 67 female councillors represents a 300% increase from the 1992 Local Government elections when 26 women were elected as councillors.

### 1.3 **The Status of Women: A determinant of Fertility**

The inequalities that exist between men and women in terms of key dimensions of prestige, wealth and power are as a result of the existing social hierarchies based on a system of sex stratification (Safilios-Rothschild 1985b). This, of course, is more especially a true picture of the low income Third World Countries. "The sex stratification system places men in the privileged group whose superior status is supported and reinforced by law, policies, and institutional mechanisms that accord them preferential treatment and whose dominant position is justified by religious, traditional, moral and/or pseudoscientific ideologies and beliefs" (Safilios-Rothschild, 1985b:1). This, therefore, means that the next thing one should expect in such a society is a social stratification system. In this case, women in countries that have a lower degree of social development and/or lower degree of equality of income distribution have a lower status in terms of access to valuable resources. It is, however, important to note that even in these low income Third World Countries, differences do exist in as far as social stratification is concerned. Social stratification is more prominent in rural areas than in urban areas. When one considers urban areas, differences also do exist between high, medium and low density residential areas.

Since the sex stratification system obstructs women's access to valued resources, especially to paid work, women in such societies tend to value children most as they can control them. Therefore, children constitute an important power and prestige basis for women. When children are considered as a source of labour in a household's production system, the outcome is high fertility (Safilios-Rothschild, 1985b).

#### 1.4 **Statement of the Problem**

Most of the women in Third World Countries, of which Zambia is part, have little access to productive resources and thus depend on children for social status and economic security. The outcome of this is high fertility which hampers efforts to invest in human resources and protect the environment. When fertility is high, there is a struggle to access accommodation, employment and health services among other things. There is, therefore, need to investigate the relationship that exists between the status of women and fertility in Zambia. In this study, a comparison of this relationship will be made among residential areas with low, medium and high densities.

#### 1.5 **Definition of Terms**

The concept of 'status of women' is on nearly everyone's tongue nowadays. In newspapers, on televisions and on radios one reads and hears of 'the status of women' and yet, though this concept is common most people tend to wonder what it really means. Actually, there are even claims that 'the status of women' is an elusive concept. Though this is the case, one will appreciate the fact that there is a considerable agreement about its conceptualization (Safilios-Rothschild, 1985a). According to Safilios-Rothschild (1985b:1), "the status of women can be defined in terms of the degree to which they have access to valued resources such as, food; health care; education and training; paid employment; credit; specialized training; membership in special interest organizations, clubs, or cooperatives that can help increase access to information and training, key services and inputs and marketing outlets; and access to political participation and decision-making power at different levels." It can also be defined as women's "access to and control of social and economic resources or options

relative to men” (Govindasamy and Malhotra, 1966:330). “It also refers to women’s power and autonomy reflected in their ability to control important events in their lives or their freedom from control by others, either in the household, the family or society” (Banda, 1993:39). In this study the concept of status of women will be used to refer to women’s access to education and formal employment, and their power and autonomy as is reflected in their ability to control significant events in their lives. This will be done by comparing the status of women and men in various residential areas.

Population is dynamic and as such whatever processes take place in connection with it are continuous. This means that changes occur in population every second, every minute, every hour, every day, every week, every month and every year. These changes can either be in the form of decrease or increase in population. Several methods are used to measure the decrease or increase of population. This is done in order to know the changes that have taken place. Fertility, as one of these measures, is a function of many factors which include the status of women. Witherick (1990:30) states that:

In common usage, fertility refers to the ability of living things to bear offspring and to produce, - be it food, ideas or whatever. In population studies, however, whilst fertility broadly indicates the creative element in natural change, as distinct from the destructive element of death, it means the actual occurrence of live - births.

In this study it will be used to refer to the average number of children that women, within the age group of 15-49 years, have.

## 1.6 Focus of the Study

A number of studies [for example, by Achola (1983), Kiremene (1989) Longwe (1985) and Sakala (1993)] have been carried out on the status of women and in most of them, if not all, the general picture that one gets is that women in Zambia are discriminated against in their access to social and economic resources. The most prominent of these studies is the one carried out by ZARD in 1994. Research on the status of women as a determinant of fertility in Zambia is lacking. It is for this reason that this study focuses on a detailed study of women's status as a determinant of fertility at a local level while concentrating on different geographical types of residential areas for it to give us a clearer picture about the situation.

## 1.7 Objectives of the Study

Most of the women in Third World Countries, of which Zambia is part, have little access to productive resources and thus depend on children for social status and economic security. In overall terms this study, therefore, aimed at investigating the relationship that exists between the status of women and fertility in Zambia with special reference to Lusaka Urban. The following specific objectives were addressed.

- a. To assess the socio-economic status of women in Lusaka in general and different residential areas in particular in relation to their male counterparts;
- b. to find out the extent to which a woman's educational attainment influences the number of children that she has;
- c. to investigate the extent to which the spousal age difference influences fertility;

- d. to find out the relationship between a woman's age at first marriage and fertility;
- e. to investigate if a woman's involvement in formal employment influences the number of children that she is likely to have;
- f. to find out if the autonomy of women within the sphere of domestic decision-making has an impact on fertility;
- g. to find out the relationship between the woman's status and type of accommodation that she has and
- h. make relevant recommendations to relevant stakeholders e.g. planners, policy makers, communities and other researchers.

### 1.8 Hypotheses of the Study

Related to the objectives highlighted above are the following hypotheses.

- a. the status of women in Lusaka in general and specific residential areas is lower than that of their male counterparts;
- b. the number of children a woman has is significantly a function of her educational attainment;
- c. there is a significant increase in the number of children that a woman has with the increase in the spousal age difference;
- d. the number of children a woman has is significantly associated with her age at first marriage;
- e. a woman's involvement in formal employment significantly reduces the number of children that she is likely to have;

- f. there is a significant association between the autonomy of women within the sphere of domestic decision-making and fertility and
- g. the type of accommodation a woman has is significantly a function of her status.

### 1.9 Rationale of the Study

Empowering women by improving their economic and social status is essential for the achievement of sustainable development. This is because when a woman lacks access to productive resources and control over household income, she will depend on children for social status and economic security. This leads to a high population growth rate [Jacobson, (1992) and Karl, (1995)]. A high population growth rate contributes to environmental degradation and undermines efforts to manage resources on a sustainable basis. A necessary step in reducing births voluntarily, then, is to increase women's access to and control of productive resources.

Zambia's Total Fertility Rate (TFR) of 6.1 and population growth rate of 3.1% per annum (Population Reference Bureau [PRB], 1999) show the need for controlling our population growth rate. Such a rapid population growth rate inhibits efforts to raise incomes in our country which has a poor economy. Apart from that, it hinders the efforts to reduce the incidence of poverty. This is because continually increasing numbers hinder efforts to expand access to education and other social services. Results from this study can, therefore, assist policy makers in making policies that will help in raising the status of women so as to reduce fertility. Those who already have large families can teach their children ways of reducing fertility. This study was also intended to come up with data on the geographical distribution of the status of women

in Lusaka. As there is scanty materials in literature concerning this, it is hoped that this study will form a basis for further similar studies. The data could be useful for urban planning purposes.

### 1.10 **Organization of the Dissertation**

This dissertation is divided into five chapters. Chapter two provides background information of the study in that it reviews the available literature on the subject. This is done by first considering women's empowerment as a vital prerequisite to sustainable development, followed by the status of women and fertility in developing countries and the status of women in relation to fertility in Africa. Thereafter, the status of women and fertility in Zambia is discussed.

Chapter three consists of the study area and the methodology used in the study. To start with the factors influencing the selection of the study area are given. This is followed by the location of the study area, the importance of the study area, the population of the study area, data collection, sampling procedures, the pilot survey and limitations of data sources. Finally, the manner in which data is analysed and presented is discussed.

Chapter four presents the findings of the study. This is done by first comparing the status of women in Lusaka to that of their male counterparts. This is followed by an analysis on the effect of educational attainment on the number of children which is followed by that of the influence of spousal age difference on the number of children. The rest of the analysis comes out as follows: the association between a woman's age at first marriage and the number of children she has; the effect of a woman's involvement in formal employment on the number of children that she is likely to have,

the association between the autonomy of women within the sphere of domestic decision-making and fertility; and the relationship between the type of accommodation a woman has and her status.

Chapter five gives the conclusion of the findings and recommendations for future planning policies and research related to this subject.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.1 Women's Empowerment: A Vital Prerequisite to Sustainable Development**

According to Kelly (1994:7), "the empowerment and autonomy of women and improvement of their political, social, economic and health status, is a highly important end in itself". Not only is women's empowerment an end in itself but it is also essential for the achievement of sustainable development. This is because women constitute an important resource in any meaningful development. Education, which is key to the empowerment of women helps in showing how women's empowerment is a prerequisite to sustainable development. Karl (1995) states that educated women are better able to protect their environment than uneducated ones. This is because unlike the uneducated women who are more likely to bear greater number of children than their environment can fully support, educated women bear fewer children. Educated women are thus preferable partners in creating a sustainable future. The fact that women are guardians of natural wisdom in their societies makes them vital to our vision of a sustainable future. Being the first educators, they can do the most to change habits and beliefs of a new environment.

#### **2.2 The Status of Women as a Determinant of Fertility in Developing Countries**

The commission on the status of women undertook a five-year review and appraisal of the implementation of the Nairobi Forward - looking strategies in 1990.

"The commission found that the situation of women had deteriorated in many parts of

the world, especially in developing countries, where economic stagnation or negative growth, continued population increases, the growing burden of debt and the reduction of public expenditures for social programmes had further constrained opportunities for women to improve their situation" (UN, 1991:2). The results also show that the status of women in spheres of education, employment and health was decreasing at an alarming rate. Most governments gave a low priority to the issue of the advancement of women.

### 2.3 The Situation in Pakistan

Pakistan is one of the countries which is believed to have a high Total Fertility Rate (TFR) of 5.4 because of the subordinate status of women in that country. Women's status in Pakistan is determined by their prescribed role in Islam. They are viewed as wives and mothers. Men must economically provide for women whilst the latter must marry and reproduce to earn status. According to Sathar et al: (1988:415-416), "...women are rarely given autonomy to make their own choices about whom to marry and when, how many children to have, whether to work, and whether to observe purdah - the seclusion of women from nonrelated males". The patriarchal structure that prevails in Pakistan greatly limits the possibilities for women to be active outside the home. Women are allocated roles within the household whilst those outside the home are preserved for men. UN (1993:4) states that "paid work for women outside the home is viewed with suspicion. Schooling for girls is likewise mistrusted."

## 2.4 The Situation in India

India is yet another country which gives a good example of how low the status of women is, compared to that of men. Though the education of females is extremely important in the development of a nation, India is one of the developing countries in which gender disparities in education participation still exist. Seventy six per cent of boys aged 6-14 are in school whilst only fifty nine per cent of girls within the same age group are in school. According to UNFPA (1995), to reach school enrolment age in the first place, girls must buck the prevailing trend: the risk of dying between the ages of one and five is 43 per cent higher among girls than among boys. This is one of the greatest sex-based mortality differences in the world.

Once enrolled, most of the girls do not reach the last grade due to a number of reasons and marriage is one of them. Though it is not legal for a girl to marry before she is 18 years old, one in three women aged 20-24 in rural areas, marries before reaching her fifteenth birthday. Since these marriages are prearranged women are exposed to even more sinister forms of discrimination such as bride burning and dowry deaths (UN,1991). UN (1991:23) further states that "when a woman leaves her home on her wedding day, she is told, 'now only your dead body can leave your husband's house". As far as the in-laws are concerned, the bride may be little more than a source of status and dowry income. This state of affairs makes the husband's family to be at liberty to get rid of a marriage problem arising by getting rid of the bride. This is because once a wife dies the man is free to remarry without the inconvenience of divorce proceedings.

Another way in which the low status of women is revealed is through the amount of time they spend doing domestic work as compared to men. This is reflected in the following old English couplet - 'For man's work ends at setting sun, yet women's work is never done.' Jacobson (1992) gives a picture of what happens in Sikandernagar, a village in the Indian state of Andhra Pradesh. The women of this village work three shifts per day; from 04.00 hours to 08.00 hours, they light fire, milk buffaloes, sweep floors, fetch water and feed their families. Weeding crops is done from 08.00 hours to 17.00 hours. After this, they forage for branches, twigs and leaves to fuel their cooking fires, grass to feed the buffaloes and wild vegetables to nourish their children. Eventually, they return home to cook dinner and do evening chores. These women spend twice as many hours per week working to support their families as do the men in their village.

Such gender biasness is considered as a primary cause of poverty in that it prevents a lot of women from obtaining, among other things, the education, health services and legal status needed to escape from poverty. Not only is gender bias a primary cause of poverty, but also the single most important cause of rapid population growth. Women's little access to productive resources and little control over family income leads to dependence on children for social status and economic security. Increasing women's productivity and their control over resources is therefore, a necessary step in reducing births voluntarily (Jacobson, 1992). Mackeller (1997:369) echoes this point by stating that "empower women and alleviate poverty, runs the argument, and high fertility will take care of itself."

## 2.5 Costa Rica's Story

A direct connection exists between culturally determined behavioural patterns and beliefs, and fertility in Costa Rica. Since fertility is a social phenomenon, it is frequently influenced by changes in other cultural areas. The levels of education of Costa Ricans, especially those of women, have had a strong impact on fertility (UN, 1985).

### 2.5.1 The relationship between formal education and fertility

Traditionally, Costa Rican women had remained in the home until they married. Since the women's main task was to be home-makers many parents felt that their daughters did not need any formal education. The scenario has since changed. The increase in the level of formal education of Costa Rican women has resulted in their broader participation in economically remunerative pursuits (UN, 1985). (UN, 1995:23) sheds more light on this by stating that:

Education influences decisively a woman's overall health, her access to paid employment and her control over family size and birth-spacing, as well as the education and health of her children. Education empowers women with knowledge that allows informed choice in family and non-family matters, enables them to assume a status and identity beyond those connected with child-bearing, and provides exposure to new values that are likely to enhance autonomy.

There is a difference in the education and fertility levels of women in urban and in rural areas. The former have higher literacy levels and lower fertility whilst the latter have lower literacy levels and higher fertility. Women in rural areas have fewer opportunities to attend school or universities and as a result they tend to be subjected to the wishes of parents, brothers, and later, husbands. The existence of the 'machismos phenomenon' is more obvious in these areas. The man decides when and

what should be done in the home and has the right to decide whether his daughters or wife should work outside the home. Family planning, in this case, is not easily accepted as the man fears that the woman will be unfaithful and feels insecure about the possibility of extra marital conception (UN, 1985).

### 2.5.2 Behaviour in the Home

The increase in the participation of women in economic life has resulted in changes in the roles of family members. Women are demanding for an increase in their husbands' and sons' share of household duties. Moreover, greater access to education has resulted in children no longer being seen as a 'means of helping to support the household (UN, 1985).

According to UN (1985), studies on the value of children have proved that less educated women see their children as a source of help in maintaining the home and providing support for parents in their old age whilst those with secondary and higher education do not view motherhood as such and the number of children as decisive factors in the lives of women. The latter group regards children as only one of the elements that may help women towards self-fulfilment and it is of course at par with working outside the home and sharing with a husband. "The more liberal and changing attitudes about the role of women have resulted in a more thoughtful approach to the question of fertility, in which having children is weighed against other priorities in a household and in women's lives" (UN, 1985:63).

## 2.6 The Status of Women as a Determinant of Fertility in Africa

Reports from all over Africa reveal that the continent's females are trailing further and further behind their male counterparts. "The scenario varies from region to region, country to country, and even village to village, but at the end of the day, Africa's women are marginalised" (Southern African Economist {SAE}, 1995:2). According to (UN, 1994:91), "the majority of the African national reports attribute the low status of women to several causal factors, of which the most powerful one is tradition." In most of the African countries, cultural perceptions confer prestige to women who bear many children, especially sons for whom there is an overall preference (Rodda, 1994 and UN, 1994). Sampa et al. (1994:3) echoe this sentiment by stating that "traditional values give men priority rights over women in line with a woman's utility as an asset... wives are esteemed for their faithfulness to their male protectors and for the productive and reproductive conditions they make to their families."

The differentiating of roles between women and men by the traditional society has made women's workloads in the home to be disproportionately larger than those of men (Central Statistical Office [CSO], 1991). The situation is worse for women in rural areas. More than 50% of African women live and work in rural areas. Such women's workloads are still characterized by an average of 16-hour work day (SAE, 1995). They are considered as the consumers whose overall responsibility is reproduction and domestic work whilst in the actual sense they fill the multiple roles of both producers and consumers in addition to being home managers, mothers and community organisers. Though these women are the main producers of household food supplies, most of them lack title to land and access to credit facilities, technology

and extension services. This makes it difficult to alleviate poverty among the women (Made and Matambanadzo, 1996). In this case women tend to depend on children for social status. The result of this is a high TFR. No wonder Sub-Saharan Africa's TFR is 5.3 as compared to 4.0 as an average for all developing countries (PRB,2000).

## **2.7 The Situation in Botswana**

The remarkable economic progress which Botswana made by 1994 resulted in impressive growth rates in economic and social sectors. Some examples are: a) more than 80% of those aged 7-13 now have access to nine year basic education, b) adult literacy rate is approximated at 74% and, c) life expectancy is 44 years. Previously most of the proportions were lower than this. Though the economy has grown at approximately 11% per annum and employment opportunities have more than doubled in the last twenty years, not all economic sectors and population groups have equally benefited from this. For all Botswana citizens to enjoy the benefits of development, gender disparity among, other disparities, must be addressed (SAE, 1995).

### **2.7.1 Women's Access to Education**

Botswana is one of the African countries which shows how women are discriminated against in the access to education. Though the post-independence period has seen a doubling of education opportunities and facilities, gender disparities are still prevalent at senior secondary and tertiary levels. The total enrolment of females at these levels is less than 50% (SAE, 1995). Gender biases in curriculum, education material and career choices; science and mathematics subjects, are some of the factors contributing to unequal access to higher levels of education among women (SAE,

1995). The school curricula and text books are prepared in such a way that females are cast in subordinate, secondary roles. The male-biased character of teaching materials enforces the idea that education is irrelevant for girls (Thin, 1995). Indeed, it reinforces the negative image that teachers and students have (from the society) on girls and their potential. These portrayals have been accepted as the reflection of reality by boys and girls, as well as teachers and other users; "the supposed reality being that power, resources and initiative rested with males and submissiveness, dependency and conformity with females" (Kelly, 1994:64). Siamwiza and Kasuta (1993:5) argue that this has made girls to be "victims of cultural conditioning which impresses on them the fallacy that they are not as capable of high academic achievements as boys are and that it is futile and in bad taste to compete with males in technical and scientific subjects which require abstract thinking".

The above situation is unfortunate when one considers the fact that women's education acts as a key to their empowerment. An educated woman is more likely to access many sources of information and developing a wider perspective on her culture than an uneducated one. "Education, along with mass media, lowers the cost of fertility regulation by providing information, altering cultural norms, challenging traditional beliefs, and encouraging the problem - solving approach in life" (Banda, 1993:35). Caldwell (1980:228) states that, "... in the contemporary developing world, the school serves as a major instrument for propagating the values, not of the local middle class, but of the western middle-class." High fertility is, in this case, regarded as disastrous. As a result it becomes easier for an educated woman to appreciate the advantage of having a smaller number of children than an uneducated one. One important fact which is worth noting is that, it is at secondary and tertiary levels that

the impact of formal education on fertility is greater. This shows the need for removing the current big gender gaps at the secondary and tertiary levels (Caldwell, 1980):

## 2.8 Tanzania's Experience

The prevalent attitudes and cultural practices of both Tanzanian women and men have an influence on the status of women. "For example, in many communities it is generally believed and accepted that women, and only women, are responsible for almost all of the housework; food preparation, and child care" (Rivebangira, 1996:10). Housework for rural women can also include chores such as fetching fuelwood and water, sowing seeds and harvesting food, grinding, pounding and milling grains. Rivebangira (1996:10) further states that "among the Sukuma, for example, women are usually responsible for the construction of their traditional mud houses (Manyata) to protect their families."

### 2.8.1 Women's Access to Education

Traditionally, parents used to regard investing in boys' education as having more economical gains than investing in girls' education. They feared that girls could lose marriage chances (by being educated), marrying early and stop working for their parents, or move to their spouse's villages. In some ethnic groups such as the Coastal Zaramo, Makonde and Matumbi, girls are kept at home for a number of months if not a year or more when they reach puberty. During this time they undergo some traditional initiation rituals which prepare them for marriage. In this case school programmes are interfered with and as a result girls have sometimes missed schooling opportunities in this manner (Rivebangira, 1996).

The Tanzanian government sought to redress this situation by enacting an Education Act in 1978. Primary education was in this case made compulsory and universal. This development was a positive one for women as it facilitated equal access to primary schooling. Rivebengira (1996) quotes Pija and Kassimoto (1994) by stating that primary school enrolment of girls was 50% and 49% in 1986 and 1991, respectively. 'It is an offence under this Act, to cause a child between 7 and 13 years to drop out of such school' (Rivebangira, 1996:41). This means that no parent or guardian can remove a young girl from school for the purposes of arranged marriages and domestic labour.

The move made by the Tanzanian government is a commendable one when we consider the fact that education acts as a 'woman's foot in the door of the modern world', that is, the world of books, family planning services and post offices among other things. Women's confidence and self esteem increase and as a result they are able to use the resources of the modern world to make their own choices and improve their lives. This helps to increase women's decision-making processes in their marriage situation. UNFPA (1990:23), echoes this by stating that "educated women tend to communicate more with their husbands, to be more involved in family decisions and to be more respected: more able in other words to plan what happens in their lives."

### **2.8.2 Women's Access to Managerial Decision-making Positions**

Despite the International Declarations affirming the equality of men and women, women in decision-making and management positions still remain fewer than men in Tanzania. There are great disparities in the proportion of women in terms of access to decision-making. By 1995, women managers in Tanzania constituted a very

small minority of up to 20%. “These women were not in top decision-making positions, but in lower cadre positions like personnel and marketing managers, and directors of corporate departments, chief accountants and financial controllers” (SAE, 1995:28).

Women are hindered from advancing to top management positions because they are bearers and nurturers of children. SAE (1995:28), argues that “the number of women at the top in management is very low simply because their careers are affected between the ages of 21 and 35, which is the period for child bearing”. At this stage men are busy upgrading themselves whilst the women folk are focusing on their families. If the women decide to wait for their children to grow up they will advance in age and will be considered too old for a masters or doctorate degree. Their going for further studies at this stage can also result in their missing the maturity period for a managerial position which is normally between the ages of 40 and 45. Another reason for women’s failure to advance to top levels is men’s fear of sharing power with women. “In most cases, this fear is disguised in aggressive approaches towards the women or men take on a ‘superiority complex’, believing that women know less than men” (SAE, 1995:28).

## 2.9 Tunisia: A Successful Story

Tunisia is a good example of a country where enhancing the status of women has helped to lower the TFR. According to Banda (1993), in the mid 70s, Tunisia passed laws aimed at abolishing polygamy and establishing equal rights between men and women; and increasing the minimum legal marriage ages to 17 and 20 for women and men, respectively. These laws helped in raising the status of women and as a

result Tunisia's average desired number of children declined from 4.8 in 1968 to 3 in 1987. Tunisia's TFR now stands at 2.8 (PRB, 2000). This is the lowest TFR on mainland Africa. Therefore, enhancing the status of women has paid off in Tunisia.

## **2.10 The Status of Women as a Determinant of Fertility: The Zambian Experience**

Social and cultural attitudes in the traditional Zambian society assigned women an inferior status, side by side with men, in the social, economic and political life of our country and it took events such as the International Women's Year (1975) and the Decade for Women (1975) to help the Zambian government admit that women are discriminated against in law and in practice (ZARD, 1994). Though these events also helped the Zambian government to recognize women as constituting an important resource in any meaningful development, inequalities between women and men have persisted and major obstacles remain (UNFPA, 1995).

### **2.10.1 Zambian Women's access to Education**

Access to education is one of the fundamental human rights. According to CSO (1996:24), "It has been generally acknowledged that the education of females is extremely important in the development of a nation." This ties in with the saying that "if you educate a man, you educate one person; if you educate a woman, you educate the entire family" (UN, 1991:21). This is true in that it is the mother who spends more time with the children than the father. Children get their first lessons from mothers. If a mother is educated, there is a high probability for the children to be educated as well.

Though the above is the case, it is sad to note that Zambian women are discriminated against in their access to education. According to the Research

Association of Zambia Women Academics [RAZWA] (1997), about 38% of boys find places in secondary schools while only 27% of the girls do so and 44% of the boys progress to grade ten as compared to only 35% of girls. At university level, female students constitute only about 20% of the students.

There are several factors that have contributed to the low access rates to education among contemporary Zambian females. First and foremost, the home setting contributes to women being discriminated against in education. This is with reference to the division of labour by gender which is strongly related to ideas about the role of women as mothers, wives and care takers. Girls are, in this case, given time-consuming and routine work which gives them little time to study (Munachonga, 1989). Some of the responsibilities that girls are given at home are cleaning kitchen utensils, fetching firewood and water, and taking care of siblings while their mothers are busy with housework. This leaves girls with little time to continue with school work and also to meet the peer group after school to discuss what has been learnt in school. School, in this case, becomes uninteresting and the end result is girls dropping out of school (CSO, 1996).

Another factor that has contributed to the low access rates to education among contemporary Zambian women is the male-female inequality whose roots extend to pre-colonial indigenous social systems found in Zambian communities. Within these indigenous communities, women have been tacitly relegated to subordinate roles. "This very socialisation of young girls and boys inculcates a deeply ingrained outlook that the power to command and receive obedience and service is the prerogative of men, while the duty to obey and serve is the obligation of women" (Achola, 1983:111).

In one of his 1980 speeches, the then President of Zambia, Dr Kenneth Kaunda stated that Zambian women had risen sky-high in the government and all sectors of economic life since independence (ZARD, 1994). Today, twenty years after this speech, the literacy rates for males and females in Zambia are 86 and 71, respectively (PRB, 1999). These figures, reveal that women have not risen sky-high in education. This is especially true when one considers the fact that there is need for one to have a good educational background in order to be employed in the formal sector.

Female education, as one measure of status, has an impact on fertility. One way through which female education affects fertility is in the postponement of marriage. Since marriage marks the beginning of stable sexual relations, it increases the exposure of a woman in such a relationship to the risk of pregnancy. This, therefore, means that a woman who marries at an early age and continues the relationship up to her menopause has higher chances of having many children in the absence of any form of birth control than one who marries later (Mukoboto, 1991).

#### 2.10.2 **Zambian Women's Access to Employment**

The most reliable and viable source of income in the Zambian economy is offered by the formal sector employment. Though the employment opportunities have increased since independence, the formal employment offers jobs predominantly to men, particularly those in urban areas. The 1990 census reveals that 29.4% of the females in Zambia were employed as compared to 58.0% of their male counterparts (CSO, 1996). "The high employment rate for men implies that women are either not preferred in the formal job market or are engaged in informal employment settings more so within the households" (Central Bureau of Statistics [CBS], 1995:23).

ZARD (1997:22), argues that “women are still in minority in formal wage employment (about one in five) and more scarce at higher levels (only one in ten at the management level)”. Table 2.1 shows that women have increased their representation at levels of administration and management in the 1990s as compared to the 1980s. Though this is the case, there still exists a gender gap of 62%. “It is not enough to educate women without providing them job opportunities and empowering them to hold high-level managerial decision - making positions” (SAE, 1994:27).

Table 2.1 **Gender Gaps in Labour Market Participation**

INDICATOR	PAST		PRESENT	
	F/M* <sup>1</sup>	G.G.* <sup>2</sup>	F/M* <sup>1</sup>	G.G.* <sup>2</sup>
Administration and Managerial workers (27000 in 1993)	(1980) 11:89	78%	(1993) 19:81	62%
Unemployment Rate (Urban)* <sup>3</sup>	(1986) 31:12	19%	1993 44:26	18%

KEY

\*<sup>1</sup> Female to Male Ratio

\*<sup>2</sup> Gender Gap

\*<sup>3</sup> Here the F/M ratio gives the unemployment rate amongst females, as against the unemployment rate amongst males, i.e. It is not the F/M ratio amongst the unemployed.

Present: Refers to the 1990s.

Source: ZARD (1997).

It is not by accident that there are gender gaps in access to formal employment between men and women. This has come up as a result of discrimination against women in access to employment. The discrimination begins from the home setting where gender division of labour gives many women full time employment. From the

early morning hours to the late hours of the night women are busy with child rearing, looking after home and subsistence food production. The less hours which men spend working help them to have more time to enhance their status. They can do this by engaging themselves in studies. This is not easy for a woman who is always on her feet performing some task either at her place of work or home.

The barriers to women's participation in the formal employment sectors have resulted in creative occupational alternatives. Many of these women, particularly those in urban areas, have ended up being petty traders, craft producers and small entrepreneurs. Of these three, petty trading is the major source of informal sector income. Jules-Rosette (1982:6), argues that "such trading ranges from small scale vegetable vending and fishmongering to more lucrative home brewing and sale of beer and other illicitly produced alcoholic beverages".

Nowadays, it is common to see some of the women petty traders at work along the main roads of our town centres. They do this with the hope of having more customers, but unfortunately most of them may end a day with half of their perishables unsold. These, of course, end up going bad as they lack proper storage facilities or means of preservation. What is disturbing is the fact that with the minimal profits which these women get from petty trading, those who are married are expected to give profits over to their husbands. The expansion of their enterprises is thus further restricted by this expectation. This results in most married female home traders frequently abandoning selling after a few months due to frustration and low returns (Jules-Rosette, 1982).

Enhancing the status of women through the provision of formal employment helps them to interact with the 'outside world' and as a result they are able to get

information which will help in reducing their fertility. "Women who work outside home, particularly those who earn cash incomes, are presumed to have enhanced control over household decisions, increased awareness of the world outside home and subsequently more control over reproductive decisions" (Sathar et al. 1988:417). Actually, a woman who is employed in the formal sector has a higher probability of practicing fertility control than one who is not, because she does not have much time to be home with the children. Govindasamy and Malhotra (1996:331), argue that "...paid work should increase women's opportunity costs of having children as well as women's value and power in the family, giving them greater incentives and abilities to practice fertility control". Having children frequently can cost a woman her job as no employer is willing to offer a female employee maternity leave so often. Most employers require a minimum of two years to pass between two successive pregnancies for a female employee to be eligible for the grant of subsequent maternity leave (GRZ, 1995).

### 2.10.3 **Zambian Women's access to Health Services**

Zambian women, like women from other parts of the world, are the main providers and brokers of family and community health. Though this is the case, pre-existing inequalities have resulted in their own health needs being inadequately addressed. The government's policy of Structural Adjustment has contributed to women's being discriminated against in their access to health services. The reduction of government expenditure on health and social services, and the shifting of the responsibility onto the community and the families is the main aspect of this policy. "Given the traditional women's responsibility for health and welfare of the family, this

policy means, (in practice) shifting the responsibility from the government onto individual women; often desperate poor women” (ZARD, 1994:43). The shifting of the government’s responsibility for health to women means an addition to the women’s share of household chores.

Reproductive and sexual health of women is an issue that is worth considering under this section. Hardon (1995:121), defines reproductive health as “a state of complete physical, mental and social well being, and not merely the absence of disease and infirmity, in all matters relating to the reproductive system and its functions and processes”. When one considers the issue of reproductive health what comes out distinctly is the fact that there is need for people to have a satisfying and safe sexual life and also have the capability to reproduce and freedom to decide if, when and how often to do so. Sexual health refers to the integration of aspects of sexual being, such as emotional, intellectual and social, in ways that are positively enriching and that enhance personality, communication and love (Hardon, 1995). The above is in contrast to traditional society’s view that “a woman’s sexual drive is apparently desirable but only in order to satisfy a man’s own needs while the ability to impregnate at will satisfies the man’s control over the relationship” (Morokvasic, 1984:201).

#### 2.10.4 **Zambian Government’s Policy on Gender**

Although the Zambian government has participated in formulating, signing and ratifying declarations and conventions aimed at creating an enabling environment for equality of sexes (for example, the UN Declaration on Human Rights), it has had no national gender policy for a long time. The closest that Zambia, in the UNIP era, came to formulating a national policy on gender was when it presented gender goals in a

chapter on Women and Development in the Fourth National Development Plan (FNDP) of 1989-1993. Though this was the case, the goals just revolved around the notion of increasing women's participation in the development process. Equal rights had no place in this policy (GRZ, 1989; GRZ, 1996; ZARD/Southern African Research and Documentation Centre [SARDC] - Women in Development Southern Africa Awareness [WIDSAA] programme, 1998).

The coming of the MMD government into power in 1991 gave some initial promise of a more defined and radical gender policy. This is because in its manifesto the MMD recognises the specific oppression which Zambian women have continued to suffer and therefore, will accord full and equal rights to women in all aspects of national life and accepts the principles of affirmative action on gender issues among other things. The principle of affirmative action to achieve equal rights for women is also reflected in the 1996 MMD Manifesto (ZARD/SARDC-WIDSAA, 1998).

In the same year (1996) the former Women in Development (WID) Department of the National Commission for Development Planning (NCDP) was made into a division at Cabinet Office, that is, Gender in Development Division (GIDD). Government considers this to be the ideal situation as it (GIDD) has as its incharge a Permanent Secretary who reports directly to the President. GIDD also has its own budget allocation unlike when it was a unit or department under the NCDP (from 1987 up to the time when it became a division). It is through the GIDD that the Zambian government formulated the National Gender Policy in 1996. This policy, which had been on the drawing board for a long time has as its goal 'the attainment of equality and equity in all aspects of life in the context of sustainable national development and redressing gender imbalances and disadvantages.' GRZ (2000:ii) states that:

To secure a national consensus, the policy document was subjected to a wider gender consultation at a National Gender Policy Symposium held at Mulungushi International Conference Centre, from 11-14 December, 1998 under the auspices of Office of the Minister Without Portofolio. ....To further improve the document and bring it in line with other government policies, the policy was subjected to an ad hoc committee of Cabinet Ministers.

The policy was finally approved by Cabinet on 6th March, 2000. This is a powerful policy and one wishes it were seriously implemented.

#### 2.10.5 **Conclusion**

The topic of the status of women in relation to fertility is of recent origin and as a result not much has been done in Zambia to sensetize the nation about its importance. Most of the works just show how women in Zambia are discriminated against in their access to social services such as education, employment, and health. Normally, the relationship between women's status and fertility is theorized and therefore there is need to empirically investigate this relationship. In this study the relationship between the status of women and fertility in Zambia is investigated by including several direct measures of the women's position in the household and society while taking a geographical perspective.

## CHAPTER THREE

### THE STUDY AREA AND METHODOLOGY

#### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the selection of the study area and the methodology used in this study. It comprises nine sub sections namely: factors influencing the selection of the study area, location of the study area, importance of the study area, population of the study area, data collection, the sampling procedures, pilot study, limitations in data sources, and data analysis and presentation.

#### 3.2 Factors Influencing the Selection of the Study Area

The following were the factors which contributed to the selection of Lusaka Urban as the study area:

- a. Lusaka, being the commercial and administrative centre of Zambia, is a highly urbanised city. The city has relatively better social facilities and employment opportunities as compared to the rest of the towns in the country. This results in it being the most attractive destination of migrants. Its connection with Eastern Province, through the Great East Road; with Mpika and Nakonde, through the Great North Road; and Livingstone and the Copperbelt, through road and railway makes it easier for the migrants to travel to Lusaka. The resulting heterogeneous population makes it a suitable place for carrying out a study on the status of women in relation to fertility. Comparisons can be made between women in high, medium and low density residential areas. Thus an

assessment of variations in the spatial distribution of the status of women can be made.

- b. The author's familiarity with the area was one of the reasons for selecting Lusaka as a study area. This is because the current researcher had lived in Lusaka for more than five years at the time the study started, and had the ability to speak the common language used in the city (Chinyanja).
- c. Ease of access to the area due to the fact that the author resided in Lusaka at the time of the study was yet another reason of selecting it as a study area. The good transport network in the city also made it easy for one to travel to the various residential areas. In some cases, the author could even walk from where she resided to the sample area, for example from Northmead to Rhodes Park. This helped to cut down on the costs.

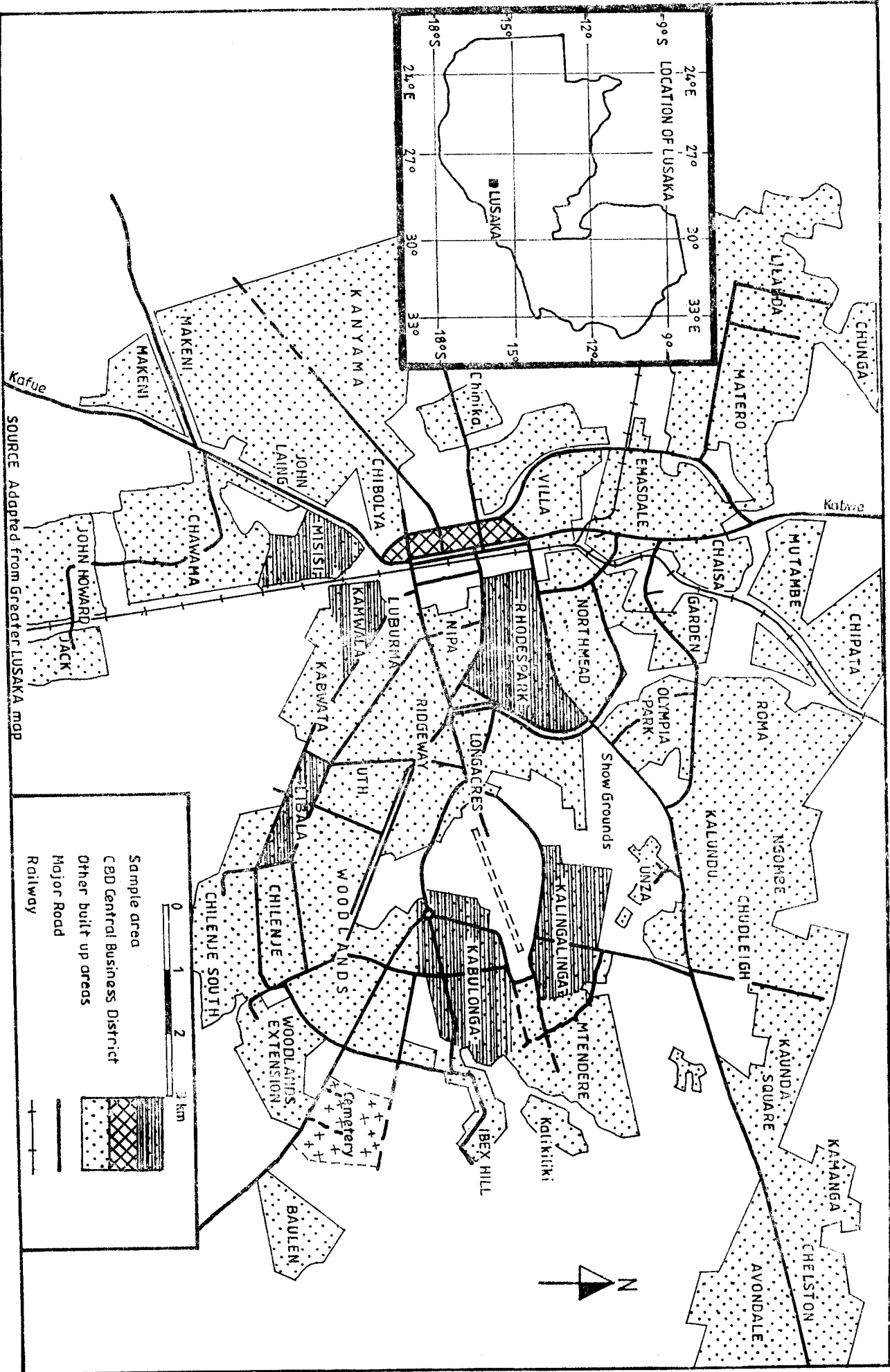
### 3.3 Location of the Study Area

Lusaka lies at longitude 28°16' East and latitude 15°25' South (see Fig.3.1). This is approximately in the centre of Zambia. It occupies the highveld part (land above 1,200 metres) of the Central African Plateau, with an average altitude of about 1,300 metres above sea level (Williams, 1986).

### 3.4 Importance of the Study Area

Lusaka takes its name from a Lenje Headman called Mwalusaaka. It was originally a small farming community area which developed from a railway siding built at Mwalusaaka's village in 1905. In 1913 it was designated a township under the

Fig. 3-1 LOCATION OF SAMPLED AREAS IN LUSAKA (Kabulonga, Kamwala, Kalingalinga, Rhodespark, Libda and Misisi)



SOURCE Adapted from Greater LUSAKA map

authority of the British South African Company (BSC). Lusaka became the capital city in 1935 (Williams, 1986).

The city is a professional and administrative town. Several institutions are found in Lusaka. Examples of these are the University of Zambia, University Teaching Hospital, National Institute for Public Administration and the National Assembly. Above all the State House is in Lusaka.

Being one of the fastest growing cities in Africa, Lusaka is not only important to Zambia, but also to other countries in the continent. The Headquarters of the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) are in Lusaka.

### **3.5 The Population of the Study Area**

Lusaka has experienced a rapid population growth since Zambia gained its independence in 1964. According to Williams (1986), Lusaka's population rose from 123,146 in 1963 to 262,425 in 1969. Lusaka's population stood at 421,000 in 1974 and it rose to 538,469 in 1980. The major causes for the rise in population were natural increase and rural-urban migration. According to the last census (1990), it stood at 985,362. The projected population for 1999 was 1,269,848 (630,950 females and 638,918 males) (CSO 1995).

### **3.6 Data Collection**

Data that were collected fall under two major categories, namely: Secondary and Primary.

### **3.6.1 Secondary Data Collection**

Secondary data were collected by making use of various libraries. Journals from the Institute of Economic and Social Research (INESOR) were made use of in order to get information on the status of Women and Fertility in Developing Countries. Books, journals and working papers from the University of Zambia (Geography Department Library and Main Library) were referred to in order to get information on women's access to economic and social resources, and fertility. In order to find out about the government's policy on the status of women in Zambia; annual reports, books and magazines from Women for Change Library were read. The ZARD Library provided the researcher with books and magazines which have information on the status of women in Zambia.

### **3.6.2 Primary Data Collection**

Structured and unstructured interviews were held with the appropriate people in order to collect primary data. This was done within a period of two months and two weeks, from 24th August, 1998 to 8th November, 1998. The period was longer than what the researcher had anticipated due to problems which were experienced in the field. Some of the problems are highlighted later in this chapter.

#### **3.6.2.1 Structured Interviews**

Structured Interviews were used to get information directly from respondents. This was based on an established questionnaire (see Appendix 1). This was made use of because the literacy rate of people in high density areas is low and as such it would

have been difficult for some to answer the questions accordingly. These interviews were conducted in order to:

- a) assess the socio-economic status of women in Lusaka,
- b) find out the extent to which a woman's education influences the number of children that she has and
- c) investigate the extent to which the spousal age difference influences fertility.

### 3.6.2.2 Unstructured Interviews

In order to assess government's policy towards the status of women in Zambia, an unstructured interview was held with the Director of Gender in Development Division (see Appendix 2). The information officers of Women for Change, Women's Lobby Group and ZARD were also interviewed in order to get Non-Governmental Organisations' views on the policy.

### 3.6.3 Sampling Procedure

Six out of the fifty nine residential areas in Lusaka urban were purposively selected. These are Kabulonga, Rhodes Park, Kamwala, Libala, Kalingalinga and Misisi. For a sample to be representative, it has to be 10.0% or more of its population (Mason and Lind, 1990). Due to resource and time constraints, six out of the fifty nine residential areas in Lusaka Urban (10.2%) were selected. The areas have different geographical characteristics and population densities. The first two are low density areas, the second two are medium and the last two are high density. Therefore, each type of the residential areas was included. The combination was meant to verify the

assumed differences that exist in women's access to social and economic resources in different residential areas.

The target group was that of men and women aged between fifteen and forty nine years who are believed to be sexually active and within the child bearing age group. According to CSO (1996) the total population of men and women of this age group in the six areas was 36,371 (18,000 men and 18,371 women). The number of men and women in this age group per residential area is as follows: Kabulonga - 2,112 and 2,153; Rhodes Park - 2,128 and 2,224; Libala - 3,395 and 3,907; Kamwala - 3,078 and 2,916; Kalingalinga - 3,349 and 3,297; and Misisi - 3,938 and 3,874.

A manageable sample size of 360 was selected due to resource and time constraints. Since it was expected that views of men and women concerning the status of women vary, the stratified random sampling method was used. The ratio of the sample to the population was 1:101. Each category of the population was multiplied by 1/101 to obtain the corresponding category of the sample. The outcome was as shown in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1 **Summary of the sample in relation to the population in the residential areas studied**

Residential Area	Population		Number of Respondents	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Kabulonga	2212	2153	21	21
Rhodes Park	2128	2224	21	21
Kamwala	3078	2916	30	30
Libala	3395	3907	33	39
Kalingalinga	3349	3297	33	33
Misisi	3938	3874	39	39
	18000	18371	177	183

The simple random sampling method was used in selecting the respondents. To begin with, a list of streets or sections or zones was drawn. This was done in order to give equal opportunity of selection for each house. In order to have a good representation; 30% of the streets or sections or zones were randomly sampled. In Rhodes Park - Chilekwa Mwamba, Chingombe, Enock Kavu, Joseph Mwilwa, Katemo, Lagos, Lubu, Matandani, Nkachibaya, Nyati, Omelo Mumba and Saise (12) were selected. In Kabulonga - Bishops, Chila, Kudu, Roan and off Sable (5) were included in the sample. In Kamwala - Chongwe, Kalungwishi, Luena, Lunga, Machili and Nang'ombe (6) were selected. In Libala - Chembe, Chipululu, Delele, Kaaze, Kalele, Kubu, Lunthanya, Moyangayanga, Mucheka, Sixteenth, Tiyi, and Yembe (12) formed part of the study area. In Kalingalinga - zones four, five and six (3) were included; and in Misisi - sections B and D (2) were fused in. Houses along the streets or in the sections or zones were then randomly sampled. It is from these houses that men and women aged 15-49 were interviewed.

### 3.7 Pilot Study

A pilot study was carried out before collecting the primary data. This was done in order to test the reliability of the questionnaire. The adequacy and clarity of the questionnaire were thus tested. The pilot study, therefore, helped the researcher to acquire some practical field work training to enable the actual execution of field work.

### **3.8 Limitations in Data Sources**

Just as is normally the case with many studies, data used in this study are not free of short comings. The limitations are in two categories, that is, limitations in the secondary and primary data.

#### **3.8.1 Limitations of Secondary data sources**

Though reports from the UN, Population Council and World Bank were made use of, there was scanty material in literature concerning the status of women in relation to fertility in Zambia. This is because most of the works focused on the developing countries in general.

#### **3.8.2 Limitations of primary data sources**

Limitations of primary data sources can be subdivided into two, that is, those of data collected by (a) using the unstructured and (b) using structured interviews.

##### **3.8.2.1 Limitations of data collected through unstructured interviews**

It was originally intended that Directors of Departments or Institutions be interviewed, but in a number of instances it was not possible to interview these. In such cases the Directors assigned Information Officers to the researcher. Some of these considered themselves to be too busy to be interviewed and just gave written reports to the researcher. It was thus taken that all the answers were available in the reports. Since the aim of using the unstructured interviews was to obtain background information which would consolidate what was collected through secondary sources, it is worth noting that the use of reports did not significantly affect the quality of

information obtained. Nevertheless, referring to reports made it impossible for the researcher to get first hand information.

### **3.8.2.2 Limitations of data collected through structured interviews**

Due to the nature of the topic (dealing with gender issues), some people who were sampled were not willing to be interviewed. This meant that the researcher had to resample and thus more time was taken to do the primary data collection. One of those who were not willing to be interviewed, however, gave a different reason: the nature of his work does not allow him to be interviewed without permission from his employers (see appendix 3). Some respondents were not willing to release information on their own or spouse's income. They claimed that such an issue was treated with a lot of confidentiality. Others, especially women, did not know how much their husbands earned as they never told them what their incomes were.

## **3.9 Data Analysis and Presentation**

Both descriptive and inferential statistics were used to analyse and present the data. The former refers to "the procedures used to organise and summarize masses of numerical data" and the latter are concerned with finding out something about a population (Mason and Lind, 1990). The techniques that fall under descriptive statistics which were used are the mean, standard deviation, tables and graphs. Those which fall under inferential statistics are the Analysis of variance (ANOVA), Factor Analysis, Mann-Whitney U test, Pearson correlation and student 't' test (t-test). These were employed to test the significance of relationships or differences between variables.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

#### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the results of this study. First of all, the chapter reveals the status of women in Lusaka and then examines the relationship that exists between their status and fertility. The status of women in Lusaka is compared to that of their male counterparts in order to find out if differences exist between the two. Their educational attainment, types of occupation and income, among other things, are considered in the comparison.

#### 4.2 Highest educational attainment of females compared to that of males

Table 4.1 shows the educational attainment of respondents by sex. This table illustrates that 73.7% of the total number of respondents with no education or primary education are women, 42.1% of those with secondary education are women and 38.6% of those with post secondary education are women. When those with degrees are singled out from those with post secondary education, the figure for women is only (8.3%).

Table 4.1 **Highest educational attainment of respondents by Sex**

Sex	Educational Level					
	No/Primary		Secondary		Post Secondary	
	n	% of column Total	n	% of Column Total	n	% of Column Total
Female	84	73.7	48	42.1	51	38.7
Male	30	26.3	66	57.9	81	61.3
	114	100.0	114	100.0	132	100.0

Source: Author's own survey data.

The difference of means test (that is, the student 't' test) shows that there is a significant difference between the mean educational attainment of women and men. This is because the 't' observed value of 4.5 lies outside the rejection region and therefore the null hypothesis is rejected. The decision was arrived at using 95% confidence level (see Table 4.2).

Table 4.2 **Results for the 't' test for mean educational attainment by Sex**

Sex	N	Mean	T	DF	Probability Level
Female	183	8.7	4.5	358	0.00
Male	177	12.3			

Source: Author's Calculations based on own survey data.

The above results support earlier findings by CSO (1996), RAZWA (1997) and ZARD (1994) among others who emphasize that women are discriminated against in their access to education in Zambia<sup>1</sup>. Several factors contribute to the low access rates to education among contemporary Zambian females. First and foremost, the home-setting contributes to women being discriminated against in education. This is with reference to the division of labour by gender which is strongly related to ideas that women should be mothers, wives and caretakers. This study's results reveal that about half of the respondents (46.7%) share chores by gender in their homes whilst 53.3% do not. The division of labour by gender is more prominent in the high density areas than in the other areas. This situation emanates from the cultural system that has been in place for a long time in Zambia. Girls are thus given responsibilities that leave them with little or no time to study. Preparing meals and sweeping the home surroundings are some of the responsibilities which girls are given at home. Another factor is the

<sup>1</sup> Education, is in this case, used to mean formal education.

male-biased character of teaching materials in formal schools.

Though the schools for girls have been increased, textbooks and learning materials used in the schools have for a long time been gender insensitive. Most of these materials were prepared in such a way that females were cast in subordinate, secondary roles. For example, boys were being portrayed as being good at Mathematics and pure sciences whereas the girl's subject was domestic science. The girls are in this case given an impression that they are not capable of high achievements as boys are.

#### 4.3 Women's occupation compared to that of men

This study's results show that 67.2% of the females are unemployed whilst the comparative percent for males is zero. These percentages indicate that more men than women are employed. The figures for women and men in formal employment are 18.0% and 59.3%, respectively. According to Table 4.3, 18.2% of the women are in the Managerial and Supervisory positions compared to 54.3% of men. Hence this is an indication that women have a low access to Managerial and Supervisory positions.

Table 4.3 Employment categories of respondents by sex

	Employment Categories						n (Row Total)	% (Row Total)		
	Managerial		Supervisory		Ordinary skilled				Ordinary non-skilled	
Sex	n	% of row Total	n	% of row Total	n	% of row Total	n	% of row Total		
Females	6	18.2	0	0.0	21	63.6	6	18.2	33	100.0%
Males	21	20.0	36	34.3	45	42.8	3	2.9	105	100.0%

Source: Author's own survey data.

The results presented in Table 4.3 reveal that there are gender gaps in access to employment. There are more men than women in the formal employment sector. The

discrimination against women in access to employment has resulted in the gender gaps in access to formal employment. The home setting plays a big role in this discrimination in that the traditional division of labour found there gives many women a lot of work from sunrise to sunset. This study's results agree with ZARD (1994) who argue that public and institutional barriers to women's employment in the formal sector do, also, reinforce this household level of discrimination. Women's restricted access to education, especially at higher levels, is one of these barriers.

#### 4.4 **Income of females compared to that of males**

The mean respondent's own income for females is ZMK198559.32 (US\$75.35)\* whilst that for males is ZMK369035.71 (US\$140.05). These figures show that men receive a much larger share of Lusaka's income. This is likely to be the same in other urban areas in Zambia or in the whole country. Women's relative lack of access to wage employment and the domestic gender discrimination are the causes of their lack of access to cash. Since 82.0% of the women in the survey were not in formal employment, it also follows that their income should be less than that of the men. This is more so considering that the formal sector employment is the most reliable and viable income source in the economy. Even if women are in the informal sector, this does not significantly contribute to their well being.

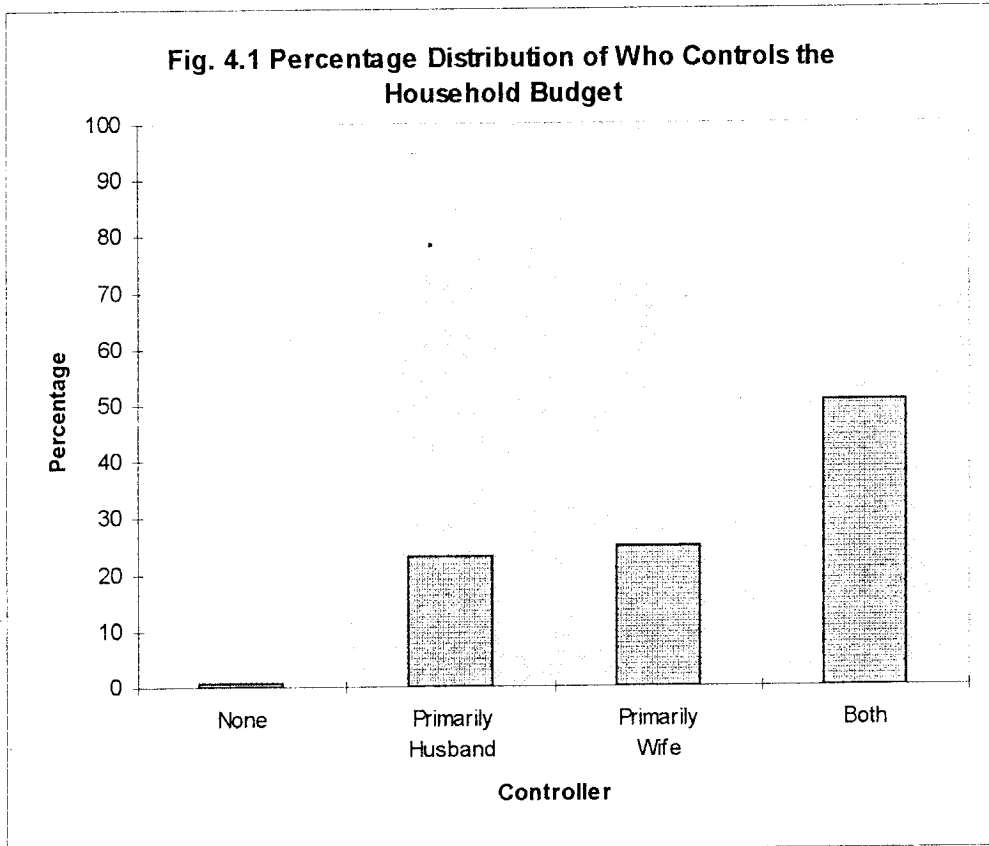
#### 4.5 **Control of household budget: Women versus Men**

Figure 4.1 shows the percentage distribution of who controls the household budget between the husband and wife. In more than half (50.8%) of the respondents'

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\* The exchange rate at the time of writing (01.07.99) was US\$1.00 to ZMK2635.00

homes, the control of the household budget is a joint venture by the husband and wife. Those where the control of the budget is primarily the wife's prerogative account for 25.0% and the remaining 23.3% is for those where it is solely a husband's prerogative.



From the above statistics, it is evident that women also play a role in the control of the household budget. This could be because they are involved in the buying of groceries for their households. These statistics differ with Govindasamy and Malhotra's (1996). According to the latter's findings, the least normative support for a decision-making role for Egyptian women is found in the financial sphere. This is because the majority (58.0%) of the women in their study considered that most budgetary matters were appropriately within their husbands (or others') control.

#### 4.6 Perceived weight of point of view in the majority of issues in the household: Women versus Men

According to the results of this study, 50.0% of the women perceive their point of view to be less than that of their spouse's compared to 8.5% of the men. On the other hand 47.5% of the men perceive their point of view to be more than that of their spouse's as compared to 1.7% of the women. This state of affairs agrees with Munachonga's (1989), Boserup's (1990) and Kelly's (1994) findings. This is because in most Third World Countries, men have the right of decision. In this case, the men's prerogative is the power to command and receive obedience whereas the women's obligation is the duty to obey and serve.

#### 4.7 Mean age at first marriage: Women versus Men

The mean age at first marriage for women in Lusaka is 20.8 years whilst that for men is 26.6 years. These results reveal that women in Lusaka marry earlier than men.

Table 4.4 shows the results for the 't' test for mean age at first marriage. The 't' calculated value is 6.8. The probability value of 0.00 (which is less than the significant level of 0.05) means that there is a 0% probability of the two means being the same. The null hypothesis is therefore rejected. This implies that the differences in mean age at first marriage between women and men are significant.

Table 4.4 Results for the 't' test for mean age at first marriage by Sex

Sex	N	Mean	T	DF	Probability value
Female	180	20.8	6.8	355	0.00
Male	177	26.6			

Source: Author's calculations based on own's 1998 survey data.

The results presented in Table 4.4 show that in Zambia, just like in many African societies women marry at early ages. These results support earlier findings by Cleaver and Schreiber (1994) who state that early female marriage increases the number of child bearing years a woman spends in union and thus tends to exert upward pressure on the Total Fertility Rate (TFR).

#### **4.8 The status of women in Lusaka according to specific residential areas in comparison to that of their male counterparts**

The status of women in Lusaka according to specific residential areas is considered in comparison to their male counterparts in order to determine if the picture in residential areas is different from that of Lusaka in general. In this case their educational attainment, employment status and income, among other things, is put into consideration.

##### **4.8.1 Educational attainment of females in comparison to that of males**

This study's results reveal that men are more educated than women in all the residential areas except for Kabulonga (see Table 4.5). Therefore, it is only in Kabulonga where the results are contrary to the findings of many other researchers. This could be because some of the men who were interviewed there had low education. An example is that of a chef whose house was one of those which were sampled. It is also likely that people in this area are businessmen and as such their levels of education are not related to the levels of incomes they earn from their business. For the rest of the areas the findings conform to those of most researchers. One of the reasons for the gender gaps in the access to education as indicated earlier on is the division of labour by gender in the home setting.

**Table 4.5 The educational attainment of women compared to that of men according to residential areas.**

Residential Area	Educational Level (%)							
	No/Primary		Secondary		Post Secondary		Total	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
Kabulonga	0.0	14.3	28.6	28.6	71.4	57.1	100.0	100.0
Rhodes Park	0.0	0.0	28.8	14.3	71.2	85.7	100.0	100.0
Kamwala	50.0	0.0	20.0	20.0	30.0	80.0	100.0	100.0
Libala	23.0	0.0	46.2	27.3	30.8	72.7	100.0	100.0
Kalingalinga	81.8	22.3	18.2	63.6	0.0	14.1	100.0	100.0
Misisi	84.6	46.2	15.4	53.8	0.0	0.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Author's Survey data

#### 4.8.2 Employment of females in comparison to that of males

The results of this study reveal that 42.8% of the women in Kabulonga are neither in the formal nor informal sector employment (they are unemployed) compared to 0% of the men. The same situation prevails in Rhodes Park. In the case of Kamwala, 70.0% of the women are unemployed as compared to 0% of the men. As for Libala, there are 72.7% of women who are unemployed compared to 0% of men. In the case of Kalingalinga, the percentages are 81.8% and 0% for women and men, respectively. In Misisi compound 84.6% of the women are unemployed whilst the comparative percent for men is zero. The results showing whether one is in the informal sector or not are shown in Table 4.6.

As expected there are more men than women employed in the formal sector in each of the six residential areas. There are also more men than women in the informal sector in all the areas except for the two low density ones, that is, Kabulonga and Rhodes Park. Women are in this case discriminated against in their access to employment. This is because most of them are kept busy in the home with child rearing and subsistence food production among other things.

**Table 4.6 Women's employment (formal or informal) compared to men's according to residential area.**

Area	MEN				WOMEN*			
	Formal		Informal		Formal		Informal	
	N	Percentage	N	Percentage	N	Percentage	N	Percentage
Rhodes Park	21	100.0	0	0.0	9	42.9	3	14.3
Kabulonga	21	100.0	0	0.0	6	28.6	6	28.6
Kamwala	21	70.0	9	30.0	6	20.0	3	10.0
Libala	18	54.5	15	45.5	9	27.3	0	0.0
Kalingalinga	12	36.4	21	63.6	0	0.0	6	18.2
Misisi	12	30.8	27	69.2	3	7.7	3	7.7

Source: Author's own survey data.

\* The percentages for women do not add up to 100 because some women are neither in the formal nor informal sector (they are unemployed).

#### 4.8.3 Income of females compared to that of males

The mean own income per respondent for women in Rhodes Park is ZMK175000.00 (US\$66.41) whilst that for men is ZMK975714.29 (US\$370.29). In Kabulonga the figures for women and men are ZMK660714.29 (US\$250.75) and ZMK636428.57 (US\$241.53), respectively. In the case of Kamwala, the mean own income per respondent for women is ZMK212500.00 (US\$80.65) whilst that for men is ZMK326666.67 (US\$123.97). In Libala the figures for women and men are ZMK178461.54 (US\$67.73) and ZMK278000.00 (US\$105.50), respectively. The figure for women in Kalingalinga is ZMK109090.91 (US\$41.40) compared to ZMK169000.00 (US\$64.14) for men. In Misisi the figures are ZMK32916.67 (US\$12.49) and ZMK160000.00 (US\$60.72) for women and men, respectively.

Table 4.7 shows the results of the Mann-Whitney U test (i.e. 'U' test) for income by sex according to residential areas. There is a 0.00 and 0.01 probability that the average income levels would be the same in Misisi and Rhodes Park, respectively. The results for these two areas are significant. The decision is arrived at using 95%

confidence level. As earlier mentioned, these results reveal that men receive a larger share of the city's income than women.

Table 4.7 **Results for the 'U' test for income by sex according to residential areas**

Residential Area	Sex	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks	U	Probability Value
Kabulonga	Female	21	7.4	52.0	24.0	1.00
	Male	21	7.6	53.0		
Rhodes Park	Female	18	4.1	24.5	3.5	0.01
	Male	21	9.5	66.5		
Kamwala	Female	30	7.7	77.0	22.0	0.07
	Male	27	12.6	113.0		
Libala	Female	39	9.3	120.5	29.5	0.05
	Male	27	14.7	132.5		
Kalingalinga	Female	33	9.3	102.5	36.5	0.12
	Male	33	13.7	150.5		
Misisi	Female	36	7.5	89.5	11.5	0.00
	Male	39	18.1	235.5		

Source: Calculations based on author's own survey data

#### 4.8.4 Control of household budget: Women versus Men

The respondents, whose response is that 'the control of the household budget is a joint venture' and those whose response is that 'it is primarily the wife's prerogative' in Kabulonga, scored the same percentage, that is, 42.7% each. Those whose response is that it is solely a husband's prerogative scored 14.3%.

In the case of Rhodes Park, the results are as follows: half (50.0%) responded that it is a joint venture for both husband and wife, 28.6% responded that it is primarily a wife's prerogative and 21.4% responded that it is solely a husband's prerogative.

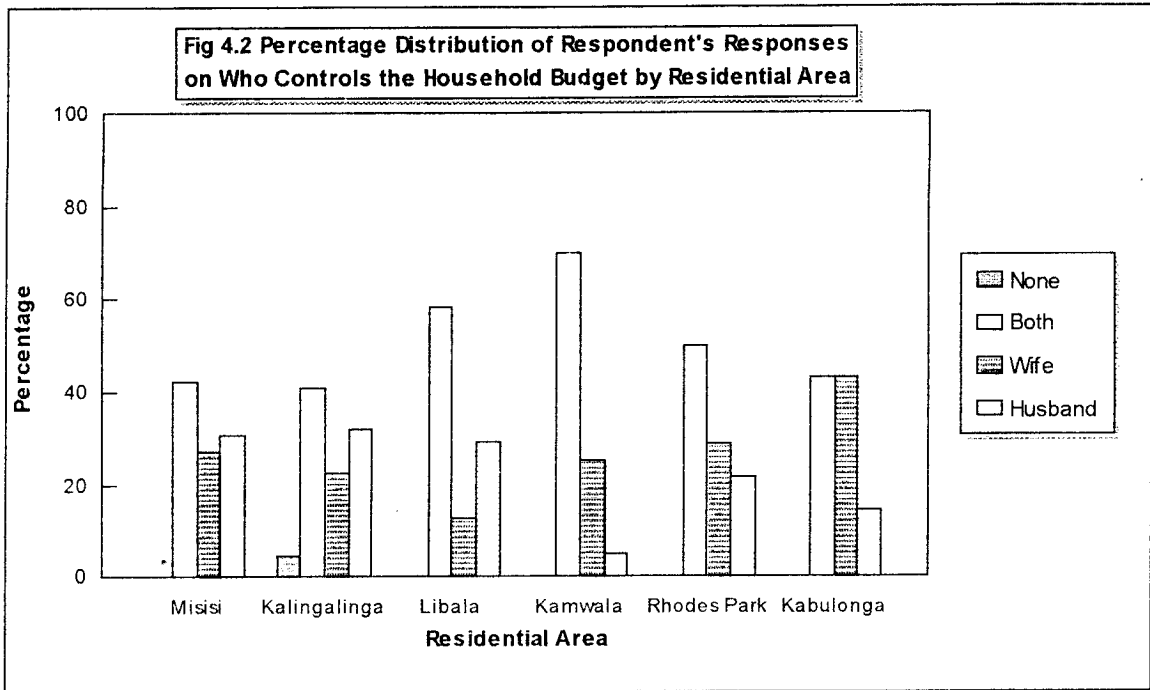
In Kamwala the situation is as follows: 70.0% responded that the control of the household budget is a joint venture for both husband and wife, 25.0% responded that

it is primarily the wife's prerogative and 5.0% responded that it is solely the husband's prerogative.

The response of more than half (58.3%) of the respondents in Libala is that the control of the household budget is a joint venture between husband and wife, the response of 29.2% is that it is solely the husband's prerogative and the response of 12.5% is that it is primarily the wife's prerogative.

In Kalingalinga 40.2% responded that the control of the household budget is a joint venture, 31.8% responded that it is a sole prerogative of the husband, 22.7% responded that it is primarily the wife's prerogative and 4.5% responded that it is nobody's prerogative as the budget in their home is non-existent.

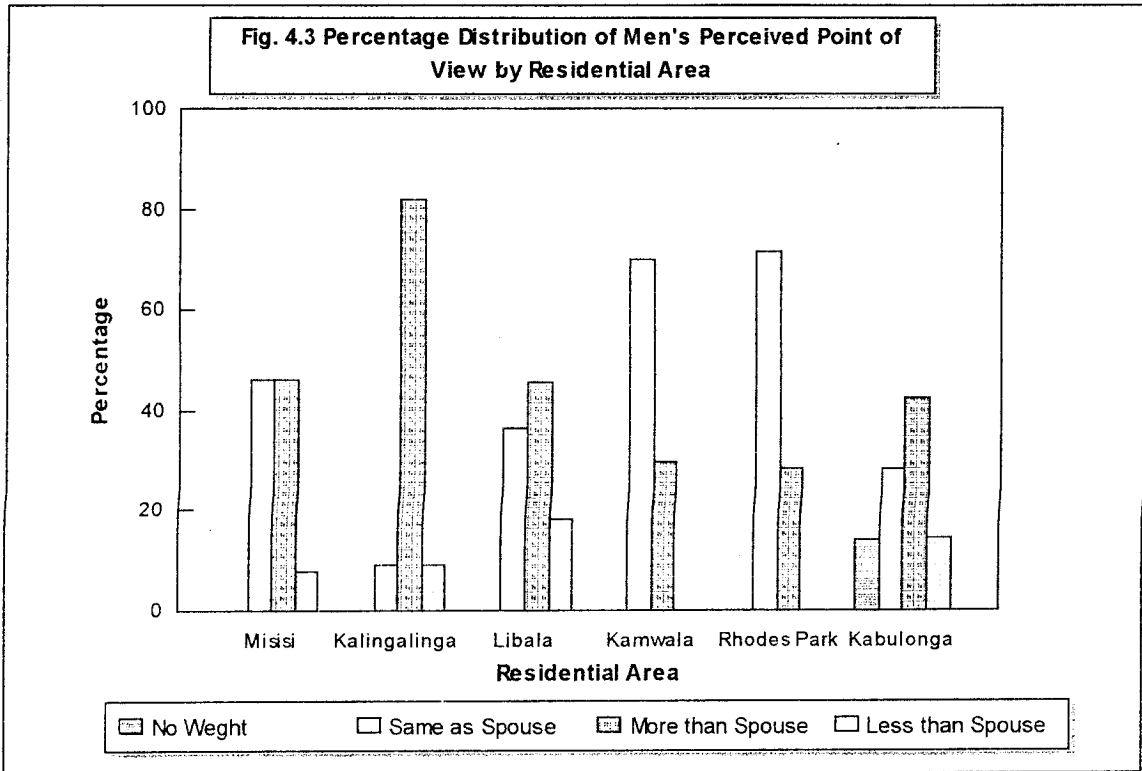
In the case of Misisi, the results are as follows: 42.3% responded that control of the household budget is a joint venture between husband and wife, 30.8% responded that it is solely the husband's prerogative and 26.9% responded that it is primarily the wife's prerogative (see Figure 4.2).



The results illustrated in Figure 4.2 show that there is a high preference for both husband and wife to be in control of the household budget. This is because it enables the couple to plan the use of their resources accordingly. Some prefer controlling the household budget as a couple for the sake of transparency.

#### 4.8.5 Perceived weight of point of view in the majority of issues in the household: women versus men

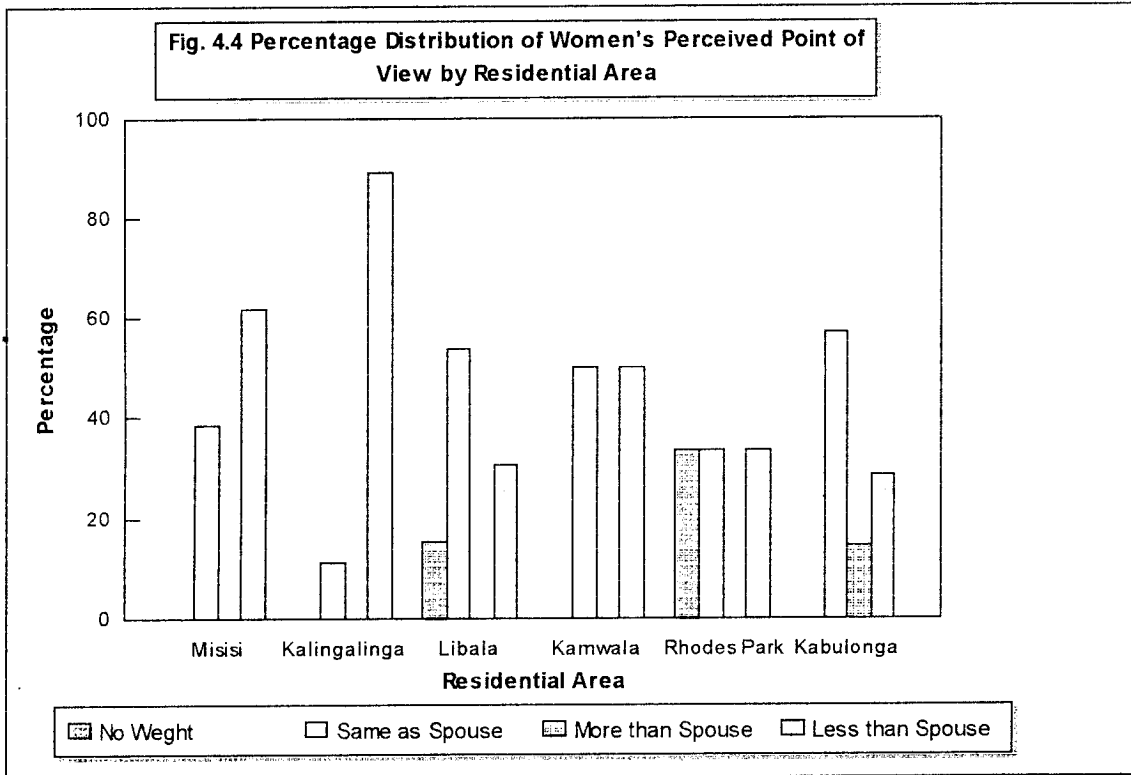
Figure 4.3 shows the percentage distribution of how the men in various residential areas perceive the weight of their point of view in the majority of issues in the household. Those who perceive the weight of their point of view to be more than that of their spouse's scored the highest in three of the areas, that is, Kalingalinga (81.8%), Libala (45.5%) and Kabulonga (42.9%) whilst those who perceive it to be lower than their spouse's scored the lowest in all the areas, that is, 0% for both Rhodes Park and Kamwala, 7.7% for Misisi, 9.1% for Kalingalinga, 14.3% for Kabulonga and 18.2% for Libala.



When it comes to women respondents' responses on how they perceive their point of view, none perceive their point of view to be more than their spouse's in all the areas except for Kabulonga which recorded 14.3%. Kalingalinga and Misisi have the highest scores for those who perceive their point of view to be less than their spouse's, that is 88.9% and 61.5%, respectively. As for those who perceive it to be the same as their spouse's Kabulonga has the highest (57.1%) while those in Libala, Kamwala, Misisi, Rhodes Park and Kalingalinga rank second, third, fourth, fifth and sixth with proportions of 53.8%, 50.0%, 38.5%, 33.3% and 11.1%, respectively (see Figure 4.4).

The results presented in Figures 4.3. and 4.4 reveal that men have the right of decision. This is because a man in the Zambian traditional society is considered as 'the master of the home' whereas a woman's duties are concerned with childcare, domestic

maintenance and subsistence food production. This ties in well with ZARD's (1994) findings.



#### 4.8.6 Women's mean age at first marriage compared to that of men.

A comparison of the mean age at first marriage for women and men is made in Table 4.8. The results reveal that women marry earlier than men in all the six residential areas. Since the Zambian tradition has it that one who is younger is not supposed to question or doubt any elderly person's opinion/point of view, it means that women in this case cannot effectively challenge their husbands, who are older.

Table 4.8 **Women's mean age at first marriage compared to that of men**

Residential Area	Mean Age at First Marriage (Years)	
	Women	Men
Kabulonga	23.4	26.1
Rhodes Park	21.0	29.1
Kamwala	19.8	31.4
Libala	20.3	28.0
Kalingalinga	22.0	24.7
Misisi	19.7	22.2

Table 4.9 shows the results for the 'U' test for mean age at marriage according to residential areas. The probabilities that the mean age at marriage would be the same in Rhodes Park, Kamwala and Libala is 0.01, 0.00 and 0.00, respectively. This means that the null hypotheses are rejected at the 0.05 level of significance in all the three cases. Therefore, the mean age at first marriage for men is significantly higher than that for women in the three areas. Rhodes Park is a low density area and the men living there have spent more time in school and as such married later. Though Kabulonga is a low density area also, the results are not the same. This could be as a result of having older men who married earlier but later on improved their education so as to have a high status in society. Kamwala and Libala are medium density areas where some men with high education rent houses. The longer period such men have spent in school has eliminated early marriages among them.

Table 4.9 **Results for the 'U' test for mean age at marriage according to residential areas**

Residential Area	Sex	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks	U	Probability Value
Kabulonga	Female	21	6.4	44.5	16.5	0.32
	Male	21	8.4	60.5		
Rhodes Park	Female	18	3.8	23.0	2.0	0.01
	Male	21	9.7	68.0		
Kamwala	Female	30	5.5	55.0	0.0	0.00
	Male	30	15.5	155.0		
Libala	Female	39	7.9	102.5	11.5	0.00
	Male	33	18.0	197.5		
Kalingalinga	Female	33	9.8	107.5	41.5	0.22
	Male	33	13.2	145.5		
Misisi	Female	39	10.8	140.5	49.5	0.07
	Male	39	16.2	210.5		

#### 4.8.7 A Comparison of the status of women to that of their male counterparts based on the Factor Analysis

The Factor Analysis was used to compare the status of women and that of men according to specific residential areas. This was done by making use of the averages for the variables which constitute status according to this study (see Table 4.10 and 4.11). The results of the Factor Analysis for women and men are shown on Tables 4.12 and 4.13, respectively. Three components (factors) were considered for each analysis and these account for 88.98% and 90.74% of the variance for women and men, respectively. Though this was the case, only component one was used to come up with the needed equation. This is because component one deals with status which is the focus of this study. The analysis of the results shows that component one accounts for more than half of the variance that is, 51.15% and 53.73% for women and men, respectively (see Tables 4.12b and 4.13b).

Therefore, the equation for the men's analysis is  $0.868^* (\text{age}) + 0.503 (\text{Borlen}) + 0.799 (\text{Employt}) + 0.693 (\text{Budgetco}) + -0.692 (\text{Children}) + 0.900 (\text{Educ}) + 0.842 (\text{Famplan}) + 0.779 (\text{Income}) + 0.641 (\text{View}) + 0.481 (\text{Voice})$  (see Table 4.13c). The figures to be put in the brackets are the averages of the variables shown in Tables 4.10 and 4.11. In this case, to find the factor score for men in Kabulonga, the figures used are  $0.868 \times 26.10 + 0.503 \times 3.40 + 0.799 \times 2.00 + 0.693 \times 3.10 + -0.692 \times 3.10 + 0.900 \times 14.60 + 0.842 \times 3.70 + 0.779 \times 636428.57 + 0.641 \times 2.90 + 0.481 \times 2.00$ . Therefore, the Factor Score is 495822.92 (see Table 4.14 for all the Factor Scores).

Table 4.10 **Women's averages for the variables which constitute status according to residential areas**

Residential Area	Age	Borlen	Bud- getco	Child -ren	Educ	Emp -loyt	Fam- plan	Income	View	Voice
Kabulonga	23.40	2.60	3.40	3.30	13.30	1.40	4.40	660714.29	3.30	2.00
Rhodes Park	21.00	3.70	3.10	4.00	12.70	1.30	3.70	175000.00	2.30	2.00
Kamwala	19.80	2.70	3.70	3.60	8.90	1.20	3.80	212500.00	3.00	1.80
Libala	20.30	3.90	3.30	3.90	10.20	1.20	3.70	178461.54	2.90	1.90
Kalingalinga	22.00	2.80	2.80	3.10	4.60	1.00	3.30	109090.91	2.20	1.70
Misisi	19.70	2.40	3.00	3.20	6.10	1.10	3.30	32916.67	2.80	2.00

Source: Author's Survey Data

The Factor Analysis Scores show that men scored higher than women in all the residential areas except for Kabulonga. This means that it is only in Kabulonga where women have a higher status than men. This is because women in this area have more income than their male counterparts and it is the average for income which makes the Factor Analysis Scores to be inflated.

\* 'Age' is the Age at First Marriage, 'Borlen' is Decision Making on Borrowing or Lending, 'Budgetco' is control of the Household Budget, 'Children' is the Number of Biological Children, 'Educ' is the Highest Educational Attainment, 'Employt' is Employment, 'Famplan' is Family Planning Decision Making, 'Income' is Respondent's Own Income, 'View' is Perceived Weight on Point of View, 'Voice' is whether one voices Disagreement with the spouse or not.

Table 4.11 **Men's averages for the variables which constitute status according to residential areas**

Residential Area	Age	Borlen	Bud-getco	Child-ren	Educ	Emp-loyt	Fam-plan	Income	View	Voice
Kabulonga	26.10	3.40	3.10	3.10	14.60	2.00	3.70	636428.57	2.90	2.00
Rhodes Park	29.10	3.40	3.40	2.10	16.40	2.00	4.00	975714.29	3.70	2.00
Kamwala	31.40	3.50	3.60	1.80	14.70	1.70	3.60	326666.67	3.70	2.00
Libala	28.00	3.60	3.30	2.60	14.20	1.60	3.60	278000.00	3.00	1.90
Kalingalinga	24.70	2.40	3.20	2.70	9.60	1.40	3.40	169000.00	3.00	2.00
Misisi	22.20	3.40	3.20	2.70	7.90	1.30	3.50	160000.00	3.40	1.90

Source: Author' Survey Data

The Factor Analysis Scores were used to come up with choropleth maps showing the distribution of the status of men and women according to residential Areas (see Figs 4.5 and 4.6). Instead of having a different shade for each residential area on either of the maps, three classes were used. This was done by finding the difference between the highest and lowest scores for each of the sexes. The difference between the two scores was divided by the number of classes and the outcome was used as the interval between the classes. For example, in the case of women, the highest score is 576178.32 and the lowest is 28728.47. The difference between the two is 547449.85 and the interval is 182483.28. The three classes are <100000.00, 100000.00 - 282483.28 and >282483.28. Using the same procedure the following three classes for men were obtained: <200000.00, 200000.00 - 411818.95 and > 411818.95.

Having come up with three classes for each sex, Kalingalinga and Misisi fall under the low class for both women and men, and Kamwala, Libala and Rhodes Park fall under the middle class in the case of women whereas Rhodes Park is not included in this class in the case of men. Only Kabulonga falls under the high class for women whereas Kabulonga and Rhodes Park fall under the high class for men. The difference in areas which compose the middle and high classes for both sexes is as a result of

women in Rhodes Park having very low incomes as compared to their male counterparts. Being a low density residential area, one expects to find that women in Rhodes Park have high incomes but this study's results prove to the contrary. The reason for this is that women in Rhodes Park are in jobs which have very low wages.

Table 4.12a **Factor Analysis Results for Women**

	Communalities	
	Initial	Extraction
Age	1.000	.963
Budgetco	1.000	.885
Borlen	1.000	.876
Children	1.000	.979
Educ	1.000	.989
Employt	1.000	.972
Famplan	1.000	.975
Income	1.000	.979
View	1.000	.902
Voice	1.000	.378

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Table 4.12b **Total Variance Explained**

Component	Initial Eigen values			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	5.115	51.151	51.151	5.115	51.151	51.151
2	2.390	23.897	75.048	2.390	23.897	75.048
3	1.394	13.940	88.988	1.394	13.940	88.988
4	.898	8.977	97.964			
5	.204	2.036	100.000			
6	2.639E-16	2.639E-15	100.000			
7	1.231E-16	1.231E-15	100.000			
8	-1.049E-16	-1.049E-15	100.000			
9	-3.612E-16	-3.612E-15	100.000			
10	-5.800E-16	-5.800E-15	100.000			

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Table 4.12c

**Component Matrix<sup>a</sup>**

	Component		
	1	2	3
Age	.438	.534	.697
Budgetco	.667	6.082E-02	-.661
Borlen	.132	.876	.301
Children	.361	.921	-2.772E-02
Educ	.926	.315	.183
Employt	.974	.120	9.325E-02
Famplan	.969	-.189	3.044E-02
Income	.872	-.428	.188
View	.705	-.326	-.546
Voice	.572	.215	6.406E-02

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

a.3 Components extracted.

Table 4.13a

**Factor Analysis Results for Men****Communalities**

	Initial	Extraction
Age	1.000	.816
Budgetco	1.000	.985
Borlen	1.000	.932
Children	1.000	.988
Educ	1.000	.893
Employt	1.000	.980
Famplan	1.000	.882
Income	1.000	.898
View	1.000	.751
Voice	1.000	.950

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Table 4.13b

**Total Variance Explained**

Component	Initial Eigen values			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	5.373	53.727	53.272	5.373	53.727	53.727
2	2.296	22.961	76.689	2.296	22.961	76.689
3	1.405	14.054	90.743	1.405	14.054	90.743
4	.746	7.456	98.198			
5	.180	1.802	100.000			
6	1.679E-16	1.679E-15	100.000			
7	1.291E-16	1.291E-15	100.000			
8	-3.047E-17	-3.047E-16	100.000			
9	-2.663E-16	-2.663E-15	100.000			
10	-3.610E-16	-3.610E-15	100.000			

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Table 4.13c **Component Matrix<sup>a</sup>**

	Component		
	1	2	3
Age	.868	-.230	-9.699E-02
Budgetco	.693	-.706	-7.716E-02
Borlen	.503	-4.950E-02	.822
Children	-.692	.700	.137
Educ	.900	.279	7.073E-02
Employt	.799	.584	-1.515E-02
Famplan	.842	.372	.187
Income	.779	.539	-7.287E-03
View	.641	.583	7.738E-03
Voice	.481	.252	-.809

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

a.3 Components extracted.

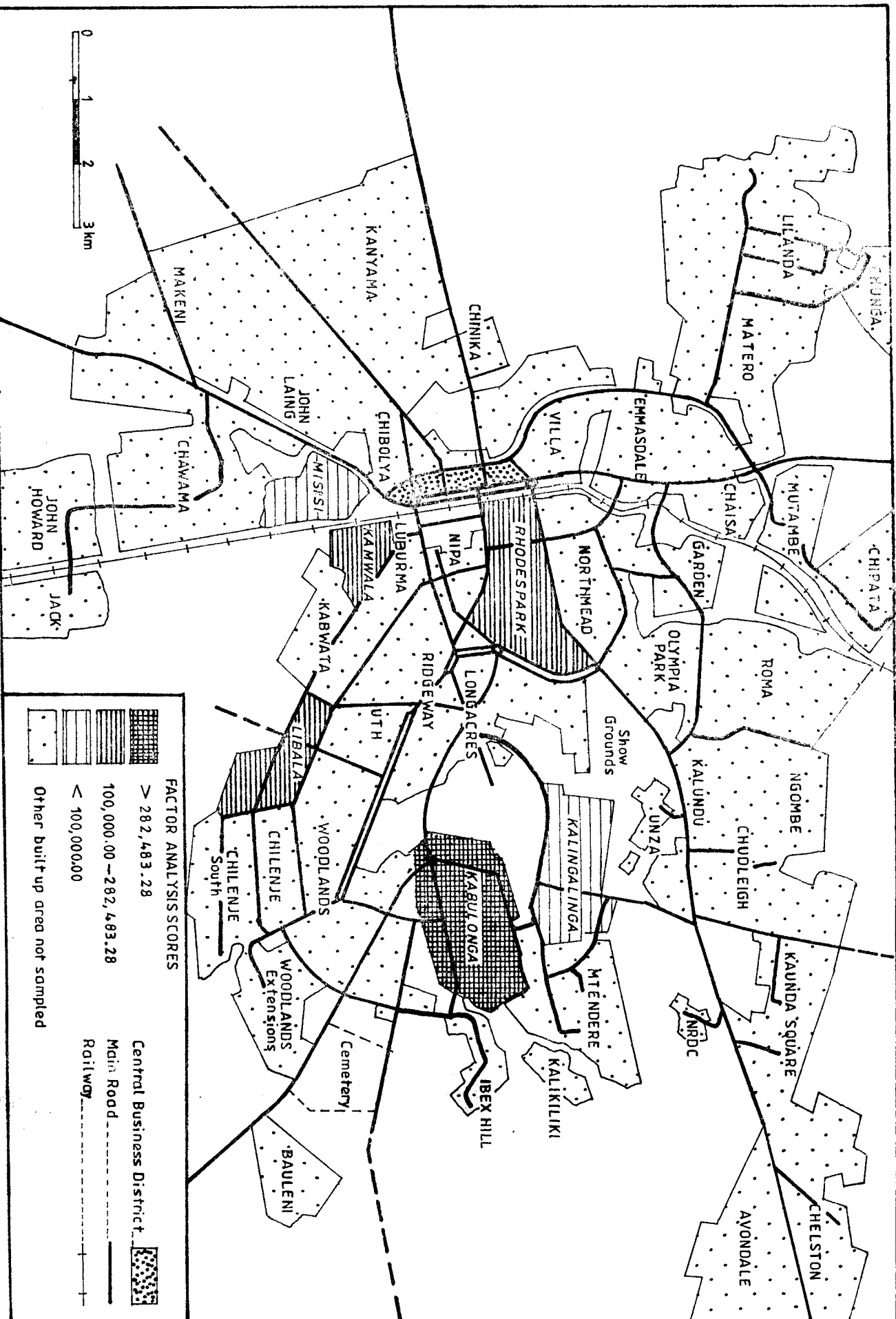
Table 4.14 **Factor analysis scores for women and men according to residential areas**

Residential Areas	Factor Analysis Scores	
	Women	Men
Kabulonga	576178.32	495822.92
Rhodes Park	152633.28	760132.37
Kamwala	185329.03	254524.58
Libala	155648.81	216608.53
Kalingalinga	95151.29	131689.60
Misisi	28728.47	124675.52

#### 4.9 Effect of women's education attainment on number of children

The number of children wished for is highest among those with no school/primary education (5.6) while those with secondary education rank second (5.0) and those with post secondary education rank third (4.0). The results of a Pearson correlation coefficient analysis based on the number of children a woman has and her educational attainment was -0.15. This means that there is a very weak inverse relationship between the number of children a woman has in Lusaka and her educational attainment. One of the reasons for such a weak relationship is the economic situation prevailing in the country. Those with low educational attainment are no longer having as many children as they used to have because they have realised

Fig. 4.5. Choropleth map showing the distribution of the status of women in sampled areas of Lusaka based on Factor Analysis Scores.





that such a venture is costly. A correlation coefficient of -0.34 was obtained between the number of children wished for and a woman's educational attainment. This is also a weak inverse correlation but it is significant at 0.01 level.

The above results do support earlier findings by Sathar (1984) and UN (1993) which emphasize that education has an influence on fertility. Women with higher levels of education have lower levels of fertility. This is because education plays a role in facilitating information dissemination, knowledge and skills and also strengthening women's self-esteem and personal fulfilment. Since education increases a woman's confidence and self-esteem, it helps her to increase her decision-making process in the marriage situation and enhances her status.

#### 4.10 **Influence of spousal age difference on number of children**

A Pearson correlation coefficient test involving the number of children a woman has and the spousal age difference resulted in a correlation coefficient of -0.09. A correlation of -0.10 was obtained between the number of children a woman wished to have and the spousal age difference. When the spouse's education, length of marriage and number of children in the household were kept constant the coefficient for the latter was -0.17.

These results differ from Cain's (1984) which showed a positive relationship between spousal age difference and fertility. According to his study, a woman who was many years younger than the husband had more children than the one who was a few years younger. This suggests that the large age difference indicates a low status for the wife who, in most cases, is treated like the husband's daughter and is always on the receiving end. Though this study's results are not significant, they reveal that a

woman who is many years younger than the husband has less children than that one who is a few years younger. This is somehow in agreement with Sathar et al. (1988) whose results show that the group with the largest age difference had lower fertility, while in the rest of the groups the difference was negligible. The factors contributing to the current results showing a positive relationship between spousal age difference and fertility are tradition and early marriages. There is a tendency of valuing children highly in the Zambian tradition which still prevails in urban areas and this is likely to affect the reproductive behaviour of women in Lusaka. Some women marry early and as such their length of reproduction is long. This results in them having more children even if the age difference is small. The combination of the two factors brings different results from what most researchers would expect. Most researchers would expect the relationship between the spousal age difference and fertility to be positive.

#### 4.11 **Association between a woman's age at first marriage and the number of children that she has**

A Person's product moment correlation procedure involving the number of children a woman has and her age at first marriage resulted in a correlation coefficient of -0.17. This is a very weak inverse coefficient and it is not significant. Though these results show a very weak inverse relationship between the two variables, they do support earlier findings by Sathar et al. (1988), and Mukoboto (1991) who emphasize that age at first marriage has an independent negative effect on fertility. This is because the period of exposure to pregnancy among women who marry later is shorter than for those who marry earlier.

The 't' test shows that there is a significant difference between the average number of children for women below thirty four years of age and those who are thirty

four and above. This is because the probability value (0.00) is less than the significant level (0.05) and thus, there is a 0% probability of rejecting the alternative hypothesis. Therefore, the null hypothesis is rejected (see Table 4.15).

Table 4.15 **Results for the 't' test for mean number of children for those Below 34 years of age and those who are 34 and above**

Age Categories	N	Mean	T	DF	Probability Value
Below 34	81	1.8	-6.9	178	0.00
34 and above	99	4.9			

Source: Author's own Survey Data

The above results show that those who are thirty four years and above have stayed longer in marriage and as such their mean number of children (4.9) is more than that for those who are below thirty four years of age (1.8). The effect of the length in marriage on the number of children is also manifested in the results of a regression analysis (see Table 4.16).

Table 4.16 **Results for a regression analysis for the determinants of the number of children a woman has.**

n = 183	Independent Variable	R Square	Probability Value
	Length in marriage	+0.41	0.00
	Number of children in the Household	+0.65	0.00

Source: Author's Own Survey Data

The results of the regression analysis reveal that the variable, length in marriage, explains 41% of the number of children a woman in Lusaka has and the number of children in the household explains 24% of the number of children a woman has and hence the two factors are the main determinants of the number of children that a woman in Lusaka has.

#### 4.12 **Effect of a woman's involvement in formal employment on the number of children that she is likely to have**

The average number of children that women in formal employment have is less (2.8) than that of those who are not in formal employment (3.7). The standard deviation is 1.72 for the former and 2.39 for the latter. The average number of children wished for by those in formal employment (4.7) is also less than that of those who are not in formal employment (5.1). The standard deviations are 2.06 and 2.34, respectively. In both cases values for those in formal employment are more spread than for those who are not.

The above state of affairs can be explained by the fact that a woman's involvement in formal employment increases her opportunity cost of having children. Having children frequently can cost a woman her job as no employer is willing to offer a female employee maternity leave so often. Most employers in Zambia allow for a minimum of two years between successive pregnancies. A woman with many children will also need time off every now and then, in order to take care of children, in time of sickness. Most employers, of course, are not prepared for this. Formal employment also increases a woman's value and power in the family and this gives her greater incentives and ability to control her fertility. This view conforms to Safilios - Rothschild's (1990) results of a study carried out in Kenya. He found out that paid employment raises women's status in society and hence the more they postpone marriage and the lower the TFR becomes.

#### 4.13 **Association between the autonomy of women within the sphere of domestic decision-making and fertility**

The results of this study on the women's current use of contraceptives, making of family planning decisions and measures of women's position (i.e. wife's assessment of the weight of her own point of view, making of decisions on borrowing and lending, control of household budget and wife's voicing disagreement) are as follows: most of the women (68.9%) are using a contraceptive method and only 31.1% are not using any method at all. With regards to who makes family planning decisions, the majority (83.6%) indicated that it is a matter of joint input by both husband and wife. The remaining 16.4% is equally shared by those who indicated that it is solely the husband's or wife's prerogative. In as much as it is evident that childbearing is a domain in which women in Lusaka have substantial input, the above statistics clearly show that it is not a domain of autonomous decision making for them.

Half of the women surveyed (50.0%) perceive the weight of their point of view to be less than their spouse's, 41.4% perceive it to be the same as their spouse's, 6.9% perceive it to have no weight at all and 1.7% perceive it to be more than their spouse's. With regard to who makes decisions on borrowing or lending, 55.7% indicated that it is jointly done by both husband and wife, 39.3% indicated that it is primarily done by the husband and 3.3% indicated that it is primarily done by the wife. As to who controls the household budget, 45.9% indicated that it is jointly done by both husband and wife, 31.1% indicated that it is done primarily by the wife, 21.3% indicated that it is primarily done by the husband and 1.6% indicated that it is not done at all. Most of the women (88.5%) do at times voice disagreement to their husband's opinions whilst 11.5% do not.

The Analysis of variance (the F ratio test) shows that there is no significant difference between the number of children a woman in Lusaka has and how she perceives her weight of point of view. This is because the probability (0.81) is higher than the significant level (0.05) and as such there are little differences within the samples. In this case the null hypothesis is accepted (see Table 4.17).

Table 4.17 **Results for the 'F' ratio test for number of children a woman has and the perception of her point of view**

	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Probability Value
Between (combined)	5.49	3	1.83	0.33	0.81
within Groups	302.99	170	5.61		
Total	308.48	173			

Source: Author's own Survey Data

The F ratio test also shows that there is no significant difference between the number of children a woman in Lusaka has and who controls the household budget. This is as a result of having a probability figure of 0.14 which is higher than the significant level of 0.05. A high probability value suggests little difference within the samples and therefore provides more justification for accepting the null hypothesis (see Table 4.18).

Table 4.18 **Results for the 'F' ratio test for number of children a woman has and who controls the household budget**

	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Probability Value
Between (combined)	28.92	3	9.64	1.91	0.14
within Groups	282.08	176	5.04		
	311.00	179			

Source: Author's own Survey Data

The reason for such F-test's results is that most women in Lusaka prefer equality rather than autonomy with regard to reproductive decision making. Actually, it seems that joint decision making is prominent even in the other variables. For

example women who prefer joint decision making on financial matters have the highest percentage compared to those who prefer having sole control of the financial matters. Those who preferred joint control of the household budget and joint decision making on borrowing or lending accounted for 45.9% and 55.7% of the total, respectively compared to 31.1% and 3.3% for women who preferred solely controlling the budget and making decisions on borrowing or lending. This is clearly indicated in paragraph two of section 4.13.

#### **4.14 Relationship between the type of accommodation a woman has and her status**

The mean number of rooms each woman in the study area has is 4.8 and the average size of each of these rooms is 12.2m<sup>2</sup>. A Pearson correlation procedure involving the woman's educational attainment and number of rooms in her house resulted in a correlation coefficient of 0.46. This is a moderate positive correlation which is significant at 0.01. This shows that women with higher education occupy houses with more rooms than those who are lowly educated. With regards to the relationship between a woman's income and the number of rooms in her house, the coefficient of 0.31 was obtained. Though weak, this positive correlation is significant at the 0.05 level. Therefore, the more income a woman has, the more the number of rooms the house she occupies has.

The F ratio test also shows that there is a significant difference between the number of rooms in a house a woman occupies and her education level. This is as a result of the probability figure (0.00) being less than the significant level (0.05). A low probability value provides more justification for rejecting the null hypothesis (see Table 4.19).

Table 4.19 **Results for the F ratio test for the number of rooms in a house and the women's educational levels.**

	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Probability Value
Between (combined)	104.66	2	52.33	8.18	0.00
within Groups	370.98	180	6.40		
	475.64	182			

Source: Author's Survey Data

Table 4.20 shows the results for the F ratio test for the number of rooms in a house and who controls the household budget. The probability value of 0.03 is less than the significant level of 0.05 and provides more justification for rejecting the null hypothesis. Therefore, there is a significant difference between the number of rooms in a house and who controls the household budget.

Table 4.20: **Results for the F ratio test for the number of rooms in a house and who controls the household budget.**

	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Probability Value
Between (combined)	68.59	3	22.86	3.20	0.03
within Groups	4.07.05	179	7.14		
	475.64	182			

Source: Author's Survey Data

The above results of the correlations and F ratio tests on the relationship between the type of accommodation a woman has and her status reveal that female education helps in increasing women's access to salaried employment. This results in the women being able to afford good accommodation. Since such women are empowered they have a say in financial matters in the home.

#### 4.15 Summary

The intent of the primary and secondary data collection was to find out the relationship that exists between the status of women in Lusaka and their fertility. This study's results reveal that women are discriminated against in their access to education. Results for the 't' test show that there is a significant difference between the mean educational attainment of women and men. There are also gender gaps in the access to formal employment. More men than women are in the formal sector employment. This has resulted in men having more income than women. This study's results also show that women marry much earlier than men. Since the latter have the right of decisions the situation is such that the former are more vulnerable to the opinions, orders and sanctions of their husbands. All in all the status of women in Lusaka is lower than that of their male counterparts.

The results of this study also show that there is an inverse relationship between the number of children a woman in Lusaka has and her educational attainment. Thus, women with higher levels of education have less children compared to those with lower levels of education. As earlier mentioned, this is because education plays a role in facilitating information dissemination, knowledge and skills and it also strengthens women's self esteem and personal fulfilment.

An inverse relationship also exists between a woman's age at first marriage and the number of children that she has. Thus, the earlier a woman marries, the more children she tends to have. This is because the period of exposure to pregnancy among women who marry earlier is longer than that of those who marry later.

The results of this study also reveal that women in formal employment have less children than those who are not. The reason for this is that formal employment

increases a woman's value and power in the family and therefore, gives her greater incentives and ability to control her fertility.

Finally, there is a significant relationship between the woman's status and the type of accommodation she has. Since female education helps in increasing women's access to salaried employment, a woman with good education is able to afford good accommodation.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 5.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is two fold. Firstly, it summarises the major findings of this study and secondly, it provides recommendations for future policies and research related to this subject.

#### 5.2 Conclusions

This study's overall intention was to find out the relationship that exists between the status of women and fertility in Zambia, with special reference to Lusaka Urban. Female age at first marriage, female education and female employment, among others, were used as indicators of the status of women. Both secondary and primary data were used to find out the relationship between the two (status of women and fertility). The status of women was also compared to that of their male counterparts.

Empowering women and improving their status both economically and socially is essential for the achievement of sustainable development. This is because women constitute an important resource in any meaningful development. Education, which is key to the empowerment of women, gives a good example of how women's empowerment is a prerequisite to sustainable development. Education decisively determines a woman's control over her fertility. This study revealed that the number of children wished for is highest among those with no school/primary education (5.6) while those with secondary education rank second (5.0) and those with post secondary education rank third (4.0). There is a weak inverse correlation between the number of

children a woman wishes to have and her educational attainment. This correlation, though weak, is statistically significant at 0.01 level. The above state of affairs could be so because education helps women overcome social prejudice, take control of their lives and assume a status and identity beyond childbearing.

Female education also helps in increasing women's access to salaried employment. The improvement in the economic status which salaried employment accords women reduces their dependence on men. Women with an independent income are less reliant on their husbands and children. This study has revealed that there is a weak positive correlation (0.42) between the female's income and her education. Though this correlation is weak, it is statistically significant at 0.01 level. This study has also revealed that the average number of children that women in formal employment have (2.8) is less than that of those who are not in formal employment (3.7).

However, despite the returns that women's empowerment accrues to a nation, Zambian women, particularly women in Lusaka, still face many barriers in contributing to and benefiting from development. Tradition has played a big role in retaining this status quo. This is because social and cultural attitudes in the traditional Zambian society assigned women an inferior status, side by side with men, in the social, economic and political life of our country.

Women in Lusaka are discriminated against in their access to education and employment among other things. Though access to education is one of the fundamental human rights, it is regrettable that available indicators reveal that women are discriminated against in their access to education. There are 73.7% of women with no/primary education compared to 26.3% of men; 42.1% of women have secondary

education compared to 57.9% of men; 38.6% of women have post secondary education compared to 61.4% of men. The mean educational attainment for women is Grade nine whilst that for men is Grade twelve. The difference between the two means is statistically significant at 0.05 level.

Since the males in Lusaka dominate the higher levels of education qualifications, it therefore, follows that they dominate the economy. This is especially true when we consider the increasing 'diploma disease' in Zambia. The output of graduates from secondary schools and higher institutions in Zambia has been growing more rapidly than the economy's capacity to create new jobs of the kinds and levels customarily associated with various academic credentials. As a result, jobs which could be obtained with a secondary school certificate in the early 1980s, now need University degree holders. To be more specific, it is the men who dominate the formal employment sector.

This study has revealed that more than half (67.2%) of the women respondents are unemployed and 32.8% are employed whilst all the men (100.0%) are employed. Only 21.3% of the 32.8% of the women who are employed are in formal employment compared to 59.3% of the 100.0% men who are also employed. The remaining 11.5% of the women are in the informal sector compared to 40.7% of the men. Due to the women's low access to salaried employment, they have less income compared to men. The mean income for women in Lusaka is ZMK 198559.32 (US\$75.35) while that for men is ZMK369035.71 (US\$140.05).

The mean age at first marriage for women in Lusaka is 20.8 years whilst that for men is 26.6 years. This shows that women marry earlier than men. Early marriages, on the part of women, is the accepted way of life in most traditional African Societies. This has resulted in the high value that women place on children. The

differences in the mean age at first marriage between women and men in Lusaka are statistically significant at 0.05 level of significance.

When the above indicators of the status of women are considered according to specific residential areas, the following are the revelations that this study has come up with. Men in all the six residential areas are more educated than women except for Kabulonga where the latter are slightly more educated than the former. In the case of employment, there are more men than women employed in the formal sector in each of the six residential areas. There are also more men than women in the informal sector in all the areas except for the two low density ones namely, Kabulonga and Rhodes Park. With regards to income, men earn more than women in all the areas except for Kabulonga where the latter earn more than the former. It is only in Misisi and Rhodes Park where the differences in the average income levels are statistically significant at 0.05 level. Finally, men in each of the six residential areas marry later than women. Though this is the case, the differences in the mean age at first marriage are statistically significant at 0.05 significant level in half of the residential areas, that is, Rhodes Park, Kamwala and Libala.

This study has also revealed that there exists a weak inverse relationship between the number of children a woman in Lusaka has and her spousal age difference. This means that a woman who is many years younger than the husband has less children, than one who is a few years younger than the husband. This relationship is weak in all the six residential areas except for Rhodes Park where it is moderate (-0.55).

This study has also revealed that there is a weak inverse relationship between the number of children a woman in Lusaka has and her age at first marriage. This means that a woman who marries earlier has more children than one who marries later.

Though the relationship between the number of children and age at first marriage is a weak inverse one when all the areas are considered, variations do exist. The relationship between the two variables is very weak in Kalingalinga (-0.24) and Libala (-0.24); weak in Kabulonga (-0.36) and Misisi (-0.44); and strong in Kamwala (-0.60) and Rhodes Park (-0.65). Actually, the correlation coefficient between the number of children a woman in Kamwala wishes to have and her age at first marriage is a strong inverse one (-0.72) and it is statistically significant at the 0.05 level.

Finally, there is a significant difference between the status of a woman in Lusaka and the type of accommodation that she has. There is a moderate positive correlation between the educational attainment of a woman in Lusaka and the number of rooms in her house (0.46) and a weak positive correlation between a woman's income in Lusaka and the number of rooms in her house (0.31). The former is significant at 0.01 level and the latter at 0.05 level. Though this is the case, the situation varies from one residential area to another. The correlation between educational attainment and number of rooms are 0.26, 0.27, -0.18, 0.29, -0.66 and -0.54 for Kabulonga, Kalingalinga, Kamwala, Libala, Misisi and Rhodes Park, respectively. The one for Misisi is statistically significant at the 0.05 level. The correlations for Kabulonga, Kalingalinga and Libala are positive ones (the more educated one is, the more the number of rooms she has) whilst those for the rest are inverse (the more educated one is, the less the number of rooms she has). This is because in the latter areas one does not necessarily need to be educated in order to afford having many rooms. The coefficient of correlations between the woman's income and number of rooms in her house are 0.48, -0.13, -0.74, 0.23, -0.12 and 0.00 for Kabulonga, Kalingalinga, Kamwala, Libala, Misisi and Rhodes Park, respectively.

The correlations for Kabulonga, Libala and Rhodes Park are positive while the rest are inverse. The one for Kamwala is statistically significant at the 0.05 level.

Having come up with the above revelations, the following are the conclusions concerning the hypotheses. Hypothesis (a) states that: 'The status of women in Lusaka in general and specific residential areas is lower than that of their male counterparts.' This study's results show that the status of women in Lusaka, in general, is lower than that of their male counterparts, but when specific areas are considered women in Kabulonga have a significantly higher status than their male counterparts. Therefore, we can reject the hypothesis.

Hypothesis (b) states that: 'The number of children a woman has is significantly a function of her educational attainment.' This study's results reveal that though there is a weak inverse relationship between the number of children a woman in Lusaka has and her educational attainment, the relationship is not significant. Therefore, the hypothesis is rejected.

Hypothesis (c) states that: 'There is a significant increase in the number of children a woman has with the increase in the spousal age difference.' According to this study's results, there is an insignificant inverse relationship between the two variables; that is, there is an insignificant increase in the number of children a woman has with a decrease in the spousal age differences. This means that the hypothesis is rejected. The reason for this state of affairs, as earlier mentioned, is the tendency of valuing children highly in the Zambian tradition which is still prevalent in urban areas and this is likely to affect the reproductive behaviour even in Lusaka. Another reason is that some women marry early and as such the length of reproduction is long. This results in them having more children even if the age difference is small. The combination of these two factors brings different results from what we expect.

Hypothesis (d) states that: 'The number of children a woman has is significantly associated with her age at first marriage.' Though this study shows that there is an inverse association between the two variables (number of children and age at first marriage), the association is not significant. Therefore, this hypothesis is rejected.

Hypothesis (e) states that: 'A woman's involvement in formal employment significantly reduces the number of children she is likely to have.' Though the average number of children that women in formal employment have (2.8) is less than that of those who are not in formal employment (3.7), the difference is not significant. For that reason, the hypothesis is rejected.

Hypothesis (f) states that: 'There is a significant association between the autonomy of women within the sphere of domestic decision-making and fertility.' This study shows that the association between the woman's autonomy and fertility is not significant. This is because most women in Lusaka prefer equality rather than autonomy with regard to reproductive decision making. Therefore, the hypothesis is rejected.

Hypothesis (g) states that: 'The type of accommodation a woman has is significantly a function of her status.' The coefficient of correlations between the educational attainment of a woman in Lusaka and the number of rooms in her house; and a woman's income and the number of rooms in her house are statistically significant at 0.01 and 0.05 levels, respectively. The reason for this is that female education helps in increasing women's access to salaried employment. This results in the women being able to afford having good accommodation. This means that this hypothesis is accepted.

### 5.3 Recommendations

Having considered the status of women in Lusaka and how it is related to fertility, the following recommendations can be made.

1. The government should establish a national machinery for women's advancement. This is because government departments and ministries cannot easily implement a national gender policy in that they tend to have their own internal difficulties in implementing policies which entail gender equality. This is especially true when we consider those departments which manifest discrimination in their provision of public services.

2. The government should substantially improve the implementation of the ongoing programmes in the social sectors. Many of its stated policies are creditable, but projects are implemented too slowly or not at all. For example, the Ministry of Education formulated a policy on Gender and Development Education in 1994 which is aimed at addressing disparities or inequalities in access to and opportunities in education. The implementation of this is at a slow pace more especially when one considers the University level where gender gaps are large. There is need to, therefore further improve the educational levels of women as this will help in increasing women's age at first marriage and consequently reduce their fertility. The much-needed external assistance from donors may be tied to the rate of implementation and as such there is need to implement policies quickly.

3. The mass media should be used in a serious campaign targeted primarily at men in order to raise the nation's consciousness about the importance of women's role and potential contribution to development. Actually, all sex roles' stereotyping and portrayal of negative images of women in the media must be eliminated.

4. All discriminatory laws and ordinances should be repealed. There is need to actually reamend the amended 1996 constitution. This is because the government's 1996 Constitutional Amendment Act retained Article 23, which permits discrimination on grounds of gender in personal, marriage and customary law. Repealing all discriminatory laws and ordinances will certainly contribute to improving the status of all Zambian women. It will also have the benefits of costing little in resource terms; having a quick impact; and not being hindered by implementation constraints.

5. Although results from this study can serve as a basis for more detailed research, it has not been possible to examine all aspects of the status of women. There is need therefore, for future researchers among other things, to include information on the other major allocative decisions families make, such as, children's schooling and the organisation of childcare. This is more especially useful when considering the relationship between work and fertility.

6. There is also need for future researchers to make a comparison between the distribution of the status of women in rural and urban areas. Mapping this distribution would be beneficial to planners, more specially, if the areas to be studied are many.

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## APPENDIX 1

**A1: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE ON STATUS OF WOMEN IN ZAMBIA IN RELATION TO FERTILITY DURING THE PERIOD 1980 TO 1999: THE CASE OF LUSAKA.**

Serial Number ..... Residence ..... Date of Interview .....

Dear Respondent,

Mrs Eunice N.S. Imasiku is undertaking a research on the status of women and fertility in Lusaka. This is in partial fulfilment of the thesis requirement for the degree of Master of Science in Geography (University of Zambia).

You are required to answer the questions that follow alone. Please answer the questions to the best of your knowledge and kindly be assured that all your answers will be treated with absolute confidentiality. Where options are given put a tick ( ) to indicate your choice. For open ended questions, answers should be written in the spaces provided.

**Section A: Background Information**

*In this section the aim is to get personal information about you.*

1. What is your age? \_\_\_\_\_

2. What is your marital status?

Married \_\_\_\_\_ Widowed \_\_\_\_\_

Divorced \_\_\_\_\_ other(specify) \_\_\_\_\_

*If your answer to question 2 is 'Married' proceed to question 3. If not proceed to question 6.*

3. Are you in a polygamous or non polygamous marriage? \_\_\_\_\_

4. When did you marry? \_\_\_\_\_

5. What is the age difference between you and your spouse (Male's minus Female's)?  
\_\_\_\_\_

6. What is your occupation? \_\_\_\_\_

7. What is your spouse's occupation? \_\_\_\_\_

8. What is your household income (K'000 per month)? \_\_\_\_\_

9. What is your own income K'000 per month)? \_\_\_\_\_
10. What is your spouse's income (K'000 per month)? \_\_\_\_\_
11. What is your highest educational attainment? \_\_\_\_\_
12. What is your spouse's educational attainment? \_\_\_\_\_
13. What is your religious denomination? \_\_\_\_\_

**Section B: Fertility and Family Planning Information.**

*This section aims at finding out information on fertility and family planning in your family:*

14. What was your age at first marriage? \_\_\_\_\_
15. What is the size of your household? \_\_\_\_\_
16. How many children do you have in the household? \_\_\_\_\_
17. How many are your biological children? \_\_\_\_\_
18. How many are adopted or relatives? \_\_\_\_\_
19. How many children do you wish to have in your life time?  
 Girls \_\_\_\_\_ Boys \_\_\_\_\_
20. Why do you wish so? \_\_\_\_\_
21. Do you discuss your family size with your spouse?  
 Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_
- If 'Yes' proceed to question 22, if 'No' go to question 23.*
22. How often do you discuss it?  
 Very rarely \_\_\_\_\_ Often \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rarely \_\_\_\_\_ Very Often \_\_\_\_\_
23. Why don't you discuss your family size with you spouse? \_\_\_\_\_

24. Have you ever used any family planning method?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

*If 'Yes' proceed to question 25; If 'No' go to question 28.*

25. Which of the following method(s) have you ever used?

Scientific natural family planning (SNFP) \_\_\_\_\_  
 Condom \_\_\_\_\_ Pill \_\_\_\_\_  
 Others (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

26. Which ones are you still using?

SNFP \_\_\_\_\_ Condom \_\_\_\_\_  
 Pill \_\_\_\_\_ Others(specify) \_\_\_\_\_

27. What is your source of family planning services? \_\_\_\_\_

28. Why don't you use any family planning method? \_\_\_\_\_

29. Do you agree with the traditional teaching that says "marriage is about having many children?"

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

30. Give reason(s) for your answer to question 29. \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

31. In your opinion, who should make family planning decisions?

Primarily the husband \_\_\_\_\_ Primarily the wife \_\_\_\_\_  
 Both husband and wife \_\_\_\_\_ Relatives \_\_\_\_\_

32. Who makes such decisions in your family? \_\_\_\_\_

### **Section C: Information on Informal and Formal Occupation.**

*I would like to know your involvement in formal and informal activities.*

33. Do you do any household work?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

*If 'Yes' proceed to question 33, if 'No' go to question 37.*

34. What type of work do you do? \_\_\_\_\_

35. How many hours per day do you spend doing household work? \_\_\_\_\_

36. How many hours per day does your spouse spend doing household work?

37. Why don't you do household work? \_\_\_\_\_

38. Are you in formal employment?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

*If 'Yes' proceed to question 39; If 'No' answer question 41.*

39. What position do you hold? \_\_\_\_\_

40. How many hours per day do you spend at your work place?

41. Is your spouse in formal employment? \_\_\_\_\_

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

*If 'Yes' proceed to questions 42 and 43; If 'No' go to question 44.*

42. What position does he/she hold? \_\_\_\_\_

43. How many hours per day does he/she spend at the working place?

44. Are you engaged in any informal money generating activity?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

*If 'Yes' proceed to question 45; If 'No' go to question 46.*

45. Do you have any access to loan facilities?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

46. Is your spouse engaged in any informal money generating activity?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

*If 'Yes' proceed to question 47, if 'No' go to question 48*

47. Does he/she have access to any loan facilities?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

48. How much time do girls in your home spend doing house chores as compared to the boys?

Equal \_\_\_\_\_ Twice as less \_\_\_\_\_  
Twice as much \_\_\_\_\_ More than twice as much \_\_\_\_\_

49. Give reasons for your answer to question 48. \_\_\_\_\_

50. Do you divide housework according to gender?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

51. Give reasons for your answer to question 50. \_\_\_\_\_

### **Section D: Domestic decision making information**

*This section aims at getting information about your involvement in domestic decision making. Questions 52-57 are to be answered by female respondents only whilst questions 58-65 are to be answered by male respondents only.*

52. Do you know how much your husband earns?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

53. Does he give you an allocation from that money?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

*If 'Yes' proceed to question 54, if 'No' go to question 55.*

54. Are you free to decide what to spend that money on?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

55. Give reasons for your answer to question 54. \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

56. Do you discuss your husband's income?  
 Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

57. Give reasons for your answer to question 56. \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

58. Does your wife know how much you earn?  
 Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

*If 'No' proceed to question 59; If 'Yes' go to question 60.*

59. Why is it so? \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

60. Do you give her an allocation from your income?  
 Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

61. Give reasons for your answer to question 60. \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

*If your answer to question 60 is 'Yes' answer questions 62 and 63. If it is 'No' answer question 64.*

62. Is she free to decide what to spend that money on?  
 Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

63. Give reasons for your answer to question 62. \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

64. Do you discuss your income with your wife?  
 Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

65. Give reasons for your answer to question 64. \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

66. Who makes decisions regarding borrowing or lending of money?

Primarily the husband \_\_\_\_\_  
 Primarily the wife \_\_\_\_\_  
 Both husband and wife \_\_\_\_\_  
 Someone else \_\_\_\_\_

67. Why \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

68. Who controls the household budget?

Primarily the husband \_\_\_\_\_  
 Primarily the wife \_\_\_\_\_  
 Both husband and wife \_\_\_\_\_  
 Someone else \_\_\_\_\_

69. Why \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

70. How do you perceive the weight of your point of view within the household?

Less than spouse's \_\_\_\_\_  
 More than spouse's \_\_\_\_\_  
 Same as spouse's \_\_\_\_\_  
 No weight at all \_\_\_\_\_

71. Is it in order for a wife to voice disagreement with her husband's opinion?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

72. Give reasons for your answer to question 71. \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

73. Who guides your children and/or dependants in the home?

Myself \_\_\_\_\_  
 My spouse \_\_\_\_\_  
 Both of us \_\_\_\_\_  
 Relatives \_\_\_\_\_

74. Give reasons for your answer to question 73. \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

**Section E: Information on Accommodation**

*This section aims at finding out information on your accommodation.*

75. How many rooms does your house have? \_\_\_\_\_

76. What is the average area of each room? \_\_\_\_\_

77. Are all the rooms occupied by your family members?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

*If 'No' answer questions 78-80; If 'Yes' this is the end of the interview.*

78. How many are occupied by other people? \_\_\_\_\_

79. Are you renting them out?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

*If 'Yes' answer question 80. If 'No' this is the end of the interview.*

80. How much is the rent per month? \_\_\_\_\_

**END OF INTERVIEW**

**THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION.**

**APPENDIX 2****A2: UNSTRUCTURED INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR ORGANISATIONS.**

1. When was your institution established?
2. What are its objectives?
3. How do you intend to achieve these objectives?
4. What is the significance of the name of your organisation?
5. What is the government's policy on the status of women?
6. How effective is it?
7. How do you compare the government's attitude to the status of women in the Second Republic and the Third Republic?

