## BEYOND INEQUALITIES Women in Zambia





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#### ZAMBIA ASSOCIATION FOR RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT (ZARD)

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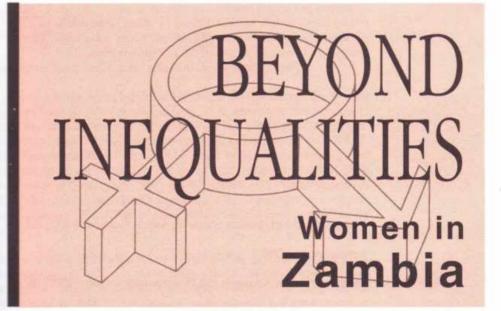
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Mercy Siame, Mercy Siame, Nokatiwa Mulikita, Sara Longwe, Ray Clarke

**WDSAA** is a southern African partnership initiative with national partners in the 12 member countries of the Southern African Development Community (SADC), funded by the regional WID programme of the Netherlands Government Directorate of International Cooperation (DGIS).

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### PREFACE



Beyond Inequalities is a series of publications which profile the status of women in southern Africa and the initiatives being made to mainstream gender in development processes in the region. The series presents the situation of women and men in the Southern African Development mmunity (SADC) as a region, and in each member country.

In the process leading to, and after the Fourth World Conference on Women m Beijing, China in 1995, southern Africa has seen slow but noticeable change in the attitudes towards the integration and mainstreaming of gender issues and perspectives in national and regional programmes and polices. This has culminated in the SADC Council of Ministers adopting a set of recommendations in February 1997 and a Declaration of Heads of State or Government in September 1997 (see Appendix 3), to make gender an moortant element in the region's programme of action and communitybuilding initiatives. The fruits of these policy declarations are still to be malised.

The reality of the women of southern Africa is that they remain a vulnera-We, marginalised group that is yet to enjoy equality in status, and access to services and resources with male counterparts. Women are found at the "bottom rung of poverty, of illiteracy, of landlessness";1 and are concentrated in the rural areas where facilities and services are scarce. Women are the most affected by negative impacts of economic adjustment programmes. Cats in social expenditure such as in health and education mostly impact on somen and girls, who are victims of the worst forms of violence.

while women are the daily managers and users of natural resources, largeis for the benefit of others, women are not involved in the major decisions from affect these resources and the environment.

in politics and decision-making, women turn up in the largest numbers every election year as they constitute more than half the population of the Efferent countries. Yet women are visibly absent in decision-making positores of government, of parastatal organisations, and of private companies. Women remain concentrated in the so-called "female professions" and at me very best are in the middle-management positions.

For strategies to be developed that address the subordination and vulnerasincy of women, it is important that the causes of this situation are identifed. The series Beyond Inequalities reviews the roles and responsibilities, access to and control over resources, decision-making powers, needs and constraints of women vis a vis men.

The identification of the causes of these problems should lead to appropriare strategies to resolve them both at national and regional level.

The 12 country profiles in this series document and analyze information along themes drawn from the Critical Areas of Concern identified in the Being Platform for Action (PFA) and derived from what the countries of the region consider to be priorities. The profiles are therefore part of an ini-



#### ZAMBIA ASSOCIATION FOR RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT (ZARD)

ZARD is a non-governmental organisation (NGO) which aims to uplift the status and position of women through action-oriented, participatory and gender-sensitive research. Founded in 1984, ZARD conducts research aimed at forwarding the development of women relative to men in Zambia whose findings are later disseminated through seminars and workshops. ZARD advocates, publishes, networks and undertakes consultancies aimed at empowering women. Recently, ZARD has also started conducting training in research methodologies, gender analysis, proposal-writing and documentation and research management

#### SARDC

The Southern African Research Documentation Centre and (SARDC) is a regional resource centre covering the SADC region. Its objective is to improve the base of knowledge about regional, economic, political, cultural and social developments, and their implications, by making information accessible to policy makers, nongovernmental organisations, the private sector, development agencies and the media in the region and internationally. SARDC's main programmes are on the environment and disaster management. gender, sustainable democracy and SADC information. SARDC has offices in Harare, Maputo and Dar es Salaam. Patron is Julius Nyerere.

tiative that seeks to bring to light gender issues as they relate to the development process. In addition to providing information for planning and development purposes, the profiles indicate gaps for future research focus and will be updated at intervals.

These national profiles on the status of women in southern Africa are an achievement of Women in Development Southern Africa Awareness (WID-SAA), a regional networking information programme that covers the 12 member countries of the SADC region. WIDSAA is a programme of the Southern African Research and Documentation Centre (SARDC), in collaboration with a range of national partner organisations and supported by the Netherlands Government Directorate of International Cooperation (DGIS), through the Royal Netherlands Embassy regional WID programme.

The WIDSAA objective is to contribute to the improvement of the status and position of women in the SADC region through awareness-building; and to collect, document and disseminate relevant and accessible information based on national and regional perspectives. WIDSAA aims to collect and organize gender information in such a way that it is easily accessible for analysis and presentation toward the development of policy frameworks; and seeks to assist governments, organisations and peoples of the region to move quickly and effectively towards the empowerment and involvement of women in development.

A workshop of WIDSAA national partners and local consultants reviewed the Terms of Reference and defined a framework for preparation of the profile series.

The WIDSAA partners consulted national stakeholders, interest groups and gender activists in the process of developing the national profiles.

A regional profile on Women in Southern Africa, mainly deriving from the 12 national ones, includes further contributions of more than 30 professionals from throughout the SADC region.<sup>2</sup> An advisory Gender Reference Group guided the process of organising and presenting information.

An Introduction to each profile outlines the methodology and conceptual framework.

Part I gives the national perspective and context, including a historical summary, macroeconomic framework and demographic information. This is followed by a situation analysis of gender issues by theme, containing baseline data on women in society and how they fare relative to men.

Part II reviews the programmes and policies of government, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), donor and development agencies, community-based organizations (CBOs) and other stakeholders involved in mainstreaming gender into development, assessing the extent to which gender imbalances receive due attention.

Part III highlights the achievements and commitments in the context of the Beijing Platform for Action, as well as priorities for future action. This section seeks to establish links between the current situation and the future ideal, contrasting the situation of women with the policy intentions to address it.

Part IV contains a reference of materials used in compilation of the profile as well as a bibliography of country-specific WID documents and additional statistical tables. The series title *Beyond Inequalities* is a forward-looking one, based on an exercise that inequalities are now generally acknowledged as an impedment to development and economic growth in most countries and regions of the world. The challenge, therefore, facing women and men is to look beyond inequalities to cooperation, peace, development and prosperity.

#### Cilical Areas of Concern

Box 1

• even of progress since the Nairobi Conference highlights special concerns • even of particular urgency that stand out as priorities for action. All actors • focus action and resources on the strategic objectives relating to the • areas of concern which are, necessarily, interrelated, interdependent • figh priority. There is a need for these actors to develop and implemechanisms of accountability for all the areas of concern. To this end, • ments, the international community and civil society, including nonmental organizations and the private sector, are called upon to take • even of the following critical areas of concern:

- The persistent and increasing burden of poverty on women
- Inequalities and inadequacies in an unequal access to education and training
- Inequalities and inadequacies in and unequal access to health care and related services
- Violence against women
- The effects of armed or other kinds of conflict on women, including those living under foreign occupation
- bequality in economic structures and policies, in all forms productive activities and in access to resources
- nequality between men and women in the sharing of power and decision-making at all levels
- Insufficient mechanisms at all levels to promote the advancement of women
- Lack of respect for and inadequate promotion and protection of the human rights of women
- Serectyping of women and inequality in women's access to and participation in all communication systems, especially in the media
- Gender inequalities in the management of natural resources and in the safeguarding of the environment
- Persistent discrimination against and violation of the mehrs of the girl-child.

Section 2018 Parlorm for Action and the Beijing Declaration, United Nations Department of Public Information, New 2018

#### Zambia National Platform for Action

- Reduce women's poverty and strengthen access to resources
- Becrease participation in economic structures and policies
   Eminate gender disparities in education, skills-development
- and training
- Remove unequal access to women's health and related services
- Reduce the inequalities in the sharing power and decision-making
   Promote the rights of the girl-child.

Cender in Development Division, Cabinet Office, "Strategic Plan for the Advancement of Women in SPAW/ 1996 - 2001", Lusaka, Zambia, June 1996.

### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS



SARDC-WIDSAA would like to thank all of our national partners and members of the Gender Reference Group (GRG) for their active participation in a continuing process. We also want to thank national and regional readers and reviewers, who gave constructive comments on

contents and presentation. Names of the individuals and organisations in each country are listed in Appendix 1 and 2. Very special mention must be made of Monique Calon, who was the regional WID Advisor at the Royal Netherlands Embassy in Lusaka, Zambia, during this process and was our partner in nurturing the programme from conception to maturity. Margaret Samuriwo who was instrumental in the conceptualisation of the programme is also acknowledged. To my other colleagues, the staff of WIDSAA listed in the frontpiece, who worked so hard in the early stages of production of these profiles, and the people in the other SARDC departments - who assisted in so many ways, goes the satisfaction of a job well done. Thanks to all of them, and to the SARDC Executive Director, Phyllis Johnson, who supported the process throughout, and to the Director of SARDC's environment resource centre, Munyaradzi Chenje, who shared his experience of the process of developing information tools for the SADC region. Most of all, recognition goes to the Zambia Association for Research and Development (ZARD), national partner for Zambia, and to the Royal Netherlands Government Directorate of International Cooperation (DGIS) without whose financial support this mammoth task would not have been accomplished. All others who were involved with the process in any way, at any time, are gratefully acknowledged.

#### Bookie Monica Kethusegile, Head of Programme SARDC-WIDSAA, Harare

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We are grateful to the researchers for their overwhelming support and their enthusiasm in undertaking the research and writing the report.

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Leya Chatta Chipepa Executive Secretary (ZARD), Lusaka

## CONTENTS

PREFACE	1
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	
CONTENTS	4 5 6
List of Tables, Figures and Boxes	6
ACRONYMS	7
GROWTH OF NGO MOVEMENT IN ZAMBIA SINCE 1980	9
ZAMBIA DEVELOPMENT INDICATORS	11
MAP OF ZAMBIA	12
DECUTIVE SUMMARY	13
INTRODUCTION	15
Background	15
Purpose	16
Definition and Analysis of a Gender Issue	10
Criteria for Assessing Gender Needs and Policies	19
Cancilla for Assessing Gender Meeds and Foreices	17
PART I SITUATION ANALYSIS	23
Gender Division of the Economy	23
Exclusion of Women from Politics and Power	33
Women's Position within Social Structures	39
Gender Gaps in Education and Media	46
Women and the Environment	51
Women's Health Status	53
Women and Violence	57
PART II POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES	61
Background to Policy on Gender	61
The Draft National Gender Policy	62
Current Gender Policy	67
NGO Activities in Gender Issues	72
Gender Orientation of Development Agencies	77
Callant official of Det Hopmont (generics	<u>.</u>
PART III THE WAY FORWARD	81
Gap Between Gender Needs and Gender Policies	81
Priorities for Action	81
Strategic Alternatives	84
PART IV REFERENCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY	89
Endnotes	89
Bibliography	91
617	
APPENDIX	97
I List of National Partners in 12 SADC Countries	97
2 List of Members of Gender Reference Group	98
3 SADC Gender Declaration	99
4 Beijing Declaration, from Fourth World Conference	15/2515
on Women, Beijing, China, 4 - 15 September, 1995	100
5 Platform For Action (PFA) Mission Statement,	1.0.0
from Fourth World Conference on Women	102

### BEYOND INEQUALITIES

### List of Tables, Figures and Boxes

#### Tables

1	Gender Gaps in Access to Resources	25
23	Gender Gaps in Labour Market Participation	26
3	Gender Gaps in Division of Labour	
	and Earnings	27
4	Gender Gaps in Division of Occupations	29
4 5	Gender Division of Poverty	31
6	Gender Ratio of Zambia Council for the	
	Handicapped	32
78	Estimate of External Debt, December 1994	33
	Payment Trend of External Debt, 1980-1994	33
9	Gender Gaps in Senior Decision-making	
	Positions	39
10	Kinship Patterns	41
11	Marriage by Custom or Ordinance	
	by Education Level	41
12	Gender Gaps in Control of Religious	
	and Cultural Organisations	45
13	Gender Gaps in Schooling	48
14	Gender Gaps in Dropout Rates and	
	Curriculum Development	49
15	Gender Gaps in University Enrolment	
	by Subject	49
16	Gender Gaps in Enrolment in Technical	
	Education	50

### Figures

1	Gender Profile of Need Versus Policy	
2	Level of seriousness	

14 81

### Boxes

1	Critical Areas of Concern	3
23	New Intestate Succession Bill drafted	34
	Women and the Constitution	35
4	Women as second class citizens	36
	Picketing of Lusaka hotel	37
6	Campaign trust funds established	37
7	It's like a revolution	38
8	Catholic women call for leadership	
	involvement	40
9	Girl child education	46

1	7 Gender Gaps in Control of Media	52
1	8 Women's Access to Water and Sanitation	53
	9 Welfare Status in Health, Fertility and	
	Nutrition	54
2	O Gender Gaps in Health, Fertility and	
	Nutrition	55
2	Frequency of Main Sexually Transmitted	
	Diseases (STDs)	56
2	2 Violence Against Women	57
2	3 Proportion of Women Among Refugees	59
2	4 Agencies Responsible for Implementation of	of
	Strategic Plan	64
2	5 Assessment of Seriousness of the Draft	
	Gender Policy by Sector	67
2	6 Assessment of Seriousness of Current	
	Gender Policy by Sector	67
2	7 Map of Local NGOs' Current Areas of	
	Activity	74
2	8 Profile of Gender Gaps and Policy	
	Intentions	82
2	<sup>9</sup> Profile of Women's Welfare Needs versus	
	Policy Intentions	84

10 Women educators want a say in policy	46
Girl child education declaration	47
12 Kitchen remains women's domain	51
13 HIV mother face a dilemma — breast	
or bottle?	56
14 Women murdered in domestic rows	58
15 No right to refuse sex	58
16 Customs allow wife-beating	59
17 Beijing brought to Zambia	72

## ACRONYMS

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
BPW	Business and Professional Women
CBO	Community Based Organisation
CCZ	Christian Council of Zambia
CDC	Curriculum Development Centre
CUSO	Canadian University Services Overseas
CSO	Central Statistical Office
CWC	Caucus of Women Councillors
CWL	Catholic Women's League
DTEVT	Department of Technical Education and Vocational
21211	Training
EC	European Community
FHH	Female Headed Household
FHT	Family Health Trust
FLM	Family Life Movement
FLS	Forward Looking Strategies
FAWEZA	
FEMNET	African Women's Development and Communication
E LINE TO I	Network
GG	Gender Gap
GGA	Girl Guides Association
GIDD	Gender in Development Division
GNP	Gross National Product
GYWP	Gender, Youth and Women Programmes
GRZ	Government of the Republic of Zambia
HEA	Home Economics Association
HIVOS	Humanistic Institute for Cooperation with Developing
mi vos	Countries
HIV	Human Immunodefficiency Virus
HOPE	Help Other People Emerge Foundation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LAZ	Law Association of Zambia
MHH	Male Headed Household
MMD	Movement for Multi-Party Democracy
MOE	Ministry of Education
MOH	Ministry of Health
MOCDSS	Ministry of Community Development and Social Services
MWA	Medical Women's Association of Zambia
MWZFL	Muslim Women of Zambia (Functional Literacy)
NATAAZ	National Theatre and Arts Association of Zambia
NCDP	National Commission for Development and Planning
NCCW	National Catholic Council of Women
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NGOCC	Non-Governmental Organisation
moore	Committee
NORAD	Norwegian Agency for International Development
NOVIB	Netherlands Organisation for International Development
	Cooperation
NWLG	National Women's Lobby Group
NWC	Ngwerere Women's Club
PAZA	Press Association of Zambia
the of Reduced A.	A AND A ROOMANDAL OF ABALLOTA



PPAZ	Planned Parenthood Association of Zambia
PPU	Provincial Planning Unit
RAZWA	Research Association of Zambian Women Academics
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SARDC	Southern African Research and Documentation Centre
SIDO	Small Scale Industry Organisation
STD	Sexually Transmitted Disease
SWAAZ	Society of Women Against AIDS in Zambia
TBA	Traditional Births Attendants
VIS	Village Industry Service
WDN	Women's Development Network
WFC	Women for Change
WFTZ	Women's Finance Trust of Zambia
WHO	World Health Organisation
WID	Women in Development
WILDAF	Women in Law and Development in Africa
WLC	Women's Legal Clinic
WLSA	Women and Law in Southern Africa
UN	United Nations
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNIFEM	United Nations Fund for Women
UNIP	United National Independence Party
UNZA	University of Zambia
UTH	University Teaching Hospital
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association
ZCFH	Zambia Council for the Handicapped
ZAMWA	Zambia Media Women Association
ZANA	Zambia News Agency
ZARD	Zambia Association for Research and Development
ZAUW	Zambia Association of University Women
ZAW	Zambia Alliance of Women
ZAWWA	Zambia Women Writers Association
ZCTU	Zambia Congress of Trade Unions
ZDH	Zambia Demographic and Health Survey
ZIS	Zambia Information Service
ZNA	Zambia Nurses Association
ZNBC	Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation
ZNADWO	Zambia National Association for Disabled Women
ZUJ	Zambia Union of Journalists
ZUM	Zambia Union of Musicians

### GROWTH OF NGO MOVEMENT IN ZAMBIA SINCE 1980

1980		
Business and Professional Women	(BPW)	
Carbolic Women's League	(CWL)	
Girl Guides Association	(GGA)	
Home Economics Association	(HEA)	
National Catholic Council of Women	(NCCW)	
Planned Parenthood Association of Zambia	(PPAZ)	
Women's League Council of Zambia	(	
Young Women Christian Association	(YWCA)	
Zambia Alliance of Women	(ZAW)	
Zambia Nurses Association	(ZNA)	
	8	
1985		
Business and Professional Women	(BPW)	
Catholic Women's League	(CWL)	
Girl Guides Association	(GGA)	
Home Economics Association	(HEA)	
Meslim Women of Zambia/Functional Literacy	(MWZFL)	
National Catholic Council of Women	(NCCW)	
Non-Governmental Organisations Coordinating Committee	(NGOCC)	
Planned Parenthood Association of Zambia	(PPAZ)	
Women's Development Network	(WDN)	
Women's League Council of Zambia		
Young Women Christian Association	(YWCA)	
Zambia Association for Research and Development	(ZARD)	
Zambia Alliance of Women	(ZAW)	
Zambia Media Women Association	(ZAMWA)	
Zambia Nurses Association	(ZNA)	
Zambia Association of University Women	(ZAUW)	
1996		
Business and Professional Women	(BPW)	
Cancus of Women Councillors		
Catholic Women's League	(CWL)	
Forum for African Women Educationists of Zambia	(FAWEZA)	
Girl Guides Association	(GGA)	
Gender, Youth and Women Programmes	(GYWP)	
Home Economics Association	(HEA)	
Help Other People Foundation	(HOPE)	
Income Generation	(IG)	
Medical Women Association of Zambia	(MWA)	
Muslim Women of Zambia/Functional Literacy	(MWZFL)	
National Catholic Council of Women	(NCCW)	
Non-Governmental Organisations Coordinating Committee	(NGOCC)	
Ngwerere Women's Club	(NWC)	
Planned Parenthood Association of Zambia	(PPAZ)	
Research Association of Zambian Women Academia	(RAZWA)	
Society of Women Against AIDS in Zambia	(SWAAZ)	
Tasintha	(WD)	
Women's Development	(WD) (WFT)	
s rindice riust	(WI-1)	

Women for Change	(WFC)
Women in Law and Development in Africa-Zambia	(WILDAF
Women and Law in Southern Africa Trust-Zambia	(WLSA)
Women's Lobby Group of Zambia	(WLGZ
Women's Rights Committee of the Law Association of Za	ambia
Young Women Christian Association	(YWCA)
Zambia Media Women Association	(ZAMWA)
Zambia Association for Research and Development	(ZARD)
Zambia Alliance of Women	(ZAW)
Zambia Women Writers Association	(ZAWWA)
Zambia Association of University Women	(ZAUW)
Zambia National Association for Disabled Women	(ZNADW)
Zambia Nurses Association	(ZNA)

#### Women in Zambia

#### ZAMBIA DEVELOPMENT INDICATORS

Chicial Name Capital City Independence Date Head of State and Government Last Election Held Ruling Party

Political System Legislature Languages

#### Land Area

#### **DEULATON** (1994

Total (estimate) women men Estimate by the year 2000 Annual growth rate Doubling date at current rate Urban population % of total annual growth rate

#### EXETH (1994)

#### Adult literacy rate

wom	ien
men	
Primary	secondary and tertiary
enrolme	ent ratio (combined)
fema	le
male	

#### ONOMY (1994

Gross National Product (GNP) per capita annual growth rate Gross Domestic Product (GDP) as % of GDP -agriculture -industry -services Average annual rate of inflation Foreign Debt Export/Import Ratio (exports as % of imports)

Currency (1 Kwacha = 100 ngwee)

"Crude Beath Rate: Annual number of death per 1,000 population. "Crude Sunh Rate: Annual number of births per 1,000 population.

Total Fertility Rate: The number of children that would be born to a woman if she were to live to the end of her child-bearing years and bear children at each age in accordance with

CEX UNDP Human Development Report, Oxford University Press, New York, 1997. Figures given here are taken from current international sources, often estimates, and may

Zambia Lusaka 24 October 1964 Frederick T.J. Chiluba November 1996 Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) Republic, Executive President Parliament English, Bemba, Tonga, Lozi, Nyanja and others 753,000 sq km 9.1 million 10.1 million 3.1% 2022 58% 3.4% 42.6 years

18.5 43.4 5.8 110/1000 live births 940/100,000 live births (1990)

27% 64%

76.6%

44% 51%

69.3% 84.4%

51%

49%

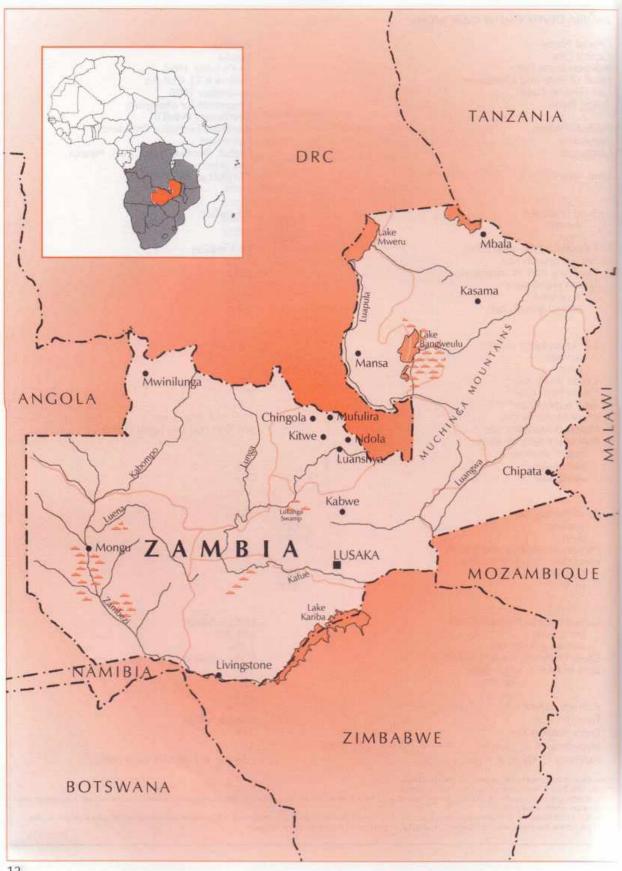
43.3 years 41.7 years

> U\$\$3.2 billion U\$\$350 1.0% U\$\$3.5 billion 31% 35% 34% 180% U\$\$6.6 billion 74%

US\$1 = K 1,899.98 (June1998)

11

#### BEYOND INEQUALITIES



12

### EXECUTIVE SUMMARY



This gender profile of Zambia is an update and follow-up to the 1994 Non-governmental Organisation Coordinating Committee (NGOCC) report on the situation of women in Zambia. The profile looks at gender gaps in all sectors, and considers priorities for action. It also examines sys-

termic gender inequality which is the underlying cause of persistent gender gaps. A detailed assessment of government policy intentions, sector by sector, is also provided.

Since the 1994 report, the Zambian government has assented to the 1995 Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action. Given the main Beijing theme of women's empowerment, Zambia is formally committed to increasing women's participation in government, and other senior levels of decisionmaking.

The profile provides an appropriate moment to reassess whether government's current policy is moving in the direction necessary to meet Beijing commitments. It also identifies the main areas where serious gender issues are not matched by policy decisions to address these issues.

This comparison between need and policy provides the main focus for this report, using a seven-point scale to assess the extent and size of gender gaps and whether they have been reduced over time. This is compared with a seven-point assessment of current government policy-intentions, especially by ending discriminatory practices which have caused the gap.

The comparison of need versus policy shows a negative correlation between the serious gender gap and the government's current policy intentions that is paradoxical (Figure 1).

Where the gender gap is widest, at the highest levels of decision-making, is precisely where there is the least policy-intention to close the gap. Conversely, where gaps are narrow, for example in school enrolments, there is evidence that government is trying to close them further.

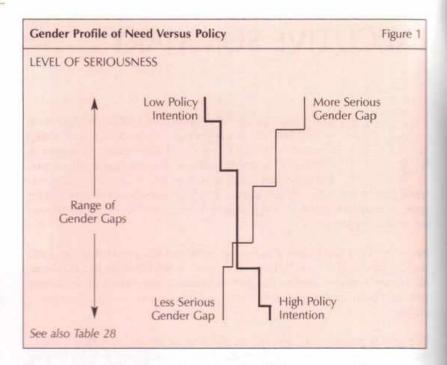
Examining women's special welfare needs — possibly the less important area of gender issues — government policy interest is even more marked.

This leads to the conclusion that government interest is more evident in increased welfare and access to resources but not in women's increased participation in decision-making, and control over resources.

The data is also consistent with the interpretation that current government policy is more active in enabling women to improve within the present social structure, but less concerned with transforming the structure in order to eliminate gender discrimination.

Apart from revealing the paradox between need and policy, the profile looks in detail at priority areas for action where there is wide gap.





The report also identifies various ways in which government bureaucracy is, itself, part of institutionalised gender inequality. Under a dual system of law, many discriminatory practices are legal under customary law, and serve to legitimise negative rules and norms practiced by government departments. Obstacles to gender equality lie partly within government itself. These internal contradictions underlie the ambiguities found in government gender policy.

An examination of changes in gender policy since Beijing, also reveals mixed signals. There is the draft gender policy which is quite radical, and would require affirmative action to put a minimum of 40 percent women in top decision-making positions in political parties and government. However, on the other hand, this policy has been waiting for Cabinet approval since mid-1997 and has now been followed by a much more conservative strategic plan.

Some legislative developments contradict principles of good gender equality. In 1996 both the Constitutional Amendment Act and the Intestate Succession Bill gave statutory sanction to aspects of gender discrimination allowed under customary law. The latter aims to reverse the modest gains women made in their right to inherit marital property under the 1989 Intestate Succession Act.

For development agencies and NGOs, the ambiguous position of government gives rise to important strategic considerations. Government is both an ally and obstacle. It is inadequate to build new strategies and plans under the assumption that "we are all pulling together", when plainly this is not the case.

There is a need to work with allies within government, as well as to recognise patriarchal opposition. Government policy and action must be pushed towards implementing international commitments. NGOs and development agencies must take independent action in areas where government is plainly reluctant to act.

### INTRODUCTION

This profile uses secondary sources to give an overview of gender issues in Zambia, focusing on gender gaps and gender discrimination. Looking at all areas of socio-economic life, the report makes an assessment of the seriousness of the need for action on gender issues, and compares

this with the seriousness of government policy intentions. This enables the drawing of a "gender profile" of the gap between need and policy. The report concludes by identifying some main priorities for women's empowerment, and alternative strategies for action, taking into consideration the role of NGOs and development agencies as well as government.

Its overall purpose is to contrast the situation of women with policy intentions to address these concerns. Consequently the report looks at the situation of women, focusing especially on gender gaps, and the underlying pattern of structural gender discrimination which causes them.

**Data** on the situation of women is drawn as a profile, which provides an assessment of the need for action on the situation of women, relative to men. For each indicator, there is an assessment of government policy intentions to address the situation.

In this way, the profile contrasts the "Seriousness of the Need for Action" against the "Seriousness of Policy Intentions." This method points to another type of gap — the gap between policy and action. The book's main purpose is to identify the areas of serious need for action where there is little policy intention to meet the need. In this way, the profile provides a map to identify new policy and programme priorities, where government, concerned NGOs, community-based organisations (CBOs) and development agencies, should reconsider their policies and priorities to achieve a more focused and concerted effort to address gender issues.

The report concludes by identifying priorities for action, and some of the intervention strategies which would be appropriate for addressing these priorities.

#### Background

Zambia's landmass of 753,000 sq km is surrounded by eight neighbouring countries: Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Tanzania, to the north; Malawi and Mozambique, to the east; Zimbabwe and Botswana to the south; Namibia to the southwest and Angola to the west.

The country's population of 9.1 million (51 percent of whom are female) is more than twice what it was at independence in 1964. At the annual growth rate of 3.7 percent, the population will double again by 2010.

Zambia is probably the most urbanised country in sub-Saharan Africa. More than half of all Zambians (58 percent) live in cities or towns clustered along "the line of rail" — the railroad which runs through the centre of the country, from the mines of the Copperbelt in the north to Livingstone in the south.<sup>3</sup> Zambia is probably the most urbanised country in sub-Saharan Africa. In 1964, at the time of political independence from Great Britain, Zambia was one of the most prosperous countries in Africa. Its wealth was derived from copper mining and processing, which provided resources for the expanding public sector.

However, falling copper prices in the 1970s, government's failure to diversify the economy, its pursuit of inappropriate policies, mismanagement and a heavy debt burden, as well as the cost of supporting liberation struggles in a number of other countries in the region including Zimbabwe and South Africa, resulted in serious economic malaise. This has meant a drastic decline in national income and living standards. The physical infrastructure of roads, hospital and schools has deteriorated dramatically.

In an attempt to revive the moribund economy, Zambia embarked in 1985 on its first Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) supported by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF). Two years later, in the face of food riots against the increase in maize meal prices, the then ruling United National Independence Party (UNIP) abandoned SAPs and Zambia severed ties with the World Bank and IMF.

A new ruling party, the Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD) returned to the World Bank-IMF fold in 1991 with economic liberalisation of domestic and foreign trade, decontrol of prices, exchange-rate reform, deregulation of financial markets, and abolishment of state monopolies through privatisation. The economy is now characterised by reduced government expenditure on social services and public infrastructure, removal of food subsidies, and increased feminisation of poverty.

Since the end of the colonial rule, Zambians have experienced three constitutional changes: 1964-1973 was a multi-party system; 1973-1990 was a one-party rule by UNIP and since 1991 a return to pluralistic politics ruled by MMD. Sadly however, all the three dispensations have been overtly discriminatory of women.

#### Purpose

This Profile is a follow-up to the 1994 NGOCC publication "The Situation of Women in Zambia" prepared for the Beijing Conference. This revealed lack of government action during the previous decade, with large and static gender gaps in crucial areas such as higher education and access to government and parliament. The report began:

"The overall position in Zambia is that very little progress has been made in implementing the 1985 'Forward Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women'. The status of women, relative to men, has not changed very much since 1985. Zambia remains an extremely patriarchal society where men dominate the higher political and administrative levels of government. There seems to be no political will amongst the governing male elite to promote gender equality. However, there are the initial signs of an emerging male elite dilemma in the face of the increasing mobilisation of women's rights groups."

Since this was written, the Zambian government has made further commitments to support women's advancement, by assenting to the 1995 Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action. The purpose of this present Gender Profile is to provide a follow-up to the Beijing document. The profile aims to

Provide updated figures on the situation of women, relative to men;

Provide a more comprehensive and systematic picture of gender gaps =

all sectors and a comparative analysis of different gender-gaps;

- Assess the seriousness of current government policy intentions to close gender gaps and address gender issues;
- Identify the gaps between need and policy, on gender issues, compared with the intention to address these issues;
- Identify the main priorities for action, and to suggest alternative strategies to promote the process of women's advancement in Zambia.

#### Definition and Analysis of a Gender Issue Definition of a Gender Issue

In order to structure and analyse information to focus on gender issues, the profile introduces the definition of a gender issue by distinguishing between four concepts:

- Women's General Needs
- Women's Special Needs
- Gender Concerns
- Gender Issues

Of these four aspects of women's socio-economic situation, the profile focuses on gender issues.

#### Women's General Needs

General welfare needs where gender concerns and issues do not arise are defined as those which are merely the female half of human needs. For instance both men and women need clean air, water, food, shelter, medical care, education etc. This means that women's general needs are found where gender differences are not important.

#### Women's Special Needs

Special needs are welfare requirements which differ from men's because of biological differences. Because of the different roles of women and men, women have some special needs.

Obvious examples are the need for ante-natal, maternity and post-natal clinics. Equally important is family planning advice and methods, since these are more important for the person who bears children.

#### Cender Concerns

Women also have many needs which differ from men's because of their different gender roles. Gender concerns arise from the male-female division of social and economic roles.

For example, if women have the gender role of housework, then the supply of water and electricity to households is their particular concern. Similarly, since women are more responsible for child care, they have a major interest in the provision of child-care centres, pre-schools and schools. Where women are concerned for family health care, they have more interest in hospitals and public support for home-based health care.

#### **Gender** Issues

In principle, the male monopoly of the political system and government could be used to ensure that female needs are met, in the same way male needs are met.

However, a female gender issue arises when a sense of grievance and injustice is felt by women that it is only male needs which are met at the expense of women's needs. This situation arises where the gender division of labour entails men making the decisions, and women having to follow. An unequal gender division in decision-making is likely to make a gender issue of the use of national resources in meeting all women's needs.

This profile focuses on gender issues.

#### Analysis of a Gender Issue

Looking more closely at a gender issue, there are three basic elements to understand:

- Gender Gap
- Gender Discrimination
- Gender Oppression

In principle this framework could be used to analyse men's discrimination against women, or women's discrimination against men. In practice, however, it is discrimination against women which is prevalent.

#### Gender Gap

A gender issue arises where there is an observable gender gap, where women are aware of it and consider the gap unfair.

A gender gap is a measure of inequality in any particular socio-economic indicator and which may be defined as the difference in any aspect of the socioeconomic status of women and men. It is not just female-male difference because it does not arise from biological differences. This is a gap which arises from the different gender roles and social locations of women and men.

At the public level it is often observable and even measurable. (Part II contains tables with statistics which reveal the percentage difference between the number of women and the number of men in a particular socio-economic category.)

#### Gender Discrimination

Gender gaps do not occur by accident. They are caused by the different treatment given girls and women, in comparison with the treatment given boys and men. Gender discriminatin is the different treatment given to one gender by comparison with the other.

By this definition, gender discrimination could be a single action, for instance when an employer selects a man over a woman despite her higher qualifications. Or a national pattern can reveal systemic gender discrimination which a part of the social system, and which runs through all aspects of national life.

Discrimination against women can be found at different levels of social organisation:

- Family and household: for example in the decision to send a boy for higher education, but to keep a girl at home to help with the domestic work;
- Customary law: brideprice where there is no such thing as groomprice;
- Government administrative regulations and practice: denying various services and benefits to women who do not have written permission from husbands while husbands do not require permission from their wives;
- Government legislation: requiring different treatment for women and men by failing to require that women and men be given equal treatment.

#### Gender Oppression

Discriminatory treatment of women is not a cultural accident, it is in itself a means for the oppression of women. Discrimination is the means by which men maintain domination over women.

There are two such elements in the criteria: first, is the arbitrary allocation of the level of seriousness to particular percentage levels, (ie to declare that a four percent gap is 'not serious'); and secondly, to use this scale to compare seriousness on different indicators carries with it the assumption that a given percentage gap has the same level of seriousness, irrespective of the socio-economic area. For example, it assumes that a 90 percent gap at the university is equally as serious as a 90 percent gap in parliament. This is a questionable assumption. The best that can be said, is that it has the virtue of being explicit, and there for all to see.

The assessment of the level of seriousness needs a corrective over time. For example, a gap which has been declining for years is obviously less serious than a 50 percent gap which is getting worse. Therefore the SI includes a three-point assessment of T, the trend over time:

Change Over Time	Value of T
Improvement Over Ti Static	ime 0
Deterioration Over Ti	

#### Assessing The Seriousness of Women's Welfare Needs

About 20 percent of the data in Part II is concerned with women's welfare needs. (In the tables, the letter 'W' denotes such data as 'welfare', distinguishing it from gender gap data marked 'GG').

Welfare data lends itself less to quantitative assessment, since there is no comparable unit of measure for different indicators, as is the case with gender gaps. Therefore the assessment of seriousness below is based purely on a subjective judgement of the situation revealed, and the trend over time.

Level of Seriousness	Value of M
Not serious	0
Fairly Serious	1
Very Serious	2
Extremely Serious	3
High Priority	4

Obviously there is likely to be disagreement in this area of assessment. However, what is more important is that the figures are 'about right'. For instance, if we have child mortality figures of 190 per thousand live births, we may perhaps be unsure whether this is 'extremely serious' (3), or 'critically serious' (4). But we can perhaps

all agree that, on the five-point scale illustrated above, the figure must be assessed as more serious than '2'.

For this welfare category, the assessment for trend over time is also considered.

#### Assessment of the Seriousness of Policy Intention

The main indicator of the seriousness of intention to address gender issues is the question of whether or not gender policies exist. Gender policies are defined as that intention to address gender issues.

There is less opportunity in this area for basing assessment on any quantitative indicator, such as gender gap. However, the profile does again 'invent' a seven-point scale. This is done partly to provide a comparison between one sectoral policy and another, and partly to enable a seven-point comparison between the seriousness of a gender issue and the seriousness of a policy to address the issue (Parts II and III).

There are two broad areas under examination. First is the area of explicit and published policy statements for a particular sector, and secondly, the administrative aspect of relevant agencies actually operational in addressing gender issues.

In published policy, there is a need to identify where important gender issues have been recognised, principles articulated, and what explicit goals to address gender issues. However, where there is no explicit policy, but some action has been taken to address gender issues, the profile recognises and assesses the policy in the action.

In the area of implementation, the report examines whether a ministry or agency has the organisation and human resources to implement policy goals and whether it is currently taking action in this area.

In this way a seven-point scale for the Seriousness Index for a policy, uses the formula:

$$\frac{SI = P + I + G + O + H + A}{4}$$

Each letter stands for the following aspect of policy:

P is assessment of policy principles

I is assessment of level of identification of gender issues

G is assessment of policy goals

O is assessment of organisational capacity to pursue policy

H is assessment of human resources to pursue policy

A is assessment of current actions to address gender issues

And where each of the above areas of policy is assessed on a five-point scale (0-4) of seriousness of inten- tion:	Level of Perception/Action No perception of gender issue	Level of Seriousness
By this means SI has a possible	Perception as lessening gender gaps in	
range of 0-6 which means a	welfare, and lessening gaps in access to	
Seriousness of Policy Intention Profile for different sectors can be	resources	1
drawn on the same scale as the	Perception as ending the discriminatory	
Seriousness of Gender Needs	practices which stand in the way of	
Profile, and may be superimposed on the same chart.	gender equality	2
	Perception as enabling women to	
The above five-point scale is per-	collectively take action to overcome	
haps easy to operate in the area of policy intention to meet welfare	structural gender inequality	3
needs. However, it is more difficult	Perception as enabling women to increase	
to make a judgement about the seri-	representation in decision making, to increase	se
ousness of policy intention to close gender gaps and promote women's advancement. This is because it is	their control over the allocation of resources	i 4

not easy to establish agreed criteria for assessment of the seriousness of purpose.

This report will assess seriousness of purpose by adaptation of the Women's Empowerment Frame - work.<sup>4</sup> Using this framework as the basis for assessment criteria, level of seriousness is defined as:

#### BEYOND INEQUALITIES

In this way there is a quantitative method for representing our findings an essentially qualitative assessment. As with the assessment of the seousness of gender issues, the assessment method and criteria have been made explicit, and are therefore open to the readers' own inspection and reconsideration.

# SITUATION ANALYSIS



This part of the profile presents the findings on the main indicators, divided

according to welfare needs, gender gaps, and gender discrimination. For the first two of these sections, there is also an assessment of the Seriousness of the Need for Action (SI) which is assessed, according to the framework above.

For each quantifiable indicator, where possible, figures are current and compared with 10 years ago. In this way, the profile attempts to show recent trends in women's changing status.

#### GENDER DIVISION OF THE ECONOMY Women's Role in the Economy

Although women constitute 51 percent of Zambia's population, they have not benefitted from the development process in comparison with men due to the gender imbalances in the social, economic and political spheres.

Agriculture is a key sector in the Zambian economy. A gender review reveals that women are the main producers, providers and traditional managers of food production at family and national levels.

Women's productivity is constrained by lack of access to productive resources such as credit, improved technology and extension services. Information on production techniques and sources of capital is distributed by agricultural extension-workers who seldom visit women farmers. Although women are pillars of subsistence farming, their role and contribution are not recognized or supported by government policies. Rural women play two major functions in the agriculture sector. The first is the production of household food crops for which they take the major responsibility and contribute about 80 percent of the necessary labour. The second is production of cash crops for the market, to which they contribute more than 50 percent of the labour. Rural women also generate income from nonagricultural activities and contribute 95 percent of labour to family and household maintenance.<sup>5</sup>

Despite all these efforts, serious problems of food shortages and self-sufficiency exist at household levels in both rural and urban areas, as well as at national level.

Land, one of the major factors of production, is predominantly controlled by men, even though women are the most active participants in agricultural and environmental activities. Statutory and customary laws and practices are biased against women, preventing them from owning and inheriting land on an equal basis with men.

For example, under traditional tenure, land is usually granted to and inherited by males following kinship patterns, leaving women with no say.<sup>6</sup>

Insufficient decision-making power by women in commerce, trade and industry along with gender biases contributes to the unfair situations women experience as they strive to engage in business. This contributes extensively to women engaging in petty trading and other marginalised ventures in the informal sector where most female labour is concentrated.

Marginalisation of women has also been apparent in the rules and regulations applied by lending institutions. Banks, until recently, insisted that married women obtain consent from their husbands to get credit. There are other gender-based economic constraints such as laws making it illegal to operate a business from home and lack of a national childcare support system.

A gender analysis of formal sector employment reveals wide disparities between men and women. Up to the 1980s there was a rapid increase in male employment in mining, manufacturing, construction, transport and utilities. Women were relegated to lower levels of the expanding public sector and service industries such as salesrelated positions.

As a way of revitalising the economy in the mid-1980s, government instituted SAPs whose measures included a freeze in public sector hiring, wage increases, layoffs for older workers, retrenchment and reductions on capital expenditure. These measures affected labour intensive male workers, especially in mining, construction, transport and utilities.

Female wage-earners were also seriously affected even though they were already in low-wage, lowskill jobs, particularly in the public sector. Many lost employment or were downgraded to less secure and lower-paying positions. The layoffs resulted in a rapid decline in incomes for workers.

As a result of declining formal sector employment opportunities, Zambia has been experiencing unprecedented growth in the informal sector characterised by smallscale enterprises utilising labourintensive and adaptive technology.

Women in the informal sector tend to be concentrated in food, textile, beer and street-vending activities which require less capital and yield lower incomes. This is due almost entirely to women's inability to raise adequate capital and productive resources due to restrictions on commercial credit.

#### Access to Means of Production

Women have less access to means of production in land, credit and education.

Data reveals women's slow progress towards access to, and ownership of, capital (Table 1). The slow rate of increase in the numbers of women establishing new businesses is due to continuing discrimination against women in access to credit. Commercial banks and most other banks demand collateral against a loan, which involves de facto discrimination against women, since of course women do not usually own land or property.

Since 1995, all land in Zambia is vested absolutely in the President who holds it in perpetuity on behalf of the people of Zambia.7 This law has renamed land categories inter-"Customary Land" and "State Land" About 90 percent of land available for agriculture is under the customary regime, controlled by traditional chiefs. The chiefs follow patriarchal principles, so that women virtually have no direct access to land. Although a chief may allocate land to a woman in unusual circumstances. woman's use of land usually derive from her being "allowed" to use land which was allocated to her "supervising male" - a husband, father, uncle or brother.

The 1995 law also gives the presdent administrative right to alienate land vested in him to any Zambian or non-Zambian through the Ministry of Lands. However, the president cannot alienate customary land without the considering local law and tenure. The head of state must also consult the chief and local authorny in which the land is situated. In 1996 of the total land title deeds issued by

A gender analysis of formal sector employment reveals wide disparities between men and women.

Women in Zambia

Gender Gaps in Access		1			T	able						
INDICATOR	DICATOR PAST				PRESENT				SI			
	F/M	GG	SOURCE	F/M	GG	SOURCE	М	Т	SI			
Number of trained Agricultural Extension Staff	(1980) 5:95	90%	Kasuta/ Siamwiza	(1988) 15:85)	70%	Kasuta/ Siamwiza	3	0	3			
Number of trained Community Development Staff	(1993) 31:69	38%	1992 Records at Community Development	(1995) 43:57	14%	1992 Records at Community Development	1	0	1			
Obtaining Title Deeds to Land	(1988) 11:89	78%	Deeds Registry	(1993) 19:81	62%	Deeds Registry	3	0	3			
Registering New Business	(1985) 11:89	78%	Registry. Min of Commerce	(1993) 13.87	74%	Registry, Min of Commerce	3	1	4			
Female Entrepreneurs Funded by SIDO	n/a			(1990-93) 17:83	66%	SIDO	3	1	4			
Amount of Agricultural Credit (Lima Bank Special Women's Fund against mainstream credit of the Zambia Cooperative Federation)	(1981- 1988) 21:79	58%	World Bank, 1994	(1988-89) 12:88 (1993) 0:100	76% 100%	World Bank 1994 Mwansa et al 1994	3	2	5			

Key: F/M = Female/Male Ratio; OG = Gender Gap; M = Magnitude of the Gender Gap; T = Trend over Time; SI = Seriousness Index

the Ministry of Lands, 13 percent were given to women. Any land disagreements or disputes — but not litigations — are handled by a newly established six-member Land Tribunal which is gender-balanced. However, the Tribunal's current gender balance is by default, because it is not backed up by any policy and therefore it is not guaranteed.

#### Employment

Data shows an overall pattern of women increasing their representation in both the formal and informal sectors of employment. Despite this progress, women are still in a minority in formal wage employment (about one in five), and more scarce at the higher levels (only one in 10 at the management level).

The figures (Tables 2-4) show that women have increased their representation at the levels of clerical and management occupations, there has been a dramatic decline in production (semi-skilled) jobs. This is partly due to SAPS, which has caused a great deal of retrenchment in formal sector employment.

The gender gap in retrenchments arises from two main contributory factors: women are more likely to be the first to go because they are more concentrated in unskilled occupations and are not regarded as "breadwinners"; and, SAPs have adversely affected the less competitive sectors such as tailoring and cloth-manufacturing, where women employees are concentrated.

In agriculture, the situation has remained static for the last decade. Women remain a slight majority amongst the (mainly subsistence) agricultural labour force (Table 2). But the small numerical difference

Gender Gaps in Labour Mark	et Particip	ation						Ta	able	
INDICATOR		PAST			PRESENT			SI		
	F/M	GG	SOURCE	F/M	GG	SOURCE	M	T	SI	
Total Economically Active Population(Estimated 9.373m in 1995)	(1980) 51:49	-2%	CSO, 1980 Census	(1995) 50:50	0%	CSO, 1995	0	0	0	
Economically Active Population by Sex (3.503m in 1993)	(1991) 46:54	8%	CSO, 1991	(1993) 47:53	6%	CSO, 1993	1	0	1	
Labour Force in Agriculture (2.58m in 1993)	(1991) 54:46	-8%	CSO, 1991	(1993) 53:47	-6%	CSO, 1993	0	1	1	
Technical Workers (152,000 in 1993)	(1991) 33:67	34%	CSO, 1991	(1993) 33:67	34%	CS0, 1993	2	1	3	
Administration and Managerial Workers (27,000) in 1993)	(1980) 11:89	78%	CSO, 1980 Census	(1993) 19:81	62%	CSO, 1993	3	0	3	
Unemployment Rate (National)*	(1986) 18:9	9%	CSO, 1986	(1993) 21:19	2%	CSO 1993	0	0	0	
Unemployment Rate (Urban)*	(1986) 31:12	19%	CSO, 1986	(1993) 44:26	18%	CSO, 1993	1	1	2	
Total Economically Active Population by 12-24 Age	(1991) 48:52	4%	CSO, 1991	(1993) 52:48	-4%	CSO, 1993	0	0	0	
Total Economically Active Population by 25-44 Age	(1991) 42:58	16%	CSO, 1991	(1993) 54:55	1%	CSO, 1993	0	0	0	
Total Economically Active Population by 45-54 Age	(1991) 45:55	10%	CSO, 1991	(1993) 47:53	6%	CSO, 1993	1	0	1	

Key: F/M = Female/Male Ratio; GG = Gender Gap; M = Magnitude of the Gender Gap; T = Trend over Time; SI = Seriousness Index

\* 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.

hides a big difference in the labourintensity of women's contribution. Women in Zambia grow 80 percent of locally-produced food, meaning the great majority of Zambia's farmers are women. Notwithstanding this, 94 percent of agricultural extension officers are men.

Income

In practice men receive a much larger share of remuneration from waged and salaried employment (Tables 2-4).

 Most wage employment is male (Table 4);  Men predominate in the higherpaid job categories (Table 4);

 Women predominate among the unemployed (Table 2);

 Women predominate in the rural sector and informal sector (Table3).

Putting these factors together, with only 20 percent of women in the (waged) labour force, it is estimated that more than 90 percent of wages and salaries are paid to men.

These gender gaps in formal employment are no accident, but

Women in Zambia

Gender Gaps in Division of	In the second	-	-						
INDICATOR		PAST	and the second second	PR	ESENT			SI	
	F/M	GG	SOURCE	F/M	GG	SOURCE	м	Т	SI
Total Active Population by Age 45-54	(1991) 45:55	10%	CSO, 1991	(1993) 47:53	6%	CSO, 1993	1	0	1
Heads of Household: Rural	(1980) 33:67	34%	CSO, 1980 Census	(1990) 19:81	62%	CSO, 1990 Census			
	(1992) 19:81	62%	Zambia's Children in 1995	(1995) 22:78	56%	Zambia's Children in 1995	2	2	4
Heads of Household: Urban	(1980) 18:82	64%	CSO, 1980 Census	(1995) 14:86	72%	CSO, 1990 Census			
	(1992) 13:87	74%	Zambia's Children in 1995	(1995)	66% 17:83	Zambia's Children in 1995	2	2	4
Number of Workers in the Formal Economy: Rural:	(1980) 31:69	38%	CSO, 1980 Census	(1990) 40:66	26%	CS0, 1990 Census	2	0	2
Urban:	(1980) 19:81	62%		25:75	50%		2	0	2
Number of Workers in Informal Economy: Rural;	(1986) 53:47	6%	CSO, 1986 Sample Labour Survey	47:53	5%	CSO, 1993 Priority Survey II	0	1	1
Urban:	(1986) 57:43	14%		47:53	5%	etiter al	0	0	0
Distribution of Worktime in Rural Economic Activity**	(1982-3) 57:43	14%	Young and Evans	(1990-1) 63:37	26%	Cellis et al cited in World Bank 1994	2	1	3
Average Wage Earnings : Urban Rural	(1986) 11:89	78%	CSO, 1986 Labour Force		180	un an	3	1*	4
	(1986) 23:77	54%	Survey	Set bin 5	1		3	1*	4

Key: F/M = Female/Male Ratio; GG = Gender Gap; M = Magnitude of the Gender Gap; T = Trend over Time; SI = Seriousness Index

Assessment assumes little change since 1986

\*\* Here the difference between years is also the difference between two different sample areas, so the difference cannot be read to show change over time.

are the result of discrimination, a large part of which originates in the home, where the gender division of labour gives many women full-time work from early morning to late at night with child-bearing, childrearing, looking after the home and subsistence food production. Undoubtedly much of the reason for the predominance of males in wage employment, especially at the higher levels, is due to discriminatory practices in recruitment and salaries, despite the fact that gender discrimination is illegal under the Employment Act. Women's lack of access to cash is caused by two compounding factors. One form of gender discrimination practised by employers is the provision of housing for employees. Until 1990, the Employment Act obligated employers to provide housing for married men, but not for married women. Since the rent for a house in Zambia is usually worth more than the salary itself, this law actually allowed an employer to remunerate married women at less than half the rate of men.

A 1990 amendment to this act removed the explicit gender discrimination, merely requiring that an employer be obliged to provide housing for employees. However, the amendment provided that, where a married couple was employed, only one spouse would be entitled to housing, and the other to a housing allowance.<sup>§</sup>

With this amendment the Employment Act appeared to have become gender-neutral. However, since it implicitly allowed the discriminatory practice of providing a married male employee with a house, but a married female employee with only a housing allowance it was not neutral because a housing allowance is usually not enough to rent a house of the type which would normally come with the job.

This invitation to administrative discrimination was actually reinforced the same year by inserting a provision stating that where a married couple is employed by one employer, and that employer provides housing to one spouse, then the other spouse is not entitled to a housing allowance.<sup>9</sup> The main beneficiary of this amendment was the government itself by removing its obligation to pay housing allowance to a large number of married women, especially teachers.

These amendments provide one of the clearest examples of law reform shifting discrimination from the law into administrative practice. The surface gender neutrality in the new phrasing of the law masks the allowance for continued gender discrimination. The difference is that the law merely allows discrimination, where previously it prescribed it.

Women's lack of access to cash a caused by two compounding factors their relative lack of access to wage employment, and domestic gender discrimination. Male wage-earner retain complete control over the wages earned, and gives to his wife at his own discretion. Where both spouses work, it is more likely the keep their monies separately, rather than put them into a domestic pool.

In this arrangement, the woman becomes solely, or mainly, responsible for domestic expenses while man keeps his earnings for personal expenses such as beer and entertainment. Male control within the household is largely premised upon control over domestic income and expenditure.

#### Unequal Gender Division of Labour

The example of discrimination in housing entitlement reveals the patriarchal control which maintains gender differentials in remuneration. The male domination of formal sector employment is a reflection of gender relations within the household.

In Zambia the household is merely the domestic background factory production. On the contrarthe household is itself a major production unit, producing for subtence and for cash income. The gender division of labour is simutaneously a gender division of cotrol. The male takes the decision and handles cash income; the female does most of the work, especially women's occupations such fetching water and fuel, domestic work, cooking and nursing the side

The gender division of labour = the formal sector can be seen as a

Women in Zambia

Gender Gaps in Divisio	on or occup	Jacions						la	ble
	PAST				PRESENT	SI			
INDICATOR	F/M	GG	SOURCE	F/M	GG	SOURCE	м	Т	SI
Total Formal Labour Force	(1986) 15:85	70	CSO, 1986 Sample LabourForce Survey	(1993) 20:80	60%	CSO, '93 Priority Survey II	3	0	3
Total Professional & Technical Workers Disabled Workers	(1986) 32:68	36	Ditto	(1993) 32:68 (1990) 21:79	36% 58%	CSO, '93 Priority Survey II CSO, 1990 Census	2 3		3
Administrative and Managerial Workers Disabled Workers	(1986) 8:92	84	Ditto	(1993) 13:87 (1990) 8:92	74% 84%	CSO, '93 Priority Survey II CSO, 1990 Census	3	0	3
Clerical and Related Workers Disabled Workers	(1986) 30:70	40	Ditto	(1993) 43:57 (1990) 30:61	14% 40%	CSO, '93 Priority Survey II CSO, 1990 Census	1		1
Service Workers Disabled Workers	(1986) 12:88	71	Ditto	(1993) 17:83 (1990) 22:78	66% 56%	CSO, '93 Priority Survey II CSO, '90 Census	25117		3
Sales Workers Disabled Workers	(1986) 24:76	52	Ditto	(1993) 30:70 (1990) 39:61	40% 22%	CSO,'93 Priority Survey II CSO,1990 Census	2 2		2
Agricultural Forest & Fisheries Workers Disabled Workers	(1986) 17:83	66	Ditto	(1993) 14:86 (1990) 35:65	72% 38%	CSO, '93 Priority Survey II CSO, 1990 Census	3 2	2	5 3
Production Related Workers Disabled workers	(1986) 3:97	94	Ditto	(1993) 4:96 (1990) 21:79	92% 58%	CSO,1993Priority SurveyII CSO,1990 Census	4		5

key: F/M = Female/Male Ratio; GG = Gender Cap; M = Magnitude of the Gender Cap; T = Trend over Time; SI = Seriousness Index

reflection of the unequal gender division of labour within the household. Men are dominant at the higher decision-making levels of the formal sector and women are found largely in female support roles — nurses, secretaries and receptionists.

Women's political freedom and influence depend largely upon less-

ening their unequal burden of labour. Conversely, to lessen their burden of labour, women need more political influence. It is this irony which determines women's slow advancement into the realm of national politics.

Even where an occasional woman reaches higher levels of decisionmaking, the traditional gender division of labour can still be found. Although, for example, women have been appointed to the Cabinet on several occasions since independence in 1964, no woman has ever been appointed to such traditional male preserves as foreign affairs, home affairs, finance or defence until this year (1998) when president Chiluba appointed Edith Nawakwi as finance minister.

Overall, the gender division of labour in the formal economy, and at the higher levels of decisionmaking, illustrates that customary law in Zambia is not merely a system for resolving petty disputes in rural areas. Customary law brings with it a set of beliefs concerning male domination and women's subordination. These beliefs can be clearly seen in the structures of the gender division of labour in all aspects of the economy, and not merely within the home, or in the rural economy.

#### Women and Poverty

In Zambia, poverty is the state of having insufficient money to afford the basic necessities of life such as food, clothing, shelter and access to basic social services such as health, education, water and sanitation. The poor, who are usually women, children, the disabled and elderly, are those who suffer from high levels of malnutrition, illiteracy, poor sanitation and limited participation in political and socio-economic activities.

As a result of the socio-economic factors such as the globalisation of markets, Zambia's economic crisis and the negative impact of SAPs there has been an overall increase in poverty. Although increased poverty affects most people, it is women who bear a disproportionate share of the burden. The dominance of women among the very poor has resulted in the feminisation of poverty. The proportion of female-headed households (FHH) has currently been increasing. According to the results of a survey, Zambia's Children in 1995, the proportion of FHH has increased from 16 percent to 20 percent between 1992 and 1995."

Some data seems to show a decrease in the proportion of FHH households between 1980 and 1990 (from 33 percent to 19 percent for rural households — Table 3).

However, these are not comparable, since different definitions of FHH were used. The 1980 survey considered a household to be female-headed if there was no male head currently in residence, whereas the 1990 survey, more sensibly, looked for the continuous absence of any male head during the previous three months. Because of the lack of comparability of these figures, nothing certain can be said about the change in the proportion of FHH between 1980 and 1990.

Figures taken in 1991 show that extreme poverty is pervasive in Zambia, and is even more prevalent among FHH in comparison with MHH (Table 5).

"Two-thirds of Zambian households are poor and 55 percent are so poor that they are unable to afford an adequate diet even if they spend all of their income on food. Yet in 1995 only three percent of urban households received some kind of support from public welfare assistance schemes, food-for-work. NGOs or churches."<sup>12</sup>

In 1994, the World Bank stated that 76 percent of the rural population and 29 percent of the urban population in Zambia live below the core poverty line. Households with high poverty rates are, on average, identified as being larger, female-headed, with high effective dependency ratios.<sup>10</sup>

Women's political freedom and influence depend largely upon lessening their unequal burden of labour. Rural households with female heads are more likely to be poor and have inadequate access to land. These households are less likely to have land title due to divorce and inheritance customs, and are further discriminated against in access to credit markets."<sup>14</sup>

Given the lack of reliable and consistent statistics, it is impossible to conclusively establish that women, in comparison with men, have become poorer over the past decade. The figures suggest a serious gender gap in poverty, but are insufficient to show whether this gap has widened during the past decade.

A major reason for the general poverty of rural women is that men surplus production. control Women's agricultural production tends to focus on subsistence production for the family, whereas men are involved in cash crop production. Even where women are involved in cash crop production, it is often by supplying labour to their hasbands' fields. It is the husbands who control the cash crop, and the income which derives from this crop. The husbands' control of the cash crop, and of cash itself, is a fundamental obstacle to the accumulation of capital by women.

From this perspective, a female head of household is in a potentialby better position to accumulate capital, since there is no male head of household to syphon off surplus production. However, this potential is effectively negated by gender discrimination in access to productive resources.

These considerations suggest that gender-oriented development projects should focus especially on improving access to productive resources for FHH. This should occur partly because of their poverty, but also because of their lack of interference from dominant males which opens up the opportunity for independent capital accumulation.

Gender Divis	ion of Poverty		Table				
Type of Household	HH Above Poverty Line	HH Moderately Poor	HH Extremely Poor				
мнн	36%	14%	50%				
FHH	26%	11%	63%				

The problem of the gender gap in poverty is overlaid with the general problem of a severe decline in real income levels over the past 10 years, and a huge increase in extreme poverty which has generally affected men, women and children. This situation has been caused by declining export levels, population increases which have consistently exceeded the growth rate in national income and the effects of structural adjustment.

#### **Disabled Women**

The situation of disabled persons in Zambia has to be understood in terms of the extreme poverty of the population where there is no social security safety net. During the past five years there has been a marked increase in the numbers of destitute people reduced to begging on the streets of the main towns. The large proportion of disabled beggars indicates high levels of poverty and destitution among the disabled.

Disabled women suffer additional forms of gender discrimination. Parents tend to keep disabled daughters at home, while disabled sons are likely to be supported and encouraged to go to school and enter productive employment.<sup>15</sup>

There is some public provision for the disabled under the Handicapped Persons Act of 1968 which provides concessionary provision of government services to disabled people who are registered with the Zambia Council for the Handicapped (ZCFH). The council has also done some work in rehabilitation. Employers are encouraged, by means of tax

Gender Ratio of Zam For the Handicapped			Table 6
Indicator	Past	Present	Source
Number Registering	(1989) 631	(1993) 671	ZCFH, 1993
Percentage Women Amongst those Registering	(1989) 37%	(1993) 46%	Ditto
Gender Ratio in Management source: zcfH	(1989) 20%	(1993) 9%	ZCFH, 1993 Records

rebates, to employ persons registered as disabled i.e. blind, deaf, mute, loss of limb, mentally disoriented (Table 4).

These figures (Table 6) may indicate an upward trend in the proportion of women among the disabled registering with the ZCFH. What is obvious is that only a small proportion of the disabled in Zambia register with the ZCFH to receive the limited benefits. Given the UN estimate that 10 percent of any population is disabled, figures suggest that 95 percent of the disabled in Zambia are never registered.

# Sex Workers

It is not clear that female prostitutes constitute a particularly oppressed group, in comparison with other women. While prostitution itself is not illegal, some aspects of commercial sex work are. It is illegal to solicit for customers, to live off the earnings of another who is engaged in sex work and to use brothels.<sup>16</sup>

In urban areas female commercial sex is prevalent, although no figures are available. The urban areas have a long history of sex work, arising from early policies of the colonial government and mining companies to employ men whose wives and families were expected to stay in their villages. In this way female agricultural labour was used as a subsidy to mining operations, which paid single men's wages. Some imbalance of males females between urban and runa areas remains to this day, especial within the working age group, leading to high rates of prostitution.

However, there is no clear line of definition between the term 'prostitute' and women who rely on sereral boyfriends for material support. Many women are single mothers who are reliant on a male for part of their upkeep. One where there are several of these does the term boyfriend shade imm a client. Given that polygamy legal and prevalent in Zambia both sexual partners in such liaisons may perhaps legitimate consider themselves to be indulging in an informal polygemous marriage. Where the male is already married, the female mas consider herself a second wife whereas an unsympathetic observer might be found using the derogatory term prostitute.

Although there are women which accept material reward for sexual services, there are probably vertices for whom the western definition and concept of commercial prostitution would be appropriate describe their situation. When commercial sex work clearly describe their situation when the sexist, it is not very commercialised nor is it often organised in the factory system of brothels, although there is some evidence that the number of small scale brothels increased during the 1990s and Lusaka.

As in other parts of Africa, the are some important aspects of the life of a female sex worker which give a woman more freedom and independence than she might enough within marriage, particularly within a traditional marriage. For example a female sex worker has more choice over her sexual partners, and more control over the use of condoms. Similarly, a girlfriend has more choice and control, in conparison with a wife. The average female sex worker probably has a higher income than her counterpart in wage employment. In addition, if she is not encumbered with a husband, she had increased control over her income, and scope for accumulation of capital. In this way, commercial sex work has, in the past, provided the starting point for primary capital accumulation and may provide a basis for subsequent and different business enterprise.

#### Aid and Relief

Zambia is reliant on foreign aid for debt servicing, balance of payments support, budget supplementation, and development programmes. Zambia is classified by the World Bank as a severely indebted lowincome country (Table 7).

By December 1995 the external debt stood at about \$6,313,000, showing a pattern of indebtedness as a proportion of GNP that is worsening: it increased from 187 percent in 1989 to 232 percent in 1993. The ratio of external debt to export earnings increased from 443 percent to 628 percent over the same period.<sup>17</sup>

Zambia's huge dependence on external aid means that development agencies have a serious leverage in establishing national development policies concerned with gender equality and women's empowerment.

However, there is evidence that some agencies are not sufficiently pro-active in implementing their own gender policies.

Estimate of External	Debt, December, 1994	Table 7
ТҮРЕ	Amount (US\$)	Percent
Bilateral	2,941,911	46.2
Multilateral	1,797,305	28.2
IMF	1,180,800	18.5
Suppliers	111,388	1.7
Short Term	341,100	5.4
TOTAL	6,372,504	100
SOURCE: Ministry of Finance, 1	998.	

#### EXCLUSION OF WOMEN FROM POLITICS AND POWER Discrimination in Law

The fundamental rights and freedoms guaranteed every citizen under the Constitution are negated in the case of women in the area of personal law (i.e. marriage, divorce, inheritance, devolution of property, etc). There are several administrative practices, rules and regulations that perpetuate gender discrimination. The de facto discrimination continues in the areas of property ownership, inheritance, rights and duties within marriage, parental rights and duties. The conflict between statutory and customary personal laws often works against the interests of women.

An important step to protect the rights of women was taken when Zambia ratified the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) in 1985. Though Zambia has ratified several international and regional instruments regarding the status of women, appropriate steps have yet to be taken to make the provisions part of

, 1980-1994		Table 8
PAST (US\$ Million)	PRESENT (US\$ Million)	SOURCE
(1980) 2,227	(1994) 4,872	(1996) World Bank, Vol. 2
(1980) 447	(1994) 805	Ditto
(1980) 411	(1994) 369	Ditto
(1989) 739	(1994) 602	Ditto
	PAST (US\$ Million) (1980) 2,227 (1980) 447 (1980) 411	PAST         PRESENT           (US\$ Million)         (US\$ Million)           (1980) 2,227         (1994) 4,872           (1980) 447         (1994) 805           (1980) 411         (1994) 369

### New Intestate Succession Bill drafted

Box 1

Zambia has drafted a new Intestate Succession Bill to replace the 1989 Intestate Succession Act for which the women's movement worked for so long. The bill increases the percentage of the estate inherited by the surviving spouse from 20 to 25 percent, which is an improvement, though many women feel the percentage should be higher.

The bill states that any party may go to court and challenge the paternity of the unborn child if a woman is pregnant at the time of the husband's death. Thus the onus will really be on the woman to prove that the deceased is the father of the child she is carrying. While the 1989 Act provided that the house should be inherited by the surviving spouse and children, the new bill contains clauses that threaten the surviving spouse's possession of the family house if it was registered in the name of the deceased and if the deceased had children with other partners.

SOURCE: The Women's Watch, International Women's Rights Action Watch, University of Minnesota, USA, Volume 10, No. 2, December 1996 Zambian law, so they can be used by the women in the Zambian courts.

Law reform over the past decade reveals a pattern of government action to re-write the statute books to remove all elements which are overtly discriminatory. In the absence of any stated policy on women's advancement, this cleaning up of statutory law seems to have been an unannounced, but implicit, policy. Progress has been quite good:

 access to employment, where women were prohibited from working underground in mines, or working nightshift in industry;

age of retirement from the civil service is now 55 irrespective of gender, where previously women were required to retire at 45 and men at 50;

widow's entitlement to a share in marital property, where statutory law had been silent. Previously traditional law served to support the practice of a widow being robbed of all marital property when her husband died intestate (as is almost always the case in Zambia);

personal income tax, where previously women were taxed at a higher rate than husbands, and without deductions for child allowance;

Lack of right to citizenship for foreign spouses of Zambian citizens. Previously the foreign wife of a Zambian man had the right to citizenship by virtue of the marriage, but no such right was given to foreign husbands. The new law makes both genders equally ineligible, and this 'reform' achieved gender equality by taking away the rights of one gender. In so doing, the new law transgresses basic human rights in the area of right of abode and right of a married couple to stay together.

 protection from discrimination in Article 23 of the Constitution, where previously this Article of not mention gender or marital satus among the list of categories which cannot constitute grounds for discrimination.

However, more needs to be done because the law is often discriminatory in its application (de factor even when it is not discriminator in fact (de jure). The law reformare limited in that they stop short of introducing any provision for affimative action to ensure equal treatment for women.

The main problem, which underlies the discriminatory application of the law, is that unwritten customer law remains in effect. Zambia dual system of law provides de main legal basis for perpetuation and legitimating gender discrimination in Zambia.

# Gender Discrimination in Statutory Law

Gender discrimination is also allowed in statutory law within the Constitution. Article 23 of the 1996 amended Constitution remains identical to the same ancle of the 1991 Constitution purports to protect citizens from discrimination on grounds of ser and marital status. However, the Article includes a clause which exempts all forms of discrimination arising from customary, family and personal law. This means a exempts from its purview all those areas where discrimination is merpractised, and which provide the ideological foundation for the large er pattern of societal discrimination.

In this way the Constitution server to legalise discrimination in war areas of administrative and social practice. The women's movement made lengthy submissions to Mwanakatwe Constitution Commission in 1994 on this subject, and the Commission's Report made recommendations for resion to unequivocally provide ecces rights for women. Despite this, the government's 1996 Constitutional Amendment Act retained the Article intact.

This discrimination entails an internal legal contradiction within the Constitution itself. Article 13 of the Constitution provides protection from discrimination, on grounds of gender. This is contradicted by Article 23, which then permits discrimination on grounds of gender in personal, marriage and customary law.

# Gender Discrimination in Customary Law

Customary law is unwritten and varies between one tribe and another, but the one common factor is the legalised discrimination against women. Customary law is patriarchal law, which systematically puts the male at the head of the household, and women subject to the decisions of men. In customary law, land is normally allocated to men, with women regarded as legal minors, under the custody of husbands, or else fathers, uncles or brothers.

The belief in male pre-eminence in decision-making runs through customary law. For this reason, it is difficult to envisage a simple cleanup of customary laws to remove their discriminatory elements. The belief in male supremacy underpins customary law and provides the ideological basis for male domination of both domestic and public life.

It follows from the customary concept of a wife as a minor that her husband has the right to discipline her which includes beating if he thinks fit which means it is not considered an offence, unless it goes 'too far'. It is because of the pervasiveness of this belief in the police force and law courts, that it is difficult for a woman to obtain legal action taken against a violent husband. In customary marriage law, consent between parties does not include the consent of the bride-to-be. Moreover, the bride is either sold for a brideprice (lobola) or given away for a token, thereby signifying the status of a wife as her husband's property. Brideprice or token effectively removes the right of a woman to opt out of a marriage, since she or her relatives are likely to have to repay the money to dissolve the marriage.

Customary law allows polygamy: a man may take as many wives as he wishes, whereas a woman may have only one husband. In consequence a husband is entitled to have girlfriends on the basis that these are prospective wives, so it is not considered adultery. By definition, adultery is primarily a female offence.

This stated approval of male philandering is the main reason for the rapid spread of HIV/AIDS in Zambia.

Where children are not produced, the relatives of the wife may provide the husband with an additional wife. Where a husband dies, a brother of the deceased may inherit his widow.

These discriminatory aspects of customary law perpetuate and legitimate the traditional pattern of patriarchal gender relations in Zambia. The struggle for women's rights takes place in the tension between modern statutory law and international conventions on the one hand, and customary law on the other. Given the dual system of law, women are caught in this awkard dichotomy

Similarly, there are tensions between women's rights in a modern urban society, and patriarchal control in a traditional rural society. There are no clear cultural lines between modern and traditional, rather the values and beliefs of the

#### Women and the Constitution

Box 2

"I feel very bitter" says National Women's Lobby Board member Hillary Fyfe after reading the White Paper on the Draft Constitution.

How will I ever be able to hold my head high in Kenva or indeed anywhere in the world!? After having boasted in Beijing about the Zambian women's achievements in relation to the draft constitution, I proceeded to do the same in Nairobi where I was invited to share the experiences straight after Beijing. I cheerfully dished out copies of the women's and Children's rights enshrined in the Draft Constitution. The Kenyans said: "When shall we ever get there? Well done Women's Lobby of Zambia."

How was I to know that the Government's White Paper would say "Not accepted, Not accepted" to every right that we were given by God. How very contradictory of the Government, when they confirm that "In Zambia power belongs to the people, who should exercise that power through appropriate democratic notions". This is contradicted by a refusal for a Constituent Assembly.

Yes, in view, a right which is granted by a separate Act of Parliament is a lesser right because its infringement does not necessarily attract redress in the Courts of Law.

I feel very bitter because instead of going to Nangweshi or Nchelenge and Mporokoso, I could have sat at the Secretariat copying out what the Government wanted me to enshrine in the Constitution. What is being adopted anyway? Is it the Mwanakatwe Draft Constitution?

SOURCE: Hillary Mulenga Fyfe, Commissioner in the Constitutional Review Commission, Lobby News, Issue 2, 1995, Newsletter for National Women's Lobby Group

#### Women as Box 3 second class citizens

Zambia's constitutional and legal systems in the last 30 years have not addressed women's exploitation, discrimination and marginalisation. This was said by Non-Governmental Organisation Coordinating Committee (NGOCC) chairperson Susan Jere at a press conference held at the Women For Change office.

The constitution and various laws have given legitimacy to the discrimination and oppression in the political, economic, social and cultural spheres.

Jere who was flanked by members of various NGOs including Chairperson of the National Women's Lobby Group Gladys Mutukwa, said the Women of Zambia have refused to continue being treated as second class citizens. They want to participate fully in sharing the future of the country's democracy. The women should be equally represented in the Constituent Assembly.

SOLIRCE: Lobby News, Newsletter for National Women's Lobby Group Issue 2, 1995

There is little to prevent government departments from being discriminatory in their administrative practice. latter permeate the former. This tension underscores the contradiction between statutory law and administrative practice.

### Gender Discrimination in Administrative Practice

Given the lack of affirmative provisions and the weakness of the Constitution, there is little to prevent government departments from being discriminatory in their administrative practice, or even their published rules and regulations.

For instance, the Passport Office requires a mother, who applies to add her children's names to her passport, to get the written permission from the father, although fathers require no such permission from the mother. This requirement is legitimized on the application forms, despite a 1990 High Court ruling against the Passport Office.<sup>111</sup> This practice demonstrates clear contempt of court by the Ministry of Home Affairs.

Similarly, a married woman who applies for a passport is required by the Passport Office to have the signed permission of her husband that she may be given a passport.<sup>19</sup> This is symptomatic of gender discrimination against married women in Zambia.

One interpretation of the law reform designed to remove overt discrimination from statutory law, is that discrimination against women in Zambia has now shifted from legalised discrimination to administrative discrimination.

In the case of the Intestate Succession Act, government has not placed any administrative rules and regulations before Parliament. In practice, wholesale theft from widows continues unabated, and local courts seem to successfully apply and enforce traditional law which was supposed to have been superseded by the Intestate Succession Act.<sup>20</sup> The Act provides an example of law reform which should have given women more rights, but where administrative rules and regulations do not enforce the law.

Gender Gaps in Decision-making

Equal participation of women and men in decision-making is essential in providing a balanced and accurate composition of society to strengthen democracy and promote its proper functioning. However, in Zambia women are seriously under-represented in all main decision-making organs.

The proportion of women in key government decision-making positions in 1997 were (Table 9):

- 14 Members of Parliament of 158;
- One Cabinet Minister of 24:
- + Four Deputy Ministers of 38;
- Nine Permanent Secretaries of 41;
- Three Directors of 36;
- Two Supreme Court Judges of nine;
- Two High Court Judges of 16.

There has been some slight improvement the past decade in women's level of participation in decision-making positions at the national level (Table 9). However, in local government and Parliament the situation has not improved in might have been expected that the return to a multi-party Constitution in 1991, would increase the representation of women MPs, given the half the registered voters are women. However, male domination has clearly adapted well to the more democratic system.

After the 1991 Election new President Frederick Chilum announced a Cabinet composed entirely of men. This was actually worse than the previous UNIP government, which had one woman also flatly contradicted the MMC Manifesto, which promised

Box 4

mative action to end discrimination against women. This situation drew a response from the women's movement, and a broad based NGO petition was presented to the President.<sup>31</sup> Six months later in a Cabinet shuffle, two women were appointed. Five years later after the 1996 election this number dropped back to one, despite the fact that the number of women MPs increased by four percent.

# Discrimination Against Women in the Electoral System

Although women are the majority of voters, there is discrimination against them in the selection of candidates. Only two percent of councillors in 1995 were women (26 women among 1,300 councillors)(Table 9). Constitutionally, women in Zambia have access to all elective public positions. Women have had the vote since independence, and typically turn out in larger numbers than men.

In practice there is considerable discrimination against women's access to public office. Male control at senior levels of political parties which control the selection of candidates to stand in elections is the main roadblock. Whereas many women were prominent in the popular struggle to oust the Kaunda regime in 1991, the MMD fielded only seven women in a list of 150 parliamentary candidates. MMD candidates were not picked at the constituency level, but by a centralised selection committee headed by the party president.

The small proportion of female candidates (nine percent) standing for parliament can be attributed in large part to the severe gender discrimination practised by these selection committees.<sup>22</sup>

Another important obstacle is lack of capital and access to funding for campaigning, much of which has to come from the individual candidate.

# Picketing of Lusaka hotel

The picketing of the Lusaka Holiday Inn on November 29 1996 was very successful with ZARD members and sister organisations and concerned citizens silently protesting outside the hotel with banners and posters denouncing the Inn's discriminatory "right of admission" law.

The picket was a result of the hotel barring Elizabeth Mwanza (former Miss Zambia) and a female friend of hers from entering the hotel because they were "unaccompanied".

When the story of the incident was carried by The Post newspaper on November 12 1996, the hotel tried to justify its actions by stating that it has the right of Admission to bar women "prostitutes".

Picketers included women, men, girls and boys who wore banners on their chests. NGOs from southern African countries who had come for a FEMNET seminar and local women's movements all joined hands and gave support to the picket on the discriminatory practice of the hotel.

Elizabeth has since sued the hotel and the Attorney General for breach of the Bill of Rights. Elizabeth is not the first woman to suffer such a humiliating ordeal. In 1992, Sara Longwe, women's rights activist and member of ZARD won a case against Inter-continental Hotel for discriminating against her right to enter the hotel.

In Sara's case, the High Court ruled in her favour. The judge found that the "right of admission" could not justify gender discrimination and that any one person who misbehaved (either a man or woman) was to be dealt with accordingly under the public order laws of Zambia. This refers to the fact that the hotels use the accusation of "misbehaviour" to justify their action.

SOURCE: Mercy Khozi, ZARD News, Vol. 4 No. 1, March 1997

# Campaign trust funds established

Box 5

In a move to increase the number of women in political decision-making, a trust fund has been established by the National Women's Lobby Group to financially support female candidates contesting parliamentary and local government elections.

At the launch of the campaign support fund in Lusaka in May, the chairperson of the women's committee of the ruling Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD), Princess Nakatindi Wina urged women to unite and support each other.

Princess Nakatindi who donated one million Kwacha (US\$900) to the fund said: "The fight for proper presentation of women on local government bodies goes deeper than a gender issue and touches on a problem which seems to be creating the last obstacle to complete national building."

The launch of the campaign trust fund will help lessen financial problems which is one of the main obstacles to women's participation in decision-making positions in politics in the country.

The move for more female representation in decision-making bodies could help the government achieve transparency and accountability, which are key to true democracy.

SOURCE: Barbara Lopi for SARDC, July 1997.

#### It's like a revolution

Box 6

The women of Zambia are angry, and their anger stems from the continued disregard and invisibility in political decision-making positions. Recognising that they constitute the majority of the population and voters they question why they do not have equal representation in top political structures and government.

From Matero in the Zambian capital, Lusaka, to Kabwe, Chipata, Mongu and Ndola the message is the same: "We want the power. It is our time to rule. We want to make decisions that govern our lives and our children."

The women also recognise that with support from women the dream can become a reality.

These messages are coming out of the outreach programmes conducted by the National Women's Lobby Group and are aimed at assessing the situation of women and politics, identifying the barriers to women's political participation and design strategies to increase women's visibility. The programmes are fulfilment of the objectives of the Women's Lobby "to enable more women get into political positions". It is in recognition that even after 31 years of independence women continue to be under represented and greatly marginalised.

The programmes are also prompted by the realisation that although women constitute the majority of voters, they are the hardest hit by the structural adjustment policies, the lack of social amenities, lack of access to credit and productive resources.

Because most of their concerns and issues are largely unattended to, and many of the campaign promises never fulfilled, women feel that it is time they ruled.

Since they experience first hand the impact of these problems, they are better positioned to take care of them. Although women have agreed about the need to increase their political representation, they recognise the barriers which include lack of support for fellow women candidates and operations of political party structures.

Many of the women present at the outreach programmes feel that unless women begin to see the potential and advantages of having more woman MPs, councillors and cabinet ministers, they will remain unrepresented and marginalised.

SOURCE: Chilufya Kasutu, Lobby News, Issue 2, 1995.

During the 1991 General Election, women voted in about equal numbers with men, but gender issues were not among the main issues of debate. This is attributed, in part, to a lack of consciousness of gender rights issues amongst the electorate. However, the 1991 election was dominated by public dissatisfaction with the previous one-party regime, and a felt need to return to a democratic and accountable form of governance.<sup>23</sup> Conversely, in the 1996 Presidential and General Elections the gender ratio of voters unknown. These elections were boycotted by some major parties disputing the legality of the Constitutional Amendment (1996) and the current Voter Register and Election Act (1996). Five members of opposition parties have pertioned to have the election results set aside and the legality of the nomination and election of President Chiluba on grounds of bin citizenship and parentage which are alleged to be non-Zambian. One of the petitioners is a woman representing the Liberal Progressive Front (LPF).

Prior to the announcement of the election boycott, a record number of 200 women had applied to the political parties for nomination a candidates in the general election. The National Women's Lobb Group (NWLG), in conjunction with other women NGOs, conduced leadership confidence-building training for 176 women.<sup>24</sup>

However, as a result of the election boycott and due to the high prevalence of the patriarchal gatekeeping in partisan politics, only 30% of the 200 women hopefuls were nomnated as candidates by their respective participating parties. Some of those who were not adopted by their parties opted to stand as independent candidates.

The NWLG and five other NGC (NGOCC, OXFAM, WFC YWCA, ZARD) also established 'Women Campaign Fund' raised a sum of 12 million Zambian Kwacha (then equivalent to 9,230 American Dollars). The Fund was used by 44 women cadidates from four political parties and independents: (ZADECO= NP=10; NLP=8; Independents= and Agenda for Zambia=1). In addition, NWLG produced capaign materials like a woman song, bill boards, posters and

INDICATOR	12.51	P	PAST		PRESE	NT		SI	
	F/M	GG	SOURCE	F/M	GG	SOURCE	М	Ť	SI
Elected Members of Parliament (150 in 1990)	(1982) 6:94	88%	CSO, 1995	(1995) 5:95 (1997) 9:90	90% 81%	CSO, 1995 MOCDSS 1997	3		4 3
Local Government Councillors (About 13,000 in 1995)				(1995) 2:98	96%	Min of Local Govt., 1995	4	1	5
Mayors	(1991) 0:100	100%	Min of Local Govt., 1995	(1995) 0:100	100%	"	4	1	5
Chiefs (Numbering 285 in 1995)	(1992) 1:99	98%	Min. of Local Govt., 1995	(1995) 5:95	90%	Min of Local Gov., 1995	4	0	4
Cabinet Ministers	(1988) 0:100	100%	Gov Secretariat, 1995	(1997) 4:96	92% -	Gov. Secretariat 1997	4	2	6
Defence Force and Policy Decision Making Positions	(1985) 0:100	100%	Min. of Defence, 1995	(1995) 0:100	100%	Min. of Defence, 1995	4	1	5
Permanent Secretaries	(1974) 9:91	82%	Gov.Secretariat, 1995	(1995) 19:81	62%	Gov. Secretariat 1995	3	0	3
Supreme Court Judges	(1985) 0:100	100%	High Court Registry, 1994	(1993) 14:86	72%	High Court Registry, 1994	3	0	3
Ambassadors and H. Commissioners	(1985) 0:100	1985 100%	Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1995	(1997) 0:100	100%	Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1997	4	2	6

Key: F/M = Female/Male Ratio; GG = Gender Gap; M = Magnitude of the Gender Gap; T = Trend over Time; SI = Seriousness Index

video. The posters and billboards were vandalised by the general public. However, at the end of it all in a legislature of 150 members, there are now 15 women (MMD 11 elected and 1 nominated, Agenda for Zambia 1 and Independent 1), making an increase of 4% over the 1991 Elections.

Like in 1991, some women NGOs joined independent Election Monitoring teams, and their main finding was that there was need for much more concerted efforts by the women's movement if a critical mass of women MPs in the legislature is to be created in the near future. These NGOs found the electoral process to be very much patriarchal and this will remain so as long as males continue to dominate partisan politics and other decision making process.

#### WOMEN'S POSITION WITHIN SOCIAL STRUCTURES Ethnic Differentiation

There are two main ethnic dimensions in Zambia: those between African and non-African groups, and differences within the African group. Africans constitute 99.3 percent of the population, while Asians and Europeans constitute 0.6 percent and 0.1 percent are of mixed heritage.

#### Catholic women call for leadership involvement

Box 7

The National Council of Catholic Women (NCCW) in Zambia says women's full potential would only be realised if they are put in leadership positions.

In a speech at celebrations marking the council's silver jubilee in the Zambian capital, Lusaka, in April, NCCW chairperson Margaret Gondwe called for the appointment of more women to leadership roles, if they are to contribute more meaningfully to national development.

Gondwe said women were historically marginalised and remained voiceless without any leadership positions although there was overwhelming evidence to prove their abilities in contributing to development.

She noted that NCCW, through the diocesan and councils of Catholic women, had during the past 25 years undertaken to accomplish various activities, programmes and projects such as leadership and decision making.

"The fact that women have organised themselves and successfully managed their undertakings is a clear testimony of their commitment and concern for the needy. Through those undertakings, the Catholic women organisations have positively contributed to the development of this country, the African region and the world at large," she said.

SOURCE:SARDC, The Gender and Development Exchange Newsletter, Issue No.9, July 1997 The African group were originally sub-divided into 73 district linguistic entities which have now been revised to 80. However, sufficient cultural similarities exist to group these into seven linguistic groupings: Bemba, Nyanja, Tonga, Lozi, Luvale, Lunda and Kaonde. The official language is English, while Nyanja is widely spoken in Lusaka and Bemba on the Copperbelt.

## **Kinship Systems**

Lineage is varied and complex, including matrilineal, patrilineal and bilateral groups. Each has its own customary law. A bilateral community is one which practices both matrilineal and patrilineal inheritance (i.e. descent can be traced through both the father's and mothers line (Table 10).

Among Zambia's indigenous population, ethnic conflict has proved a less severe political problem than in other African states, largely due to the inability of any one group to dominate the main wealth-producing areas. Few sharp cultural boundaries exist except between matrilineal and patrilineal groups.

Kinship descent and property rights are through the mother's family in a matrilineal group or the father's family in a patrilineal group. There is evidence to suggest, a progressive patrilinealization in Zambia. Intermarriage is much more common than in the past and is having a profound impact on kinship (lineage) structures and inheritance practices.

Since the main concern of this Profile is the extent to which traditional culture is patriarchal, there seems to be very little difference between patrilineal or patrilocal on the one hand, and patriarchal on the other. Matrilineal does not imply matriarchy, but rather patrilineal and matrilineal cultures entail differsystems ent of patriarchy. (Patriarchy is defined as a tradition of male monopoly of control over decision-making, resources, and female reproduction.)

The main patriarchal elements in traditional culture are based on polygamy. Even where a man remains with only one wife in a traditional marriage, he retains the rights of a polygamist. He is always a potential polygamist.

# Marriage and Access to Children

Polygamy was widely practised in Zambia and had differing functions. For example, in situations where one wife could not have children, the husband could marry another. Zambian men also tended to see many wives as a measure of wealth and sign of patriarchal and sexual power, along with the economic function of having more wives to work on the the land.

Polygamy is still practised in Zambia, although at a reduced rate. The economic situation does not favour polygamy, although all traditional marriages are potentially polygamous.

In every family, authority is mediated by either the matrilineal or patrilineal system. In almost all cases, women in a matrilineal system have more family power than women in a patrilineal system. However, the power is not exercised directly, but through the power of fathers, brothers and uncles. Divorce rates tend to be higher in matrilineal societies, since women do not lose as much.

In case of divorce or death, matrilineal women retain custody of their children while the children of patrilineal women remain with relatives on the fathers side, usually a brother. However, in cases where bride price was not settled in full, or where the children were too small to be separated from the mother, they are temporarily allowed to remain with the mother.

			ETHNIC GROUP								
KINSHIP PATTERN		Bemba	Tonga	Ngoni	Lozi	Luvale	Lunda	Mambwe			
	Matrilineal										
Lineage Type	Patrilineal										
	Bilateral										
Marriage	Matrilocal										
Settlement	Patrilocal										
Access to Children	Mother/ Mother's side										
	Father/ Father's Side										

# Customary versus Ordinance Marriage

At Independence in 1964, Zambia inherited a dual system of marriage. It recognized unions under customary law and under statute (ordinance) as equally valid. Today this latter form of marriage is becoming increasingly popular, especially for the urban middle classes, suggesting a movement toward the nuclearization of the family.

Ordinance marriage is monogamous. It stresses freedom from extended kin with regard to choice of partner and marriage rites and obligations. It is validated not by the consent of a woman's parents and by marriage payments but by compulsory registration and other civil procedures as stipulated by the Marriage Act.

The continuing influence of traditional attitudes towards gender relations can be seen in the predominance of customary marriage (Table 11).

Customary marriage is validated by fulfilment of traditional rites and obligations. The consent of the woman's family and marriage pay-

Educational Level	Total	C	USTOMARY	C	RDINANCE
		Male	Female	Male	Female
University	23	3		11	9
Form 6	1			1	
Form 5	45	30	10	1	4
Form 2	43	13	28	1	1
Primary	67	32	35	1	
None	21	8	13		11
Total	100	86	86	14	14

ments by the man's family are particularly important. Marriage payment gives a husband rights to his wife's labour and the fruits of her labour. Marriage payment, or lobola, endorses male dominance in marriage and results in total ownership of wife by husband. The woman loses all her rights, and becomes a legal minor in the custody of her husband. She has no say about her income, job, children or any other aspect of her life. She simply becomes part of his property. It is this concept of woman as property which bedevils the application of the 1989 Intestate Succession Act.

Although the figures show a strong correlation between level of educa-

The subordinate position of women in the workplace, and their relegation to mainly support roles, is a reflection of domestic subordination. tion and proportion of marriages by ordinance, there remains a strong tendency to contract customary marriage even at higher levels of education. Educated men, even at university level, are willing to contract customary marriages, while highly-educated women prefer ordinance marriage.

Although the Matrimonial Causes Act gives husband and wife equal place in matrimonial disputes, marriages contracted under ordinance are likely to retain many of the customary aspects of gender relations in terms of the husband as head of household and owner of the marital property. This traditional form of marital relations is bolstered by the high proportion of couples who are married under ordinance, but who also undergo at least some aspects of traditional marriage. Payment of lobola is normal in ordinance marriages.

The domestic oppression of women has other ramifications which are reflected in the wider social and political infrastructure. The subordinate position of women in the workplace, and their relegation to mainly support roles may be understood as a reflection of their domestic subordination.

A male argument used against a woman standing for political office is likely to be that she has a husband who is in charge of her and will be the one who really takes decisions. Conversely, if she is not married, she is likely to be branded as a prostitute, who should be under the control of a man.<sup>25</sup>

Traditional Systems of Inheritance

Under the patrilineal system, succession is traced through the father's line, and the eldest son inherits or, if there is more than one wife, the eldest son of the senior wife. If there are no male heirs the eldest daughter inherits and in the absence of children the eldest brother of the deceased inherits. If there are no brothers, then the eldest sister inherits, failing siblings, the parents will inherit. For instance, under the Ngoni customary law the widow is cared for by the family of the deceased and is to be maintained until she remarries. She traditionally remains within the same family. However, with traditions and economic fortunes changing rapidly, the situation of widows has deteriorated considerably.

Under the matrilineal system, inheritance is the exclusive prerogative of the matrilineal group. On a husband's death, the group decides which portion should go to the children and elects an heir to the property and a successor to the deceased, who replaces him by marrying the widow. The heir and successor can be one and the same and, if this is the case, he is responsible for taking care of the widow and children.

With the bilateral system, descent is derived along both lines. In practice, inheritance passes through the line of the member who maintained closest contacts. Therefore, the children may inherit from either maternal or paternal line. The widow has some entitlement to the deceased's estate but she is never the beneficiary.<sup>26</sup>

#### Merging of Customary and Statutory Law on Inheritance

Matters of inheritance in Zambia are governed by the Intestate Succession Act of 1989 and the Wills and the Administration of Testate Estates Act of 1989. These took almost 20 years to become law and merge the previously separate customary and statutory laws of inheritance. Under these laws, distribution of the estate at death of spouse is as follows:

- 50 percent, children;
- 20 percent, surviving spouse;
- 20 percent, parent of deceased;
- 10 percent, dependents.

The Intestate Succession Act's gender neutral use of the term spouse does not indicate that the Act provides for gender equality. On the contrary, there is a presumption in the law that the marital property is owned by the husband, and (for an estate of any size) a widow is not entitled to 50 percent. By merging the earlier provisions of statutory and customary law, the 1989 Act has retained some of the discrimination within the latter<sup>27</sup>

Despite the 1989 Intestate Succession Act, property grabbing often occurs where the relatives of the deceased take all the widow's property and leave her destitute. Although this practice is carried out under the guise of customary law, it is a modern perversion which has been superseded by the Intestate Succession Act. Under this Act, the surviving spouse and children are entitled to one house and its entire contents including any car, and only the remainder can be divided by relatives according to the above proportions.

In 1997 parliament passed Intestate Succession Act which replaced the 1989 Intestate Succession Act. The act takes away some of the limited aspects of women's advancement which characterised the earlier Act, and is clearly retrogressive.

It more clearly assumes that property belongs to the husband, and allows no inheritance for a childless widow. It precludes a widow from being the administrator of her deceased husband's estate, and does not require the widow's consent in the appointment of an administrator. Moreover, by referring to the rights of widows within polygamous marriage, the act seems to be allowing the legality of polygamous marriage to be accepted under statutory law, whereas previously such marriage had legitimacy only under customary law.28

#### Socialisation into Sexual Oppression

Zambia is primarily a patriarchal nation and most people are socialized to believe that women are inferior to men, meaning that women should do everything possible to make men happy even if it is at the expense of their own happiness.

This applies to sexuality as well. Women are taught to respect and please a man from a very tender age. This is further elaborated during pre-marital celebrations and initiation ceremonies. Emphasis is on pleasing the man, because if they don't, he can justifiably walk out and go to other women. In this way, a woman is educated to see herself primarily as a sex object, and an instrument of sexual pleasure.

A study done among a sample of sexually active women in Lusaka indicate 86 percent practised dry sex (using herbs to dry out vaginal fluid before sexual intercourse<sup>29</sup>) to enhance the sexual pleasure of the man. This study also revealed that the practice is common even among more educated women — 60 percent of women with salaried employment admitted to practising dry sex.

The traditional form of marriage is rooted in the principle of male control over the sexual relationship. The husband has a right to demand sexual intercourse, and the wife's duty is to submit. Production and rearing of children is the primary duty of a wife, so much so that under all varieties of customary law a wife may be divorced purely on the ground that the marriage is childless.

Within patriarchal sexual relationships, males control use of contraceptives, and are not likely to agree to wives using condoms, or other forms of contraception. This means it is very difficult, or impossible, for a woman to protect herself from the risk of pregnancy or HIV infechave relatively more space in negotiation over the use of a condom, or other contraceptives.

tion. However, girlfriends may

The second main element of sexual oppression arises within the system of polygamy, which gives married men a high degree of sexual freedom. A man may always be legitimately on the lookout for an additional wife. In effect, men are licensed as sexual predators.

# Gender Division of Self-Image in a Patriarchal Society

Although Zambia fits the essential elements of a patriarchal culture, in its values, laws, institutions and social practice, it is also a culture under threat from the invading values of a larger and modern world.

The traditional belief is that public affairs (politics) are the realm of men, rooted in the principle that a man is master of the home, and that women are concerned with child care, domestic maintenance and subsistence food production. It is this constant dawn-to-dusk labour of women that leaves them little time to engage in politics.

This patriarchal ideology is also reinforced by religious belief and practice. Zambia is predominantly Christian, with large Muslim and Hindu minorities and a prevalent residue of overlapping and coexisting belief in spirits and witchcraft. Despite the potential for Christianity to appear as one of the more modern and egalitarian elements amongst this variety of creeds, many of the different Christian sects adhere to extreme fundamentalist interpretations of the Bible. Letters to the newspaper commonly refer women to "sacred" sections of the Old Testament which command women to submit to male authority.

This tension between ancient and modern is best illustrated by the recent history of Zambian governments which maintain customary law and patriarchal practice at home, while at the same time ratifying international conventions and declarations on women's rights.

A large part of the patriarchal value system resides in the gender selfimage, of both men and women. A high proportion of males believe in a god-given or biologically-given right to rule over females. Men commonly believe themselves to be more clever, strong, decisive and adventurous. In other words, patriarchal male stereotypes are widely believed and have a high degree of (socially-constructed) reality in a patriarchal society. This gender self-image is reinforced by the media, with television advertisements taking the lead.

Gender role stereotypes are also undoubtedly believed to a large extent by women who see themselves as less capable than men, and that men have a right-to-rule domestically and — by extension — in the field of national politics.

However, the rise of the women's movement in Zambia in the past decade is an indication that patriarchal gender self-images are breaking down, especially amongst females. To an increasing extent, women are not willing to confine their struggle against male oppression to the traditional domestic level or to confine their activities to a system of patriarchal control.

Instead, the last decade has seen the emergence of a women's movement which challenges the patriarchal system, and has moved the struggle out of its domestic context into the political arena.

One sign of the instability of patriarchal control at the domestic level is the high level of domestic violence. As ideological controwanes, so violence is used as a means of subjugation.

In effect, men are licensed as sexual predators.

# Gender Gaps in Cultural and Religious Organisations

There are serious gender gaps in the control of religious and cultural organisations (Table 12).

For the Christian organisations, much of the gender discrimination arises largely from their global policies and beliefs, and is only partly as a Zambian phenomenon. Male supremacy within the Roman Catholic hierarchy is a reflection of dogmas and doctrines coming from the Vatican. However, figures also show that the worldwide rise in feminist ideas within mainline Protestant churches does not seem to have had much effect in Zambia.

Male domination in the more fundamentalist Evangelical Council actually increased in the period 1980-1996. However, the mainline Zambia Council of Churches is headed by a woman. Unlike other countries in southern Africa where about 80 percent of all church congragations are women, congregations in Zambia are made up of women and men in about equal proportions, so the gender gap in decision-making is an undemocratic contradiction to the gender equality in the membership.

In the visual and performing arts, where there is almost certainly a male majority and male culture throughout. For instance, popular bands are often all male, or sometimes with a female singer, and perhaps with female dancers.<sup>30</sup>

Male domination of the arts organisations can be understood in part as a reflection of the unequal gender division of domestic labour, where it is predominantly men who have the time to take part in such activities as music, drama and the visual arts.

	1737	PAST	R.		PRESENT				
INDICATOR	F/M	GG	SOURCE	F/M	CC	SOURCE	M	T	SI
Decision Making Positions in Religious Organisation:	1			1 State					
Board of Christian Council of Zambia	(1980) 25: 75	50%	CCZ Records, Catholic	(1996) 23:77	54%	CCZ Records, Catholic	3	2	5
Board of Catholic Secretariat	0:100	100%	Sec. Records, EC Board	0:100	100%	Sec. Records, EC Board	4	1	5
Board of Evangelical Council	33: 67	34%	EC BOard	27:43	46%	EC DUald	2	2	4
Decision Making Positions in Arts and Culture Organisations:									
Visual Arts Council	(1989) 38:62	24%	VAC Records,	(1996) 30:70	40%	VAC Records,	2	2	4
Zambian Union of Musicians	(1988) 0:100	100%	ZUM Records,	0:100	100%	ZUM Records,	4	1	5
National Arts Association (NATAAZ)	(1989) 36:64	28%	NATAAZ Records	30:70	40%	NATAAZ Records	2	2	4

F/M = Female/Male Ratio GG = Gender Gap SI = Seriousness Index

#### Girl child and education

Box 8

In Zambia, of 100 girls who enter grade 1, some 75 complete grade 7, only 23 complete grade 8 and just seven take grade 12 examinations.

Following the introduction of SAPs, the reduction in the funding for education has resulted in such a decline in education that many parents are asking whether it is worth sending a child to school, especially a girl child.

Almost half the girls of school-going age are not in school, while primary schools can only accommodate 75 percent of eligible girls. In junior secondary classes, there is room for less than one-third of the girls of appropriate age, with senior secondary schools having room for less than one-tenth of the girls. Research indicates that school enrolment rates have been dropping steadily for a number of years because there have been few new school developments to match the increase in population. The attendance rates for girls and boys remain the same up to the age of 13 in both rural and urban areas.

By 14, more girls leave school than boys of the same age group. At 14 years, 22 percent of urban girls have dropped out compared to 15 percent of urban boys. In rural areas, 32 percent of girls leave school compared with 23 percent of boys.

By 15 the gap widens especially in urban areas. There is an 11 percent difference in attendance between 15 year-old girls and boys in urban areas and a nine percent difference in rural schools.

The government is responding to the growing crisis in education by removing the constraints on access and hopes to reverse the decline in quality. The Ministry of Education has developed a policy that seeks to make the education sector more responsive to the needs of every learner.

"Within the framework of this policy, one of the ministry's priority short-term objectives is the achievement of gender equity in school enrolments and in management posts at all levels of the education system," the ministry says.

Barbara Lopi, SARDC, March 1997

#### Women educators want a say in policy

Box 9

Zambian female academics and educators have formed an association to facilitate and influence gender balance in the formulation of education policies in the country.

Launched on international women's day in 1996, the Forum for African Women Educationalist (FAWEZA) has brought together women education officers, inspectors of schools, heads of both primary and secondary schools, researchers from the University of Zambia and the national council for Scientific Research and curriculum development specialists to make an input towards the creation of a gender sensitive education policy.

FAWEZA held a successful general assembly in Lusaka which attracted members from all political parties in the country where delegates called for women to have a major say in the formulation of the education policy, which is being discussed.

Barbara Lopi for SARDC, 1996.

# GENDER GAPS IN EDUCATION AND MEDIA

Educational institutions, school curriculum and career guidance, accord boys more and better prospects. In such a situation girls acquire attitudes and aspirations, which place them second best.

Available indicators show that the girl child is discriminated against from the earliest stages of life, through her childhood and into adulthood. Girls are often treated as inferior and are socialised to put themselves last, thus undermining their self-esteem.

Gender imbalances and inadequacies in Zambia's education processes including curricula, educational materials, teachers' attitudes and classroom interaction reinforce the existing gender inequalities. For instance, the percentage of girls enrolled in secondary schools remain significantly low and they are nor encouraged or given the opportunity to pursue scientific and technological education and training.

Science and technology are a critical factor in sustainable national devel-Unfortunately, women opment. have lagged behind which has limited their role and level of participation. The enrolment in science and technical subjects continues to disproportionately favour boys. For example, in 1994 only 23 percent of students enrolled in science and technology were female. The limited number of female teachers in seience and technology perpetuates gender imbalances in this critical field as the girls lack role models.

Statistics indicate that there is almost equal enrolment of boys and girls in grade 1, but as the level of education progresses there are less girls than boys. According to the Education Statistics Bulletin of 1994 there were 53 percent boys compared to 43 percent girls a grade five level and 56 percent boys compared to 44 percent girls

Box 10

at grade eight level. At secondary school level there were 59 percent boys compared with 41 percent girls; 60 percent in grade nine compared to 40 percent female while in grade 12 there were 67 percent males compared with only 33 percent females.

At tertiary levels the gender gap is even wider. Women constitute 23 percent of enrolment at higher institutions of learning, at vocational and technical training colleges and the universities. Women are least represented in the technical fields as they constitute less than 20 percent of total enrolment.

As the proportion of children in school decreases, the likelihood is that gender gaps will also widen as boys are favoured in the increasing competition for school places. Girls are always in a majority among school dropouts, and this majority increases to almost 4:1 in the final two grades of primary school (Table 15).

Although figures show that the gender gap in primary school is only six percent (Table 14), the dropout rate for girls is always higher (Table 15). Although there is no gender gap among seven-year-olds in primary school, among 15-year-olds it reaches 10 percent in 1995.<sup>31</sup>

Between 1980-1994 there has been little progress in closing a persistent gender gap in secondary school enrolment, where boys continue to outnumber girls by a ratio of about 7:4 (Table 14).

These same figures also show that the proportion of women enrolled at university has remained static for the past 15 years, with men outnumbering women by a ratio of 4:1 (Table 14). Most female university students are enrolled in education, social sciences and humanities rather than science and engineering which are male-dominated (Table 16). However, the gender gaps in the numbers graduating from secondary school (about 30 percent) and university (around 60 percent) are much smaller than gender gaps in top decision-making positions in parliament and government (around 90 percent). This large and persistent discrepancy calls into doubt the proposition that increased education will automatically enable women to gain access to the higher levels of decision-making within the economic and political system. Rather, the size of the gender gap at top-level decision-making is such that it cannot be explained in terms of the lack of educated and qualified women.

#### Adult Education

Both the Ministry of Education and the University of Zambia have Adult Education Departments. In the ministry, there is a system of correspondence education and night school classes for grade nine selection examination, often as a means for re-entering secondary school at grade 10 in order to sit for grade 12 examination.

At the University of Zambia there is a system of correspondence education for grade 12 graduates, by which they may become full-time students in the third year of study. There are also a small number of places available, on the basis of a competitive examination, for students who do not meet the grade 12 entry requirements.

Both schemes are for students to re-enter the formal school system.

They are not popular education, nor are they informal education or interest education. In Zambia, the term 'education' is closely associated with schooling and the acquisition of certificates for the purpose of acquiring better-paid jobs.

No figures are available for the number of students in these re-entry schemes. However, the number is a small proportion — less than 10

#### Girl child education declaration

In collaboration with NGOs, donor agencies and various scholars, the government has come up with a Declaration on the Education of the Girl Child:

- Guiding principles
- Universalising Access
- Promoting Learning Achievement
- Advocacy
- Counselling
- Self-Image and role models
- Adult literacy, education and training
- Educational costs and benefits
- The public financing of
- Education
- Strengthening solidarity

SOURCE: Zambia Declaration on the Education of the Girl Child, Government of the Republic of Zambia\UNICEF, Lusaka, Zambia, July 1995.

		PAS	T		PRE	SENT		SI	
INDICATOR	F/M	GG	SOURCE	F/M	GG	SOURCE	м	т	S
Illiteracy Rates	(1980) 47:25	22%	Educational Statistics Bulletin 1994, MOE	(1990) 35:19	16%	Educational Statistics Bulletin 1994, MOE	1	0	1
Primary School Enrolment	(1980) 46:54	8%	ditto	(1994) 47:53	6%	4	1	0	
Disabled	(1980) 48:52	4%		(1990) 41:59	18%		1	2	. text
Secondary School Enrolment	(1980) 33:67	34%	ditto	(1994) 37:63	26%	ditto	2	0	-
Disabled in Secondary School enrolments	(1980) 33:67	34%		(199) 28:72	44%		2	2	4
UNIVERSITY ENROLMENT	(1983)		ditto	(1994)		ditto			
Copperbelt Campus	20:80	60%		18:82	64%		3	1	1
Lusaka Campus	20:80	60%		22:78	56%		3	1	4
Disabled	(1980) 28:72	44%							
Short-Term Training Programmes (of the Department of Technical Education and Vocational Training (DTEVT)	(1980) 25:76	51%	DTEVT Report, 1994	(1990) 25:75	50%	DTEVT Report, 1994	3	1	-
TEACHER TRAINING: Primary Level	(1980)	24%	Educational Statistics 1994, MOE	(1990)		DTEVT Report, 1994			
rinnary Level	50.02	2479	MOL	47:53	6%		1	0	1
Secondary Level	(1982) 35:65	30%		(1990) 30:70	40%	- 61.900	2	2	

Key: F/M = Female/Male Ratio; GG = Gender Gap; M = Magnitude of the Gender Gap; T = Trend over Time; SI = Seriousness Index

> percent — of those in full-time formal education. These programmes provide, in principle, a route for women to re-enter the formal school system after they have been pushed out for such reasons as the selective exam system, parental pressure, lack of school fees or pregnancy.

# Socialisation and Popular Education

Socialisation both within the family and the formal school system, is infused with patriarchal values and implicit messages concerning the correctness of male domination and the traditional gender division of labour, both within the family and the wider society.

However, the Ministry of Education has recently established a gender unit to eliminate stereotyping and patriarchal messages within the school curriculum, as part of their new education policy.

		PAS	PAST		PRESENT			SI		
INDICATOR	F/M	GG	SOURCE	F/M	GG	SOURCE	M	т	SI	
Dropouts from:				(1990)	e		8			
Grade 1 Grade 2 Grade 3 Grade 4 Grade 5 Grades 6 and 7				65:35 63:37 67:33 60:40 66:34 79:21	30% 26% 34% 20% 32% 58%	Kelly 1994, Ministry of Education	2 2 2 1 2 3	1 1 1 1 1 1	5 (5) (5) (5) (5) (5)	
Staff of the Curriculum CDC Staff Development Centre of the Ministry of Education	(1985) 41:59	18 %	CDC Staff List, 1985-86	(1995) 41:58	17%	CDC Staff List 1995-96	1	1		

Key: F/M = Female/Male Ratio; GG = Gender Gap; M = Magnitude of the Gender Gap;

T = Trend over Time; SI = Seriousness Index

		ST	PRESENT				SI		
INDICATOR	F/M	GG	SOURCE	F/M	GG	SOURCE	м	Т	S
UNZA ENROLMENT BY SUBJECT:	(1984)			(1994)					
Agricultural Science	24:76	52%	Kasuta and	9.91	82%	Educational	3	2	5
Education	20:80	60%	Siamwiza, 1994	26:91	48%	Statistics, 1994	2	0	2
Engineering	1:99	98%		2:98	96%		4	1	101
Law	26:74	48%		36:64	28%		2	0	2
Medicine	33:67	34%		38:62	24%		2	0	2
Mines	1.99	98%		1:99	98%		4	1	5
Natural Science	10:90	80%		14:86	72%		•3	0	3
Vet. Medicine	7:93	86%		6:94	88%		3	1	4
Humanities and Social Sciences	30:70	40%		34:66	28%		2	0	2
Continuing Education	1.99	98%	- July Concernant	33:67	32%		-2	0	2

One NGO, Women for Change, has an extensive grassroots programme of popular education which aims at a process of conscientisation, to challenge people to analyse and reconsider the adequacy and usefulness of the traditional gender division of labour and control. In other words, this is a programme of re-socialisation for gender equality, as an integral part of a rural development programme.

# Male Domination and Schooling

The male domination of the higher levels of educational qualifications

#### **BEYOND INEQUALITIES**

Gender Gaps in Enrolment in	Technical Edu	ication			11. 191	State of the	Ta	ble	16
		PAST			PRESE	NT	-	SI	
INDICATOR	F/M	GG	SOURCE	F/M	GG	SOURCE	м	T	5
ENROLMENT IN DTEVT PROGRAMME BY GENDER BY SUBJECT	(1980s)			(1990)					
Engineering	5:95 (1986)	90%	DTEVT Statistics as	6:94	88%	DTEVT Statistics as	4	0	1
Craft Technologist	1:99 (1986)	98%	cited in GRZ/UNFPA	1.99	98%	cited in GRZ/UNFPA	4	1	104
Paramedical and Science	16:84 (1980)	68%	1993 Women Population,	35:65	30%	Women Population,	3	0	144
Applied Arts	35:65 (1980)	30%	and Development	35;65	30%	and Development,	2	1	a line
Business Studies	18:82 (1986)	64%		24:76	52%	1993	3	0	1.4
Secretarial	100:0 (1980)	100%	10 are	100:0	100%		4	1	1.00
Teaching	14:86 (1980)	72%		18:82	64%		3	0	100
Journalism	8:92 (1980)	84%	- Lande	40:60	20%		1	0	1

F/M = Female/Male Ratio; GG = Gender Gap; M = Magnitude of the Gender Gap; T = Trend over Time; SI = Seriousness Index

is important in legitimizing male domination of the economy. In this context, the rise in the proportion of women completing secondary school over the past 15 years has not increased their capacity to claim higher level jobs. On the contrary, could be obtained with a secondary school certificate now need a university degree.

Women have not improved their access to university degrees. In particular, the male domination of the more prestigious disciplines, and at postgraduate levels, is almost total. There is a very small proportion of women in university level science and engineering. The few women in these fields are almost entirely in biology, biochemistry and agriculture. The school of engineering has recently enrolled a few female students.

# Gender Gaps in Control over the Media

The majority of women have almost no access to the media and, as a result, are not reached by development information. Those that have access are reached through radio and television which portray comservative gender role distinctions. According to the draft National Gender Policy stereotyped images of women and insufficient use of mass media to promote women's contribution to Zambian life still continue. Positive portrayal of women's issues are rare. Negative and scandalous issues make headlines in most newspapers. Existing information does not meet the need

of the majority of women, especially in the rural areas.

The liberalisation of the media since the MMD came to power has led to the mushrooming of private newspapers, some of which are trying to portray women positively. Despite these developments, and lack of gender training for editors, women's issues are not given the prominence they deserve.

Figures also show a much higher level of female representation on management boards for independent (non-government) newspapers in comparison with governmentcontrolled newspapers (Table 17). However, improvement in female participation has been only at the level of management boards, and boards of directors. The percentage of women in day-to-day media management has remained at zero throughout the last decade, despite the fact that 23 percent of journalists are women.

### Media Bias in the Portrayal of Women

The Zambian media continues to portray a gender-stereotyped role for women who are regularly portrayed as subordinates to men. Where there are gender gaps, the constant editorial theme is that it is women's fault, because they do not take advantage of opportunities.

Newspapers commonly publish misogynistic articles and letters which support opinions that women are biologically inferior, the source of evil and a lower form of humanity in the eyes of God.<sup>32</sup>

The two government controlled daily newspapers in Zambia are more negative and destructive in their treatment of gender issues, than the independent newspapers.

Locally-produced television advertisements carry a common and pervasive message that women are the domestic servants. In one recent advertisement, a small boy was seen shouting at his mother because his towel was not sufficiently soft. The mother is not advised to discipline the child, instead she is advised to use a suitable softener. Advertisements on state-controlled television of this sort are common.

Similarly, many of the popular vernacular songs on radio are filled with patriarchal messages, including vicious and violent male chauvinist messages. Sin is portrayed as innocent men tempted by evil women, who must be chastised. Vernacular language songs seem to provide a protected selling traditional messages of keeping women in their place.<sup>33</sup>

#### WOMEN AND THE ENVIRONMENT

The structural linkages between gender roles and environment are not fully appreciated so women are seldom part of decision-making. Women's contribution to managing natural resources and safeguarding the environment are not recognised or supported by government policies and programmes. Women are even blamed for environmental degradation, yet they play a significant role in natural resource and environmental management.

The last decade in Zambia has been one of continuing and accelerating degradation of the environment. The continuing population growth (3.1 percent annually) and urbanisation (50 percent) has brought about large scale deforestation around towns.

Lack of public investment in housing has created a situation where more than half the urban population live in shanty towns, usually without electricity, and with limited access to safe water and sanitation. Access to safe water and sanitation actually improved for the rural population between 1985-90, however there was a deterioration for the urban population over the same period.

#### Kitchen remains women's domain

Box 11

Women, I am beginning to fear, are up to no good. Yes, they are out to cause a lot of mischief with this equal rights campaign they have embarked on.

Talk about equal rights, how possible is it for women to have equal rights with men? I say let women fight a good fight with all their might to maintain women's rights, such as ensuring that the kitchen remains forever their main domain.

SOURCE: Wam Kwaleyela, The Daily Mail August 10, 1997, Lusaka.

#### BEYOND INEQUALITIES

		PAST		PF		5	51		
INDICATOR	F/M	GG	SOURCE	F/M	GG	SOURCE	м	т	SI
DECISION MAKING POSITIONS IN MEDIA ASSOCIATIONS:									
Press Association of Zambia (PAZA)	(1980) 10:90	80%	PAZA Records	(1996) 10:90	80%	PAZA Records	3	2	5
Zambia Union of Journalists	(1983) 0:100	100%	ZUJ	(1996)	56%	ZUJ Records	3	0	3
Zambia Media	(1985)		De Theat	Records	22:78			EI	
Women Association	100:0	Shiri-	100%	100:0	(1996)	100%	4	2	6
GOVERNMENT MEDIA <sup>*</sup> : Board of Management	(1985) 6:94	88%	Establishment Registers of Media	(1996) 13:87	74%	Establishment Registers of Media	3	0	3
Board of Directors	15:85	70%	Organisations	20:80	60%	Organisations	3	0	3
Top Two Management Positions**	0:100	100%		0:100	100%		4	2	6
INDEPENDENT MEDIA"": Board of Management	(1993) 29:71	42%	Establishment Registers of Media	(1996) 29:71	42%	Establishment Registers of Media	2	1	3
Board of Directors	9:91	82%	Organisations	0:100	100%	Organisations	4	2	6
Top Management	0:100	100%		0:100	100%	illa"	4	2	6

Lack of urban electricity has caused ever-widening deforestation to produce charcoal, the common fuel in urban homes. Charcoal burners have even settled in government- designated forest reserves, destroying the protection of the headwaters of rivers.

Despite the fact that Zambia has an abundant supply of hydroelectric power, the electricity industry has been mainly developed to supply industry and the urban rich. Ironically, this allows the rich to buy energy much more cheaply than the poor.

Current electricity generation capacity is 1,778 MW, much of which is exported to Zimbabwe and Zaire for lack of local consumers. Moreover, it is estimated that Zambia has an additional hydroelectric potential of 600 MW sufficient to completely end the current reliance on woodfuel by the majority of the population.<sup>34</sup>

Women are particularly affected by the constant search for fuel, and the high cost and labour of cooking with charcoal. It is women, with their traditional domestic duties in washing clothes and utensils, who suffer most from the shortage of water and lack of electricity. For a large proportion of girls and women, both urban and rural, many hours a day are spent carrying water to their homes.

Women's Access to Water and	Sanitatio	anitation						Table 1			
		PAST	PRESI			SENT			SI		
NDICATOR	MEAS	URE	SOURCE	MEASL	RE	SOURCE	M	т	SI		
Urban Population With Access to Safe Water	70%	(1985)	Min. of Health,1991	66%	(1990)	Min of Health, 1991	2	2	4		
Rural Population With Access to Safe Water	41%	(1985)	ditto	47%	(1990)	.#	3	0	3		
Urban Households with Access to Clean Water*	90%	(1991)	GRZ, 1996, Zambia's Children in 1995	85%	(1995)	GRZ, 1996, Zambia's Children in 1995	2	2	4		
Rural Households with Access to Clean Water*	20%	(1991	ditto	27%	(1995)	ditto	4	0	4		
Urban Population with Access to Clean and Safe Sanitation	76%	(1985)	Min. of Health, 1991	66%	(1990)	Min of Health, 1991	2	2	4		
Rural Population with Access to Clean and Safe Sanitation	34%	(1985)	ditto	37%	(1990)	ditto	3	0	3		
Urban Households with Access to Clean and Safe Sanitation*				88%	(1995	GRZ, 1996, Zambia's Children					
Rural Households with Access to Clean and Safe Sanitation*				43%	(1995)	ditto	200				

Key; F/M = Female/Male Ratio; GG = Gender Cap; M = Magnitude of the Gender Gap;

T = Trend over Time; SI = Seriousness Index

\*The figures for 1991 are consistently higher if taken from GRZ 1996, by comparison with Min. of Health 1991. However, the former is based on a limited 1995 survey of only 6,810 households. Also, figures from the two different sources are not directly comparable, one uses 'percentage of households' and the other 'percentage of population'

# WOMEN'S HEALTH STATUS

Health is a human right which should be accessible and affordable to everyone. In Zambia this is not the case. Several factors, including illequipped health centres, poor quality services, inadequately-trained staff, long distances to service centres and user fees, place health services out of the reach of many women.

#### Health Status of Women and Children

Over the past decade the health status of women and children has deteriorated, despite Zambia's adoption of global goals for health improvement, and the efforts of UN agencies (especially WHO and UNICEF). Maternal and child mortality rates are increasing. (Tables 18-19) The rates of infant, child and maternal mortality have increased between 1990-96, because of even more stringent application of policies of structural adjustment during this period.

Various factors have contributed to this situation, the largest single cause being the decline in the Zambian economy during the last decade, with rapidly falling rates of per capita income. Exacerbating this situation are various aspects of gender discrimination.

#### **BEYOND INEQUALITIES**

Welfare Status in Health, Fertil	ity and Nutrition		a farmer and	- CANADA BAR AND	1	able	
	P	AST	P	RESENT	SI		
INDICATOR	MEASURE	SOURCE	MEASURE	SOURCE	м	T	-
Maternal Mortality Rate (per 100,000 births)	118 (1982)	UTH Studies	800 (1993)	Mongu Studies	4	2	
New Born Babies Birth Weight	(1982-86) 2.490kg	World Bank, NCDP, 1994	(1989-92) 11.9	World Bank, NCDP, 1994	1	T	
Percentage Babies Less than 2.5kg Birth Weight	(1982-1986) 10.2	World Bank, NCDP, 1994	(1989-92) 11.9	World Bank, NCDP, 1994	2	2	
Infant Mortality Rate	95 (1982)	CSO, 1990	108 (1992)	UNICEF, 1996	4	2	
Child Mortality Rate	65 (1982)	CSO, 1990	191 (1992)	UNICEF, 1996	4	2	
Chronic Malnutrition Amongst Under Fives: All Urban Rural	40% (1992) 39% (1992) 52% (1992)	Zambia's Children in 1995,GRZ, 1996	53% (1995) 44% (1995) 60% (1995)	Zambia's Children in 1995, GRZ, 1996	4 4 4	2 2 2 2	
Survival Rate by Age Range: 6 - 14 15 - 25	95.8% (1980) 94.9% (1980)	CSO, 1980	94.4% (1990) 93.8% (1990)	CSO, 1990	2 2	22	
Population Growth Rate	3.1 (1969-80)	CSO, 1990	2.7 (1980-90)	CSO, 1990	1	0	
Total Fertility Rate	7.2(1980)	CSO, 1990	6.7 (1990)	CSO, 1990	2	0	
Malnutrition Adult Deaths	295 (1989)	Health Statistics MOH, 1989-92	3,303 (1992)	Health Statistics, MOH, 1989-90	4	2	
Calorie Intake per day	3,300 (1985)	World Bank,1994	2,027 (1993)	World Bank, 1994	3	2	
Contraceptive Use (Modern Methods)			9% (1992)	ZDHS, 1992	3	1*	
		N BCOM	1.8% (1992)	ZDHS, 1992	4	1*	
Condom Use Amongst Married Women			1.8% (1992)	ZDH5, 1992	4	1	

Key: F/M = Female / Male Ratio; GC = Gender Gap; M = Magnitude of the Gender Gap; T = Trend over Time; SI = Seriousness Index \* It is assumed, in view of the low figures, that the situation is fairly static.

Most notable is structural adjustment whose main thrust is to reduce government expenditure on health and social services and shift responsibility to the community and families. This policy means, in practice, shifting the responsibility from government onto individual women, usually desperately poor women.

The real impact of structural adjustment show, in the harshest possible

way, the actual consequences of a lack of national policy on gender equality: it enables the discriminatory aspects of structural adjacement to remain hidden by policy makers.

# Gender Inequality in Vulnerability to HIV Infection

The disaggregation of AIDS figures (Table 20) clearly reveals 🛬 increased vulnerability of female-

Station Labor		PAST		PRESENT				SI		
INDICATOR	F/M	GG	SOURCE	F/M	GG	SOURCE	м	Ţ	SI	
Life expectancy at birth (in years)	(1980) 53:50	-3yr	ZDHS, 1992	1990 48.46	-2yr	ZDHS, 1992	2 0	2 0	4(W) <sup>2</sup> 0(GG	
Child Mortality Rate (in the age rage 1-5, per 1,000 live births)	(1982) 63:68	-5	CSO, 1990 109:111	(1990)	-2	CSO, 1990	4 0	2 0	6 (W) 0(GG	
Infant Mortality Rate (Age 0-1, per 1,000 live births)	(1982) 91;97	-6	CSO, 1990	(1990) 120:127	-7	CSO, 1990	4 0	2 0	6 (W) 0(GG	
Population by Age Group: 0-14 15-24 25-64 65+	(1980) 50:50 53:47 52.48 46:54	0% -6% -4% -8%	CSO, 1990	50:50 52:48 52:48 44:56	0% -4% -4% -12%	CSO, 1990	0 0 0 -1	0 0 0 -2	0 0 0 -3	
AIDS Cases by Age Group: 0 -4 5-14 15-19 20-39 40+	(1985-90) 47:53 58.42 86.14 55:45 29:71	-6% 16% 72% 10% -42%	1984-92 Ministry of Health figures, in Siamwiza and Kasuta	51:49 62:37 84:16 49:51 25:75	2%	Bulletin of Health Statistics 1980-1992, Ministry of Health	0 2 3 0 -2	-2 2 -1 0 -1	-2 4 4 0 -3	
Survival Rates by Age Group: 6-14 15-25	(1980) 0.957:0.957 0.954:0.944	0% -1%	CSO, 1980	(1990) 0.942: 0.94 7 0.943:933	0.5% -1%	C5O, 1990	2020	1 0 1	3 (W) 0(GG 3 (W)	

Mey: F(M = Female/Male Ratio; GG = Gender Gap; W = Welfare Indicator; M = Magnitude of the Gender Gap; T = Trend over Time; SI = Seriousness Index \*There are two assessments of seriousness: (i) for the welfare problem and (ii) for the gender gap problem. For the indicators in the above table, the general welfare aspect of the problem is always more serious than the gender gap aspect of the problem.

resulting in a 5:1 majority of women amongst those with AIDS in the 15-19 age group. In other words, women are far more likely than men to be infected at a young age. This is partly because women are biologically more vulnerable to infection, but mainly because of their subordinate position in sexual relations.

This subordination means that it is difficult for women to insist on using condoms in order to protect themselves from HIV infection, even when they know the sexual partner has been promiscuous.

A low number of sexual partners use condoms or contraceptive methods (Table 19).

In addition, the traditional domestic gender division in providing health care has meant that the epidemic has put a much larger burden on women in looking after AIDS patients within the family.

#### Access to Health Services

Not all of women's low health status and inability to care for her children, arises from gender discrimination within sexual relationships, or within the home. There is

# HIV mothers face a dilemma: breast or bottle?

Box 12

Jane Mudenda is in a dilemma. She is HIV positive and has to choose whether to breast-feed her baby and risk passing on the infection or, bottle-feed with milk formula which is not only expensive but carries health risks like malnutrition and diarrhoea.

"My neighbour, who is a gynaecologist, tells me I should bottle-feed and not take any chances but my midwife says I should breast-feed because the risk of my child dying from malnutrition is higher than the risk of it contracting HIV," she says.

Mudenda, 32, is among the estimated 25 percent of Zambian mothers who tested positive for HIV while pregnant. Her baby is due in the next month and she still has not been able to obtain proper advice and information that will help her come to a decision.

It is only during the past four years that the question of vertical transmission of HIV through breast-milk has surfaced. Scientists now say that between one quarter and one third of infants born to HIV mothers worldwide become infected with the virus. Statistics also reveal that one in seven breast-fed babies catch the disease.

Yet there still is a reluctance by policy makers to state that HIV infected mothers should not breast feed.

Zambian health Minister, Katele Kalumba, a staunch advocate of breast-feeding, argues that the medical risks associated with artificial feeding are greater than the risks of contamination with HIV. "You will find that more babies will die from diarrhoeal diseases and other infections through unhygienically or wrongly administered milk formula than through acquiring HIV by breast-feeding," he says.

In a recent statement on vertical transmission of HIV, UNICEF re-iterates the benefits of breast-feeding to both mothers and children. According to the statement, breast milk protects against infant mortality by providing protection against diarrhoeal diseases, pneumonia and other potentially fatal infections, while enhancing the quality of life through its nutritional and psychosocial benefits. Breast-feeding also contributes to maternal health in various ways including ways of prolonging the interval between births and helping protect against ovarian and breast cancers.

While UNICEF says mothers are best equipped to make the breast-feeding choice and should be supported in whatever they decide, the recently formed UN HIV/AIDS programme goes further in its first interim statement. on vertical transmission and says when children born to HIV positive mothers can ensure uninterrupted access to nutritionally adequate breast milk substitutes that are safely prepared, they are at less risk of illness and death if they are not breast-fed.

SOURCE: Excerpt from Zarina Geloo, Africa Information Afrigae (AUA), January 13, 1997.

Frequency of Main	Table 21	
INDICATOR	No. OF PEOPLE	YEAR
Gonorrhoea	138 in every 100,000	1991
Chancroid	93 in every 100,000	1991
Syphilis	87 in every 100,000	1991

also discrimination in access to health services.

Very often women cannot pay clinic fees, because cash is mostly earned and controlled by men. This has been exacerbated by the government's structural adjustment policy, which introduced fees at hospitals and clinics.

Government ante-natal clinics, which are supposed to provide contraceptives, usually ask for a letter of permission from a woman's husband before issuing contraceptives.

Similarly, a hospital will seek a husband's permission before sterilising a woman. But a man may receive condoms, or be sterilised, without his wife's permission. These practices contradict the Ministry of Health's own 1990 Population Policy, which specifically made family planning services available to individuals.

# Sexual Oppression and Health Risk

In Zambia there is much emphasis by traditional marriage counsellors on giving sexual pleasure. Before marriage girls are told never say no when a husband demands sex. It is taboo, which in itself is the beginning of health problems within the home.

Even in a situation where a wife knows that she is at risk of contracting HIV from her spouse, it is unlikely she could persuade him to use a condom. On the other hand, she simply cannot refuse unprotected sex.33 In this way, AIDS sends many faithful wives to their graves. Sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) are a major public health problem, according to data drawn specialised STD centres from across the country. Gonorrhoea, syphilis and chancroid are the leading STDs (Table 21).

Lusaka and the Copperbelt provinces have consistently

Violence Against Women	CTATUS IN T		NCE ACAINET M	OLUTNI			
WOMEN'S WELFAR		AST		SENT		SI	
	F7	151	PKI		-	51	-
INDICATOR	MEASURE	SOURCE	MEASURE	SOURCE	M	T	S
Ratio of Women Killed by Husbands, to Husbands Killed by Wives		Police Public Relations Office 1995	(1991-3)87:13	Police Public Relations Office 1995	3	2	5
Assaults against Women (Reported Cases)	(1991) 12674	Ditto	(1992)15038	Ditto	3	2	1.1
Women Raped (Reported Cases)	(1991) 634	Ditto	(1994) 831	Ditto	3	2	1.0
No. of Public Shelters for abused women	(1985) 0	Felicia Sakala, 1994	(1993)1	Felicia Sakala, 1994	3	0	100

recorded the highest number of outpatient STD cases from 1990 to 1994. Admissions and deaths directly linked to STDs affect women and children in terms of pelvic inflammatory diseases, miscarriages, still-borns and infertility. The prevalence of STDs suggests the acceleration of the transmission of HIV.

#### WOMEN AND VIOLENCE The Level of Violence Against Women

Reported cases of violence against women are usually underestimates as most cases are not reported (Table 22). These figures represent only the tip of a huge national problem. The figures do, however, show a gender gap of about 6:1 in cases where one spouse kills the other.

A recent YWCA report of investigations into violence against women in Zambia found a high level of horrific domestic violence. The report also finds that police are unsympathetic and unhelpful in rape cases and have a tendency to treat a husband's violence against his wife as a domestic matter which is of no concern to police.36 For this reason, few cases are reported. The YWCA has recently set up a Refuge for Battered Women to provide a safe place for women under severe threat.

This is an outgrowth from the YWCA's Drop-In Centre, which provides advice and counselling for women with domestic and legal problems, especially relating to domestic disputes.

#### Gender Bias in the Police Force

Both the Refuge and the Drop-In Centre are examples of NGO provision of services to provide women with the protection they cannot obtain under the law.

The continuing attitude of police towards rape is well illustrated by a recent quote from a police public relations officer: "Rape is on the increase, especially on the Copperbelt. We think this is a result of women walking alone at awkward hours. They should stop doing this.""7

The number of women in the police force remains low, with virtually no increase over the past decade: four percent of women were in the police force in 1980, and six percent in 1993.

# Women murdered in domestic rows

Box 13

One day last year, Leonard Lusingu, 64, burned his wife and three stepdaughters to death after a domestic row.

Police Officer Standwell Lungu, who confirmed the incident, disclosed that two other cases of spouse murder had occurred at about the same time: one in Lusaka's Libala township where Martina Chanda was found dead, purportedly murdered by her husband, and another in Chief Chipepo's area where police were hunting a man for battering his wife to death.

According to the YWCA, scores of women are murdered and hundreds of others subjected to less drastic forms of domestic violence every year.

As the problem grows, the YWCA has embarked on a programme to fight it, largely by encouraging women through education, to rise against it. Figures at the YWCA drop-in-centre show that of the 974 cases of abuse recorded in 1996, only 59 were of domestic violence — compared to 359 of proper-ty-grabbing.

From January to March, 1997, some 14 cases of domestic violence were reported, compared to 95 of property-grabbing.

"This shows that people are more aware of the law of succession than they are of domestic violence," said YWCA outreach counsellor Florence Shakafuswa.

Shakafuswa attributes wife-beating to financial problems and alcoholism. "Husbands want to get rid of their wives because they can no longer support them. So they beat them," she says.

To assist abused women, the YWCA provides shelter for battered women with no homes to run to. Counsellors at the YWCA also work with the National Women's Legal Clinic to provide free legal advise to abused women.

SOURCE: Paschalina Phirl, The Monitor, Zambia, May 30 - June 15, 1997

#### No right to refuse sex Box 14

A woman who refused to have sex with her husband for two weeks due to ill-treatment by the husband was warned by the court justice that a woman has no customary right to refuse sex to her husband. She was lectured to that the husband is the head of the bed where she slept with him.

SOURCE: 'Gender Bias in the Zambian Court System', WILDAF, Lusaka, 1994.

#### Gender Bias in the Judiciary

A recent report on gender bias within the court system found that 90 percent of matrimonial cases are dealt with by local courts.<sup>38</sup> This means that judgements are made according to patriarchal customary principles without the rights under statutory marriage law.

The same report found, in a survey of magistrates courts in Copperbelt Province, only six percent of female plaintiffs had legal representation, compared with 59 percent of male plaintiffs. The expense and difficulty of bringing a case to court weighs far more heavily on women, to the extent that 90 percent of all cases withdrawn are by women. The report also found that the treatment of rape cases in court is insensitive, and concludes: "most rape cases are not reported by the victims for fear of embarrassment and harassment during trial, in open court.""

In the cases of inheritance, local courts are apparently quite ignorant of a widow's rights under the 1989 Intestate Succession Act which is supposed to have superseded customary law. Local courts commonly appoint administrators from among the relatives of a deceased husband, which usually leads to widows being robbed of their right-ful inheritance.<sup>40</sup>

At the local court level, a main function of the judiciary is to maintain male authority over women, as provided for in customary law. This is one of the implications of the study into gender bias within the Zambian court system, which cites many examples of local courts acting to support patriarchal authority and privilege in the home.

It is not clear whether such obvious gender discrimination is in law, or under the law, since the law is unwritten. Since there is no written customary law, there is no way of drawing a line between the content of law and the (male) justice's patriarchal bias. Indeed, the former would seem to be determined mainly by the latter.

The patriarchal value system is also well known to colour judgements in magistrates' and high courts. Rape by a husband, for example, is not perceived as a crime because judges cannot comprehend it.

WILSA recently publicly protested a High Court judgement where a man was given an 18-month suspended sentence for killing his wife.<sup>41</sup> Since a man is generally seen as having the right to beat his wife, husbands who kill their wives are usually admonished by the bench for "having gone too far".

The patriarchal bias of the judiciary is partly due to its male predominance. Between 1980 and 1993 the proportion of women among local court judges remained static at four percent and at 11 percent for high court judges. However, the proportion of women magistrates did improve from nine percent to 20 percent.<sup>42</sup>

# Position of Women Amongst Refugees

Zambia has had a peaceful existence since independence in 1964, so the number of internally displaced persons is presumably zero. Similarly there are virtually no Zambian refugees in other countries.

The existence of refugees in Zambia is a result of internal strife in neighbouring countries, especially Angola and Mozambique. These numbers are now in rapid decline, with the current repatriation of refugees back to these two countries (Table 23).

Proportion of Women Among Refugees	Table 23
Number of Refugees in Zambia	141,126(1993)
Amongst the (47,000) Assisted Refugees:	
Percentage children and youth	61%(1993)
Percent women amongst adults	41%(1993)
Number of Displaced Persons in Zambia	Probably Zero (1994)
SOURCE: Zambia Defence Force, UNHCR, 1998.	

The Zambian government has always had a policy of hospitality towards refugees and camps are well organised under UNHCR, with the assistance and cooperation of the Zambian government. Such camps are remarkably free from the banditry and terrorism which is common elsewhere. No reports are available to assess the situation of women in refugee camps in Zambia so it may be assumed that discrimination is no worse than the rest of Zambia.

#### Customs allow wife-beating

Box 15

A woman who was married for 13 years sued her husband for assault. She testified that she had been assaulted several times and that she was fed up. The local court justice ruled that the institution of marriage is an important institution and should not be tampered with, and that the customs of society allow a husband to beat his wife where she misbehaves, and that if he was not her husband then the court would have attended to her claim.

SOURCE: 'Gender Bias in the Zambian Court System', WILDAF, Lusaka, 1994.

# PART II POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES



This section assesses the seriousness of policy intentions to address the gender issues which

were outlined in the Situation Analysis above. The main interest is to assess government policy interventions both overall, and sector by sector. There is also a brief attempt to assess NGO interest in addressing gender issues, in terms of areas of operation.

The criteria for assessing the seriousness of policy intentions is explained in the Introduction section of this document.

# BACKGROUND TO POLICY ON GENDER

The pre-1991 UNIP government had a limited national gender policy, as part of its overall development policy. The Fourth National Development Plan had a chapter on Women in Development which set out the gender goals which were supposed to inform the National Development Plan.

However, these goals were limited to the concept of increasing women's participation in the development process. The policy was not informed by any vision of equal rights for women. However, after ratifying CEDAW, the UNIP government undertook a series of moves (still continuing under the present government) to eliminate overt gender discrimination in statutory law.<sup>43</sup>

In 1991 the new MMD government brought with it some initial promise of a more defined and radical policy on gender issues. Its 1991 Election Manifesto stated: "The MMD recognises the specific oppression which Zambian women have continued to suffer. The MMD government will accord full and equal rights to women in all aspects of national life and accepts the principle of affirmative action on gender issues. The MMD will review all discriminatory laws against women in all social and economic fields. The MMD government will remove all discriminatory practices, and fight the present prejudices against women in financial institutions."<sup>44</sup>

The MMD Manifesto of 1996 has an almost identical section on Women in Development, which reaffirms the principle of affirmative action to achieve equal rights for women.

However, the government's record reveals hardly any affirmative action to improve the status of women. Perhaps the only concrete example is the continuing action by the Ministry of Education to operate different selection pass marks for girls and boys to ensure that the proportion of girls does not drop at selection stages. However, this policy began in the 1960s, under UNIP.

If the draft national gender policy (see below) is approved it would entail a new form of affirmative action enabling women to occupy decision-making positions. Unfortunately it seems that such affirmative action, despite the current MMD Manifesto, is not actually party policy:

"Unlike the opposition parties, the ruling MMD has made it clear that it will have nothing to do with affirmative action for women. Much as we would like to see our womenfolk raise their participation in politics and decision-making, we find ourselves at odds with certain democratic principles such as the principle of popular choice."45

If the MMD government had a mind to meet its international commitments, there is little administrative machinery to address gender issues. In August 1992 an NGO delegation went to see the President to remind him of the government's commitment, under the 1985 UN Forward Looking Strategies, to establish national machinery for women's advancement.<sup>46</sup>

No such national machinery has been established, but the government has made some response to the demands of the Beijing Conference. In 1996 the former WID Department of the National Commission for Development Planning was moved to the Cabinet Office, where it is now the Gender in Development Division (GIDD).

In response to the demands of the Beijing Platform for Action, GIDD has been responsible for coordinating the development of a draft national gender policy.

GIDD would be the main government agency concerned with the implementation of national gender policy. However, GIDD does not constitute the type or level of national machinery envisaged in the 1985 Forward Looking Strategies, which was re-affirmed and reinforced in the Beijing Platform for Action, and which the women's movement in Zambia has demanded that the government establish.

The present government position on gender policy remains ambivalent at best. On the one hand, in April 1996 the government published the draft gender policy, in May 1996 the Constitutional Amendment failed to establish equal rights for women, in stark contradiction to the demands of the draft gender policy. The ambivalence within MMD, is also reflected in government policy.

# THE DRAFT NATIONAL GENDER POLICY The Current Stage of Gender Policy Formulation

In view of current policy development, two different aspects of government gender policy must be considered:

The policies which have been drafted by the government's Gender in Development Division, as represented by the draft national gender policy, and their further expression in the Strategic Plan for the Advancement of Women;

The current operational gender policies, which exist only at the sectoral level, and for which there is no overall national policy statement.

The national gender policy is still a draft which has not received cabinet approval. It was drawn up by GIDD, in consultation with interested government officials, NGOs working in gender and development, and interested development agencies. The draft policy, and subsequent strategic plan, are the result of a series of workshops to consult the interested parties.

In this respect, the draft national gender policy represents a demand upon the political level of government from the administrative level supported by NGOs and other agencies. Since this policy is a demand upon cabinet, it is far from certain that approval will be given

This uncertainty fuelled by the fate of proposals by the Mwanakatwe Commission to guarantee equal rights for women in the Constitution which were rejected by cabinet.

# Main Aspects of the Draft National Gender Policy

The draft policy describes a national situation where women are discriminated against in all sectors of the economy, and in the decisionmaking process. Among its objectives would be to remove all oppressive statutory and customary laws and practices which perpetuate discrimination. This would entail amending the present discriminatory constitution. The draft policy also proposes a quota system of at least 40 percent women in all important decision-making bodies, including government and legislature.

In contrast to existing sectoral policies, this draft national gender policy constitutes a serious and comprehensive attempt to address gender issues in all sectors. The first part of the draft provides a fairly lengthy overview of the major gender gaps which indicate the lower socio-economic status of women. On the basis of this analysis, the draft policy then sets out objectives and strategies for a fairly radical programme of action to bring about gender equality.

The main policy outlines 23 objectives, the most important of which are:

To ensure gender equality in all laws, policies, programmes and projects, including the removal of all oppressive customary laws and practices;

To harmonise national policies with international and regional declarations, covenants and conventions on the status of women that Zambia has ratified;

To increase the participation of women in decision-making in the household and community, including a quota of 40 percent women decision-making positions in political parties, cabinet, boards, commissions and management boards controlled by government; To eliminate all forms of exploitation, abuse, harassment and violence against women;

To ensure that women have access to and control over resources and factors of production;

In terms of the criteria outlined in this profile, this is a strong policy concerned with increasing women's participation in decisionmaking, and control over the distribution of resources.

However, it is not without its weaknesses. One obvious flaw is that the detailed (though often inaccurate) identification of gender gaps is not accompanied by any identification of the discriminatory practices which caused these gaps, which include government policy and practice.

This creates serious questions about government proposing such a policy, and if government departments are the most appropriate implementing agencies. At the very least, this should raise serious questions of the appropriateness of the intervention strategies.

#### Main Priorities of the Draft Plan for the Advancement of Women

The draft gender policy was followed two months later by the publication of the draft Strategic Plan for the Advancement of Women, which set out the main activities and implementing agencies of the national policy. This draft strategic plan sets out five priority areas of action:

Reduce the persistent and growing burden of poverty on women and strengthen their access to resources and participation in economic structures and policies;

 Eliminate gender disparities in access to and opportunities for education, skills and development training;  Remove unequal and inadequate access to health and related services;

 Reduce the inequality between women and men in the sharing of power and decision-making;

Promote the rights of the girl child.

The draft strategy reveals a startling reduction of the radical objectives of the draft national policy in three areas:

The five priorities are not concerned with implementing any of the policy objectives concerned with the reform of statutory laws, observance of international conventions or removal of discriminatory practice from customary law;

The priorities do not include an area to deal with the central and pervasive gender issue of violence

Agencies Responsible for the implementing of Priorities on Women's Increased Share in Decision Making

against women, and harassment of women;47

The priority concerned with increasing women's participation in decision-making makes no mention of the quota of 40 percent women in high level positions;

The implementation of the Draft Strategic Plan is very much in the hands of NGOs, especially in the more crucial areas.

Ironically, perhaps the main overall problem with the Draft Strategic Plan is that it is lacking in overall strategy. As with the earlier Draft Policy, what is listed as 'Strategies' are in fact activities for pursuing 'Objectives'. The document is totally lacking in any strategic sense of the problem of using a patriarchal and discriminatory government bureaucracy to overcome discriminatory practice and to bring about gender equality.

Government

Gender in Development Division, University of Zambia; Ministry of Education, Ministry of Home Affairs Non-Government

ZAMWA, WFC, ZARD, WILDAF, YWCA,NWLG,LAZ, NGOCC, LAZ.

the second s	NUMBER OF ORGANISATIONS						
	INVOLVED IN IMPLEMENTATION						
AREA OF PRIORITY	GOVERNMENT	NON-GOVERNMEN					
1 Reduce the persistent and growing burden ofpoverty on women	16	12					
2 Eliminate gender disparities in access to and opportunities education, skills anddevelopment training	9	8					
3 Remove unequal and inadequate access to health and related services	8	8					
4 Reduce the inequality between women and men in the sharing of power and decision making	• 4	9					
5 Promote the rights of the girl child	7	6					

The only implicit sign of strategic sense is that, as noted below, much of the Plan's implementation is in the hands of NGOs. This may be a sign that the authors have doubts about the usefulness of government agencies or implementing the Plan. This question of strategy is considered further in Part 3.2.

# Implementation Responsibilities for the Draft Strategic Plan

NGO involvement, is considered in some detail (Table 24) which gives an account of the number of agencies involved in implementing the activities for each priority in the draft strategic plan.

The figures in Table 24 show that responsibilities for implementation are evenly divided between government and NGOs.

In the crucial priority four increasing women's participation in decision-making — the responsibility is more with NGOs than government agencies. The responsibility for implementing this area is allocated as follows:

GIDD has no independent implementing capacity, but can only coordinate implementation undertaken by the ministries. The university is classified here as a government agency, although it is a semiautonomous parastatal, and not directly under the direction of government.

This shows that the draft strategic plan is weaker than the draft policy in increasing women's participation in decision-making since NGOs, rather than government, are mainly responsible for implementation.

Furthermore, enforcing a 40 percent quota of women in top-level decision-making positions would undoubtedly require statutory provision —probably by constitutional amendment. But in the draft strategy, the Ministry of Legal Affairs is not mentioned as an implementing agency, nor is there any mention of the 40 percent quota.

The strategic plan does not specifically mention decision-making positions in government, cabinet, or political parties, instead it refers to all spheres of life. The strategic plan is merely concerned with such activities as drawing up guidelines, creating awareness, gender training, lobbying and disseminating information.

#### Ideology and Politics in Gender Policy Formulation

The above analysis show some weakness in the present national gender policy: These are: The National Gender Policy remains as a draft, and is now very overdue for Cabinet consideration;

There is a 'watering' down between the Draft Policy and the Draft Plan;

The implementation of national gender policy is overly reliant on NGOs, rather than key government agencies;

The recent history of slow progress by government, which is still continuing, in establishing a national gender policy, and in establishing the national machinery to implement such a policy (Part 3.).

The weaknesses of the present national gender policy are symptomatic of policy development driven by NGOs and international development agencies, rather than by government. It is the development agencies who funded the policy formulation process, and who seem to provide the main impetus. These NGOs and development agencies now have - in varying degrees - strong policies on gender equality. These policies have been influenced by the commitment to women's empowerment in the 1985 UN Forward Looking Strategies, and are currently in the process of

being strengthened following the more comprehensive statement of the 1995 Beijing declaration and Platform for Action.

Clearly, this policy formulation needs to be understood within the context of ideological conflict. If the government has published an explicit draft gender policy, there is equally an implicit gender policy which has always existed within the context of patriarchal culture and ideology in Zambia.

Since, in practice, patriarchal values lie at the heart of Zambian culture which extends firmly into the national political domain, male decision-making is a mere extension of domestic and conjugal domination. This is why a national policy on gender equality undoubtedly threatens the tradition of male supremacy, both in government and household.

In this situation, the NGO-driven draft national gender policy stands in opposition to the government's implicit interest in maintaining the status quo.

The government is heavily dependent on donor funds not only for its development programmes, but also budget supplementation and balance of payments support. With this need for donor-funding, it could be expected that the government would be obliged to go along with a watered-down gender policy to some extent. It could also be expected that the policy will fade away at the implementation stage in the hands of government agencies. Such developments are signs of the ideological conflict and reluctance which underlies the policy itself.

Development agencies and NGOs need to face this conflict. It is inadequate to proceed with any enthusiasm for a new policy, and where no consensus exists. It is no use developing a strategy dependent on constitutional and legal reform, when it has not the slightest prospect of being passed by a solid male and patriarchal majority in parliament.

There is a need to identify any small pockets of support for gender policies which exist within government, at both the political and administrative levels. Where there is opposition to gender policies within government, there is a need to identify and develop counter strategies to obstructionism.

#### Assessment of Seriousness of Draft National Gender Policy

The figures in Table 25 provide the overall assessment of the level of seriousness of the draft national gender policy. It looks at policy in terms of the seven sectoral divisions used in this Profile.

The Seriousness Index (SI) is detailed in the Introduction. For each sectoral division, Table 25 looks at the following aspects of policy intention:

- P is assessment of policy principles;
- I is assessment of level of identification of gender issues;
- G is assessment of policy goals;
- O is assessment of organisa tional capacity to pursue policy;
- H is assessment of human resources to pursue policy;
- A is assessment of current actions to address gender issues.

Here P, I and G are made from the authors' reading of the draft national gender policy. O and H is made from the authors' assessment of the implementation capacity of government institutions (although NGOs are also involved).

These figures show an overall assessment of the Seriousness

Table 26

Index of between three and four (on a six-point scale), which is a high assessment for a gender policy.

The authors' assessment shows very little variation between sectors. The main variation is between the different aspects of policy, which is mainly a full 4/4 for policy principles and goals, but tailing away to 1/4 for human resources and action. This lower rating of action is mainly due to the fact that this is still a draft policy, and therefore the main action so far has been the process of policy formulation.

There is also the authors' judgement that the actions suggested in the draft are rather more faint than the goals suggested in the policy. There must also be an overall low assessment of the ability of government departments' capacity to implement the policy, ranking the organisation and resources also low.

The assessment puts a consistent 3/4 for the seriousness of the identification of gender issues. This falls short of a maximum 4/4 because of the failure to identify obstacles within the government bureaucracy, especially in terms of the gender discrimination which is part of government administrative practice.

Figures from Table 25 provide the basis for the gender profile of seriousness of policy intention in Table 28.

# CURRENT GENDER POLICY Overall Government Policy

The previous section assessed the seriousness of the draft gender policy. This section now looks at the present policy position. Even if the draft does gain approval, it may be some time before current government policy is shifted in the more positive direction indicated in the draft policy.

	SERIC	)US	NES	SO	F PC	DLICY I	NTENTION
SECTOR	Р	I	G	0	Н	А	SI
ECONOMY	4	3	4	2	1	1	3.75
POLITICS AND POWER	4	3	4	2	1	1	3.75
SOCIAL STRUCTURES	4	3	4	2	1	1	3.75
EDUCATION AND MEDIA	4	3	3	2	1	1	3.50
ENVIRONMENT	3	3	2	2	1	1	3.00
HEALTH	4	3	4	2	1	1	3.75
VIOLENCE AND CONFLICT	4	3	4	2	1	1	3.75
Key:							
P = Policy Principles; I = Identification of Ce Human Resources; A = Actions to address geno						= Organisa	tion Capacity; H

ENVIRONMENT 1 1 1 (		SERIO	OU!	SNE	SS (	OF F	POLI	ICY IN	TENTION
POLITICS AND POWER         1 <th1< th="">         1         <th1< th=""></th1<></th1<>	CTORAL POLICY		Ρ	1	G	0	н	A	SI
SOCIAL STRUCTURES         2         2         1         1           EDUCATION         3         3         3         2           MEDIA         0         0         1         0           ENVIRONMENT         1         1         1         1	ONOMY		2	2	2	1	1	1	2.25
EDUCATION         3         3         3         2           MEDIA         0         0         1         0           ENVIRONMENT         1         1         1         1	DLITICS AND POWER		1	1	1	1	2	2	1.25
MEDIA 0 0 1 0 ENVIRONMENT 1 1 0	OCIAL STRUCTURES		2	2	1	1	1	1	1.50
ENVIRONMENT 1 1 1 (	DUCATION		3	3	3	2	2	2	2.75
	EDIA		0	0	1	0	0	1	0.50
	VIRONMENT		1	-1	1	0	0	0	0.75
HEALIH 1 0 0	EALTH		1	0	0	1	1	0	0.75
VIOLENCE AND CONFLICT 1 1 1 1	OLENCE AND CONFLICT		1	1	1	1	1	1	1.50

SOURCE: ZARD, 1998

This present position is that there is little or no current government intention to address gender issues. In terms of overall national policy, there is simply nothing there. All that exists is some small mention of gender issues in some of the sectoral policies. Therefore, by comparison with authors' overall assessment of the draft, the assessment of current policy is shown in Table 26.

Assessment of Seriousness of

Clearly the authors have given a low assessment to government gender policy in almost all sectors. Compared with Table 25, it is clear the draft is much stronger than present policy in almost all sectors. Only in the economy (especially wage employment, and agriculture) and in education (school enrolment) does current policy come close to matching what is proposed in the draft gender policy. In three sectors the seriousness of government gender policy is assessed with less than one on a six-point scale — somewhere between negligible and invisible.

The attempt at an overall assessment in Table 26 provides a summation of the more detailed assessment in Table 28. In that table current government policy is assessed by sub-sector. Therefore the gender profile of policy provides the detailed topography which has been summarised and evened out in Table 26.

For example, education policy is given an overall 2.75 in Table 26, but Table 28, with its more detailed sub-sectoral assessment, is able to distinguish between gender policy in the area of primary and secondary enrolment (4.5), and at the level of university enrolment (1.5).

# Administrative Capacity to Implement Gender Oriented Policies

If adequate national machinery for women's advancement were to be established, and if the National Gender Policy were to be finally approved, it is difficult to see how such a policy could be implemented through the existing line ministries and departments.

Government departments tend to have their own internal difficulties in implementing policies which entail gender equality. The current male domination of most sections of the civil service is one reason which tends to contribute towards a lack of interest in principles of gender equality in the provision of government services.

Some government departments are overtly discriminatory in their pro-

public vision of services. Sometimes this is overt discrimination, as in the case of the Passport Office which has invented its own rules and regulations to discriminate against women. More often it is passive discrimination, where mere lack of action on women's rights mean that customary discrimination continues. The prime example of the latter is the reluctance of the police and courts to take action on various forms of violence against women.

In other words, in the area of gender issues, we have to realise that a government department is not only an agency which can contribute to the solution of the problem, but it is also very often part of the problem. If and when there is an impetus for women's advancement at the political level of government, then resistance at the administrative level must certainly be expected to come to the fore as an obstacle to policy implementation.

## Policy on the Economy

At the level of gender principles, there is a variable picture in economic life. The Employment Act does not allow discrimination against women in access to employment, and has been removed from earlier statutes. Ostensibly the Employment Act provides for equal pay for equal work. However, gender discrimination remains in an employee's right to housing.

The Ministry of Agriculture has not established a gender-oriented policy, but it does include a gender unit. The main purpose of this unit, initiated by donor support (1982-1993), seems to be to ensure that agricultural development projects are sensitive to the different social and economic location of women, and to ensure gender equality in access to resources.

However, women's larger labour force and smaller productivity in agriculture are linked to underlying structural inequalities, notably in access to land and right to own property under customary law.

Soon after the Land Act came into effect in 1996, the Ministry of Lands drew up a draft land policy document which put gender issues as one of its specific objectives regarding imbalance in access to State land. But, surprisingly, the document does not identify the problem situation which makes this objective necessary. Nor does the document explicitly state how to end gender discrimination in access to State Land as well as Customary Land.<sup>46</sup>

If present customary law on access to land is not seen as discriminatory, traditional chiefs will continue to uphold their custom of giving land almost entirely to men and, only exceptionally and indirectly, to women through their husbands or male guardians. Particularly at risk are poor female headed households, which constitute more than 20 percent of all rural households. Such households are typically in food deficit due to lack of access to agricultural land.

It is often doubtful whether economic policy is deliberately discriminatory. Rather, by failing to recognise any principles of gender equality, or by considering the gender differentials in the implementation of policy, it becomes discriminatory in its effects.

The most notable discriminatory element within economic policy is the structural adjustment programme (SAP), which is known to have a negative effect on the economic position of women, relative to men.<sup>40</sup> A major aspect of the IMF-inspired SAPs in Zambia is to shift government expenditure away from social services towards direct investment in production. Since it is women who traditionally have responsibilities in health care and child rearing, the actual effect of these policies is to shift social service responsibilities and expenses from the public sector onto the household, where the burden is borne mostly by women.

This shifting of the social service burden onto the shoulders of women who are already poor may be expected to have two automatic and inevitable consequences. The first consequence is the increased feminisation of poverty. The second consequence is the deterioration in the health status of women and children over the past decade. Even life expectancy is falling rapidly.

In addition, by removing government subsidies on basic food commodities, SAPs have vastly increased the proportion of the population living in absolute poverty. In principle, the Zambian government is supposed to have a social safety net to protect the poor from the worst effects of SAPs. In practice, the social saftey net would need to provide welfare for more than half the population, a huge amount entirely beyond the government's current resources.

The lack of a social safety net has been exacerbated by the government's unwillingness to devote anything more than US\$500,000 annually to welfare support.<sup>50</sup> This amounts to less than one percent of the government's annual budget. If spread evenly among the 50 percent of the population living in absolute poverty, it amounts to about 10 US cents per person per annum.

#### Policy on Politics and Power

The government has no current policy to increase the proportion of women in either the political or administrative levels of government. There is no guideline percentage, and no affirmative action. (The provision in the draft policy is therefore a completely new departure). To some extent it is recognised that this situation is unsatisfactory. However, it is apparently seen as a problem of women themselves, because "they do not put themselves forward". In other words, it is not perceived as a problem of structural gender inequality.

# Policy on Social Structures

There is no government policy to change the social structure to give women a more equal place. The 1996 Constitution reaffirms legalised discrimination against women under customary law. The policy seems to be to continue with all forms of traditional gender discrimination against women.

Similarly the recent publication of the 1996 Intestate Succession Bill indicates an implicit government policy to support and perpetuate the traditional subordination of women under customary law, even to the extent of passing some customary law provisions into statutory law.

This indicates a central ambiguity of the government's current policy position on women's advancement. On the one hand, the government signs international declarations and conventions agreeing to programmes for women's advancement, and publishes a draft gender policy which proposes meaningful action while on the other hand, legislative action moves in the opposite direction.

#### Policy on Education

Education is one of the few areas where government policy has recognised and addressed gender issues. Since the late 1960s the Ministry of Education has followed a policy of affirmative action to try to counter the high proportion of girls pushed out of the system. This affirmative action policy, which still continues, uses different marks for girls and boys at the selection stages of grades seven and nine. However, despite this affirmative policy, other aspects of education policy are discriminatory.

The 1994 policy on Gender and Development Education, formulated with support from UNICEF, is concerned with further measures to close gender gaps in primary and secondary education. The ministry has dropped its previous discriminatory policy of expelling pregnant schoolgirls. Instead the ministry now advises head teachers that young mothers should be given maternity leave, and allowed back into school, albeit at a different school.

The Ministry of Education is also working with UNICEF on support for the girl child, including programmes to convince parents of the importance of educating their daughters. The ministry has also set up a gender unit to work towards eliminating curriculum stereotypes.

The discriminatory practice of excluding girls from the two specialist secondary schools for science and mathematics has been eliminated since 1992 when they became co-educational.

However, it is at the university level where gender gaps are large, that there is a lack of government policy, particularly in science and engineering.

## Policy on the Media

Previous UNIP government established an explicit policy in the 1989-93 Fourth National Development Plan which contained three elements of a media policy:

 Eliminate sex role stereotyping and portrayal of negative images of women in the media;

 Give women easier access to information, including that of their role in development;

 Promote the fuller participation of women professionals in the media. However, the present MMD government discarded the UNIP governments Fourth National Development plan.

In 1992 the Ministry of Information drew up a draft media policy spelling out MMD media policies in a free market system. The policy is silent on the subject of gender. There is no concern with equal employment, the image of women in the media, nor with women's representation on the proposed Media Council.

However, an official announcement in August 1996 stated that a new gender-oriented media policy was being developed.<sup>51</sup>

## Policy on the Environment

Within the government's 1994 Environmental Action Plan, there is no identification of the gender issues which are intrinsic within the environmental problems, nor any identification of women's special and necessary role in policy formulation and plan implementation.

For example, the plan's section on woodfuel fails to recognise any gender issue.<sup>52</sup> The plan does not identify the role of women as the gatherers and users of woodfuel, overlooking the need to include women in the planning and implementation of programmes to substitute wood with other forms of fuel.

Similarly the 1996 National Housing Policy fails to recognise any gender issue, or any genderoriented goals. In the section on Current Housing Issues and Constraints it discusses Access to Land and Tenure without mentioning that women are discriminated against in access to land, and that almost all land is owned or controlled by men.

It also has a section on Housing Finance which fails to mention the

discrimination against women accessing credit. Under Institutional Housing it discusses employers' legal obligation to house employees, without mentioning the common discrimination against married women which exists in such housing.

# Policy on Health

While the Ministry of Health has recently established a Gender and Health Unit, it has no gender and health policy.

The recent 1992 Health Reform Policy is almost entirely silent on exception for a single principle which states: "Income-generating activities, for women in particular, shall be a high priority."

Since the Health Reform Policy is mostly concerned with introducing fee-for-service, the principle, perhaps implicitly, recognises that many citizens — especially women — cannot afford these fees. Since women are traditionally the healthcare providers, the reform places a bigger burden upon women, and is obviously a negative development as far as gender equality is concerned.

Furthermore, the Ministry of Health has no administrative capacity to organise income generating activities for women, so it is assumed that the principle is merely a token recognition of the gender issue which the ministry has knowingly introduced along with the medical fees.

It is difficult to imagine the purpose of the new Gender and Health Unit. Perhaps it is merely concerned with ensuring a ministry focus on women's special health needs, such as maternal health.

# Policy on Violence Against Women

There is no evidence of any government policy to prevent domestic violence against women. On the

#### Beijing brought to Zambia

Box 16

Women should unite and fight gender discrimination with one voice regardless of their political affiliations because they suffer similar consequences.

At a women's political workshop held at Barn Motel, former NGOCC chairperson Susan Jere said women are now realising that despite their different political affiliations, their problems as women were the same.

She said the dream of bringing together women from various political parties has become a reality and that now they will forge ahead and work together.

"We are very happy that our efforts have borne fruits eventually and that something has been achieved. Women from the ruling Movement for Multiparty Democracy, the opposition UNIP, Zambia Democratic Congress, Liberal Progressive Front and Lima Party were all represented at the Barn Meeting," she said.

The workshop resolved that there will be periodical meetings to discuss and make follow-ups on any emerging issues affecting women in the country.

Women's Lobby Group chairperson, Theresa Kambobe, said a new chapter has been opened for women politicians and every effort will be made to ensure they continue working together despite their political differences.

Kambobe said what the Lobby had been preaching about on women coming together has now come true and this will enhance development among them.

"The meeting was a resounding success and that is what the Lobby has always been fighting for. It is good to see women discuss together their common problems," she said.

Kambobe said that the women continued to be the least privileged and marginalised in the country despite their big population.

"Participation for women in national building is not just a matter of equality between men and women, it is a matter of Human Rights and a condition for social justice and should not be isolated in women's issues," Kambobe said.

SOURCE: Excerpt from The Post June 18, 1997

contrary, it seems that the traditional belief that a husband is entitled to beat his wife is pervasive within the police, judiciary and state.

A recent statement by the official police public relations officer that women who are raped bring it upon themselves received no comment or rebuke from the Minister of Home Affairs nor any other government official and there was also no protest from any political parties. Official comments such as this are commonplace.

# NGO ACTIVITIES IN GENDER ISSUES Growth of the Women's Movement in Zambia

There has been considerable growth in the past 10 years, in the number of NGOs concerned with women's issues, but especially in the past five years, with the collapse of the one-party system, adoption 1991 Constitution and the move towards multi-party democracy.

The pressure on government to adopt policies and machinery for women's advancement is a sign of the increasing number and confidence of NGOs working in this area.

It is particularly in the area of public action to claim women's rights given under the law that NGO action has been important. This is an area where government action has been lacking and where government is the main culprit in preventing women from exercising their rights which are given in law and taken back in administrative practice.

The Women's Legal Clinic (WLC), of the Law Association of Zambia and the Drop-In-Centre of the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), provide legal aid for women, mainly in the area of assisting widows in retaining their rightful inheritance. The YWCA has also established a shelter for battered women and is engaged in training police on the rights of women and how to deal with gender violence.

The NGOCC, NCCW, WLSA, WILDAF, Women for Change and ZARD have all been active in legal education for women. WLSA has published research on women's difficulties in obtaining their legal right to maintenance from the fathers of their children, and in obtaining their rightful inheritance.<sup>55</sup> ZARD has been involved in action research to reveal the extent to which women cannot obtain their rights under the law, and to assist them to do so.

There is male domination and interest within the established NGOs for the disabled, so much that in 1992 a group of concerned disabled women formed the Zambia National Association for Disabled Women (ZNADWO). It aims to develop programmes for disabled women, as well as influence longer-established associations towards an improved focus on the special problems of disabled women.

Arising from practical experiences of the inadequacy of the law, there is increasing NGO activity in pushing for substantive law reform. In 1994 the National Women's Lobby Group (NWLG) and other NGOs made a joint submission to the Constitutional Review Commission, demanding that the Constitution should provide an unequivocal recognition of women's basic human rights, without any protection of gender discrimination in personal law, marriage law and customary law.

The commission subsequently published a draft constitution which would have made unconstitutional all of the current discriminatory practices under customary law. However, the government's 1996 Constitution Amendment Act ignored this recommendation from the commission and retained the same gender discriminatory provisions which were in the previous Constitution.

The present MMD government promised in their 1991 pre-election manifesto to end the discrimination against women practised by financial institutions. Since gaining office MMD has not taken any action towards meeting this commitment. As in many other areas, progress is only seen in NGO action, quite independent of government. In 1987 the Women's Finance Trust was formed in Zambia, and began making loans to female entrepreneurs in 1992. But this is a small beginning, and scarcely begins to tackle women's national need for access to credit facilities.

It is perhaps this flowering of the NGO women's movement which provides the best prospect for advancement in Zambia during the next decade.

Under a one-party constitution there is no place for non-partisan or issue politics because there are no parties, and all politics is supposed to be handled by the one legal party. During the one-party regime female NGOs were obliged to seek affiliation to the Women's League of UNIP, giving the party political control over the women's movement.

Under one-party rule NGOs existed solely to support and assist government development programmes, each in their chosen areas of concern. Any interest in the politics of gender had to be hidden within the surface vocabulary of welfare objectives.

It is perhaps only in this indirect way that the coming of MMD has facilitated a renewed national interest and focus on women's advancement. This new freedom of speech and association has allowed the development of issue politics, and NGOs now have a constitutional right to take an interest in gender issues.

However, one major lesson absorbed by the women's movement from the 1991 and 1996 General Elections is that patriarchal gatekeeping was the greatest obstacle to women's advancement and participation in decision-making processes.<sup>54</sup> The patriarchal gatekeepers are everywhere: in the home, at party level as well as

in aprovide and the set	Current Areas of Activity	1		Table :
INDICATOR		TYPE	SI	NGOS TAKING ACTION
Government Media: Top two Management Position		GG	6	
Independent Media: Board of Directors - Top Management		GG	6	
Credit for Women's Farming or Business		GG	5	ZAWA, WFTZ, VIS
Formal Employment   Agricultural Forest & Fisheries		CG	5	
	Production Related Occupations	GG	5	ZNADWO,ZCTU(Women's Committee)
Political Positions	Members of Parliament	GG	5	ZNWLG, YWCA, WFC, CWC
	Councillors	GG	5	ZNWLG, YWCA, WFC, CWC
	Mayors	GG	5	CWC
Decision Making: Defe		GG	5	
UNZA Enrolment				
by Subject:	Agricultural Sciences	GG	5	
and a sum of the sum o	Engineering	GG	5	
	Mining	GG	5	
Enrolment in DTEVT	Craft Technologist	GG	5	
Programme by				and the second second second second
Gender by Subject: Secretarial		GG	5	
Women killed by Husbands		GG	5	YWCA, WLC
Chiefs		GG	4	
Entrepreneurs: Registering New Business		GG	4	VIS, WFTZ
Average Wage	Urban	GG	4	ZCTU (Women's Committee)
Earnings	Rural	GG	4	
University	Copperbelt Campus	GG	-4	
Enrolment	Lusaka Campus	GG	4	
Short-Term Training Programmes (DTEVT)		GG	4	
Teacher Training: Secondary Level		GG	4	a manufacture of the second
Drop-Outs: Grade 6 and 7		GG	4	CHANGE AND A REAL PROPERTY OF
UNZA Enrolment by Subject: Vert. Medicine		GG	4	
Enrolment in DTEVT P	rogrammes: Engineering	GG	4	
AIDS Case in Young A		GG	4	SWAAZ, Tasintha, FHT
Heads of Household:	Rural	GG	4	HOPE, WFTZ, WFC, WILDAF,
				WILSA, WFC, ZARD,
Number of agricultural		GG	3	ZAWA, WFC
Obtaining title deeds to land		GG	3	ZAWA, WFC, WFTZ, ZCEA
	me in Rural Economy activity	GG	3	WFC
Decision-Makers	Cabinet Minister	GG	3	
	Permanent Secretaries	GG	3	
	Supreme Court Judges	GG	3	
	Ambassadors & High Commissioners	GG	3	
Drop-Outs From	Grade 1	GG	3	FAWEZA
School	Grade 2	GG	3	FAWEZA
	Grade 3	GG	3	FAWEZA
	Grade 5	GG	3	FAWEZA
	ubject: Natural Science	GG	3	
Enrolment in	Paramedical and Science	GG	3	
DTEVT Programme		1 march		
by Subject:	Applied Arts	GG	3	
	Business Studies	GC	3	
	Teaching	GC	3	
Government Media	Board of Management Board of Directors	GG	3	
		5-5-5-		

Women in Zambia

INDICATOR		TYPE	SI	NGOS TAKING ACTION		
Formal	Technical	GG	3	ZCTU (Women's Committee)		
Employment Category	Administration & managerial	GG	3	ZCTU (Women's Committee)		
	Service	GG	3	ZCTU (Women's Committee)		
	Total Formal labour force	GG	3	ZCTU (Women's Committee)		
Professional & Technical workers		GG	3	ZCTU (Women's Committee)		
Unemployment rate (un	rban)	GG	2	YWCA		
Heads of Households: Urban		GG	2	HOPE, WFTZ, WLC, WILDAF,		
			-	WILSA, YWCA, ZARD, ZAW		
Number of	Rural	GG	2	and the second second second		
Workers in the		GG				
Formal Economy Urban			2	ZCTU (Women's Committee)		
Formal Employment: Sa	ales	GG	2	ZCTU (Women's Committee)		
Secondary School Enro		GG	2	FAWEZA		
School Drop-outs from	Grade 4	GG	2	FAWEZA		
Staff of the Curriculum						
Centre: Education		GG	2	FAWEZA		
UNZA Enrolment	Education	GG	2			
by Subject	Law	GG	2			
	Medicine	GG	2			
	Humanities & Social Sciences	GG	2			
A WARD AND A STATE	Continuing Education	GG	2			
Number of community		GG	1			
Labour force in agricult		GG	1	WFC, ZAWA, ZCTU (Women's		
			1	Committee), ZAW		
Total economically activ	ve population by age: 45-54	GG	1	HOPE, NGOCC, WFC, WFTZ,		
and the second second second			16234	WILDAF, WLSA, ZAWA, ZNAD		
		all Hand.	1-2-4	WO, NWLG, YWCA, ZCTU		
	Ballin star in the second star of the	THE PARTY OF		(Women's Committee), ZARD		
Heads of Households:	Rural	GG	1	WFC, ZAWA, WFTZ, HOPE		
	informal economy: Rural	GG	1	WFC, ZAWA, HOPE, ZAW		
Formal employment: C		GG	1	ZCTU (Women's Committee)		
Illiteracy rate		GG	1			
Primary school enrolme	ent	GG	1	FAWEZA		
Teacher Training enroln		GG	1			
Enrolment in journalisn		GG	1			
Unemployment rate (N		GG	0			
	informal economy (rural)	GG	0	WFC, ZAWA, HOPE		
Child mortality rate		CG.	0	CBOs, PPAZ, TBAs		
Infant mortality rate		GG	0	CBOS, PPAZ, TBAS		
the second s	the second s			Construction of the second second		
		W	6	CBOs, PPAZ, FLM, TBAs		
Maternal Mortality Rate				CBOs		
	ths	W	6	CBOs, FLM, TBAs, PPAZ		
Malnutrition Adult Dea	ths	W		and a second start set at the		
Malnutrition Adult Dea Child Mortality Rate	ths	W		CBOS, PPAZ, FLM, TBAS		
Malnutrition Adult Dea Child Mortality Rate Infant Mortality Rate		W	6	CBOs, PPAZ, FLM, TBAs CBOs, BFA		
Malnutrition Adult Dea Child Mortality Rate Infant Mortality Rate Infant and Child Malnu		W	6 6	CBOs, BFA		
Malnutrition Adult Dea Child Mortality Rate Infant Mortality Rate Infant and Child Malnu Urban Malnutrition		W W W	6 6 6	CBOs, BFA CBOs, BFA		
Malnutrition Adult Dea Child Mortality Rate Infant Mortality Rate Infant and Child Malnu Urban Malnutrition Rural Malnutrition		W W W W	6 6 6	CBOs, BFA CBOs, BFA CBOs, BFA		
Urban Malnutrition Rural Malnutrition Calorie intake per day	trition	W W W W	6 6 6 5	CBOs, BFA CBOs, BFA CBOs, BFA CBOs, BFA		
Malnutrition Adult Dea Child Mortality Rate Infant Mortality Rate Infant and Child Malnu Urban Malnutrition Rural Malnutrition Calorie intake per day Assaults against women	trition (reported cases)	W W W W W	6 6 6 5 5	CBOs, BFA CBOs, BFA CBOs, BFA CBOs, BFA YWCA, WLC		
Malnutrition Adult Dea Child Mortality Rate Infant Mortality Rate Infant and Child Malnu Urban Malnutrition Rural Malnutrition Calorie intake per day	trition (reported cases) d cases)	W W W W	6 6 6 5	CBOs, BFA CBOs, BFA CBOs, BFA CBOs, BFA		

#### BEYOND INEQUALITIES

INDICATOR	TYPE	SI	NGOS TAKING ACTION
Survival rates 6 - 14	w	4	CBOs
by age range: 15-25	W	4	CBOs
Contraceptive Use (both genders)	W	4	PPAZ, FLM, FHT, CBOs Tasintha
Life expectancy at birth (in years)	W	4	
Population growth rate	W	4	CBOs, PPAZ, FLM, FHT
Number of AIDS Cases	W	4	CBOs, PPAZ, FLM, SWAAZ, Tasintha FHT
Rural Population with access to safe water	W	3	CBOs, WFC
Rural population with access to sanitation	W	3	CBOs,WFC
Survival rates by age group:15-26	W	3	CBOs
Public shelters for abused women	W	3	YWCA
New born babies birth weight	W	2	CBOs

amongst the voters, since only 14 out of the women candidates were elected (barely 2.3 percent), and yet the majority of the voters are women.<sup>55</sup>

# Areas of Operation of NGOs in Addressing Gender Issues

The areas of current activity of NGOs in tackling gender issues have been listed in order of seriousness, using the measure of Seriousness Index from previous tables. The indicators showing gender gaps (GG) are listed first, putting the most serious (SI=6) at the top, and least serious (SI=0) at the bottom (Table 27). It concludes with a list of the welfare indicators, again listed with the more serious at the top, and the least serious at the bottom.

The map (Table 27) shows where particular local NGOs and community based organisations (CBOs) are known to be taking practical actions to improve women's position, for each specific indicator. In other words, an organisation's area of practical action, and not merely its area of interest which may be contained in its constitution or manifesto.

There are clusters of NGO activity around particular gender issues.

There is a notable cluster of NGO activity around the very serious issue of gender gaps in political representation. This is in marked contrast to government policy (Table 28), which currently shows little interest in this area. But there are many areas with no NGO activity, perhaps in many cases because there is limited scope for intervention, and government action is called for, as in the case of university enrolment.

There is also a noticeable concentration of NGO activity around welfare issues (Table 27) showing some similarity to the pattern of government policy interest (Tables 29 and 30). This indicates that many NGOs are interested in issues of women's welfare, rather than issues of gender inequality.

Following below are some of underlying causes for the NGO concentration in less serious gender issues (Table 27):

Ideological Bases: Many NGOs have too long been locked into an ameliorating syndrome of women's concerns. Their work too often operates within the existing social structures, which are based on patriarchal principles of male superiority and male orientation. No questions are raised about the social principles which are inappropriate for the female members of the society. The social system is understood as a 'given'. On the other hand, the principles of CEDAW, FLS and the recent African and global Platforms of Action demand a more active approach - that of changing the social structures on which gender discrimination thrives, and the ultimate elimination of patriarchy, in order to foster gender equality and sustainable development for all.

♦ Gender Analysis Skills: NGO interest in women's rights and equality is often stated in their constitutions and manifestos. However, their efforts show very little results. This status is mainly due to the fact that many NGOs and their members need new and additional skills for recognising and addressing women's issues and gender issues.

# Role of International NGOs in Supporting Women's Advancement

As with bilateral government development agencies, there is a small number of international NGOs working in Zambia which are making a significant effort to support the women's advancement.

These NGOs are mostly based in countries which have more positive government development agencies which have all been active in supporting the NGO women's movement in Zambia. Particular examples which deserve mention are HIVOS, MACTH, NOVIB and OXFAM. In terms of funding, this is a limited area of support, since the big funds for development come from the UN and government agencies. However, this North-South NGO collaboration has considerable potential for the development of support structures within the world-wide women's movement, especially after the 1995 Beijing Conference.

# GENDER ORIENTATION OF DEVELOPMENT AGENCIES Theoretical Perspectives

It is in increasing women's access to factors of production that some major development agencies have a limited understanding of the problem of gender inequality in Zambia. The perspective is that women are an under-utilised human resource because of their relative lack of access to skillstraining, technology and credit.<sup>56</sup> The perspective is not inaccurate, but it is inadequate for a complete understanding of why gender issues are an obstacle to development.

From the limited access to resources perspective, the purpose of development is to increase women's access to the various factors of production. Given women's huge burden of fairly unproductive and often unrewarded labour, the developmental objective is defined as improving the efficiency and effectiveness of this labour with improved technology and skills.

Similarly it is considered that gender inequality in the burden of labour can be overcome by a more rational distribution of labour.

Where the developmental perspective is deliberately limited to an access to resources approach, it focuses on increasing economic effectiveness and efficiency, but stops short of interventions concerned with the underlying systemic gender discrimination which actually cause the gender gaps in access to resources. This approach is explicitly apolitical, and seeks to improve women's access to resources within the existing social and political system which is discriminatory.

The access approach can be used to provide the rationale for compartmentalising attention to gender issues within special women's projects. Using this reasoning, a devel-

77

The project officer may typically explain that a water project is not a gender project there are no gender issues here! opment agency, when asked for evidence of action on gender issues, is likely to point only to one or two projects concerned, for example, with increasing women's access to credit, or projects concerned with increasing women's income generation.

Some agencies do have clear policies which demand that attention to gender issues, including gender discrimination, be mainstreamed within all projects, however, such policies are commonly ignored.

It is inadequate to treat gender inequality simply as an aspect of economic irrationality. Although gender inequality may be irrational at the economic level, it is rational at the political level. There is a male interest in retaining control which gives more work to women, and more reward to men.

In fact new technology such as hammermills and boreholes do not necessarily lessen women's burden of labour. They may have the counter-productive effect of putting more control in the hands of men, enabling a more efficient exploitation of women's labour. If this leads to increased productivity, it is at the expense of women's rights, and is a process which women will — and do — resist.

In Zambia there is no evidence of any success from this approach. In fact productivity especially in agriculture, continues to fall, although undoubtedly includes the combined effect of many factors. It is not even clear that this strategy of increasing women's access to resources is even seriously pursued in project implementation. It may be more an element within situation analyses and project documents, rather than actual project implementation.

This limited approach provides a formula for a development agency to retreat from political and human

rights dimensions, as well as from their own policies, which require that issues of gender inequality and discrimination be addressed.

# Conflicting Policy Imperatives

All UN and most bilateral development agencies, now have definite, often strong, policies on women's advancement. These were put into place after the 1985 UN Declaration of Forward Looking Strategies of the Advancement of Women, which set out guidelines for women's empowerment, and for mainstreaming attention to gender issues within all development programmes.

In practice, however, there remains a tendency for development agencies to accept the subordinate position of women as part of a given cultural situation within which they must work, rather than as part of the problem which ought to be addressed developmentally.

A recent assessment concluded:

"Although women make up about 50 percent of the population, development programmes have generally reinforced traditional and cultural attitudes and prejudices which view women as housewives only, rather than producers. This perception has resulted in women and children of female-headed households being the most neglected, lacking access to land, capital and security services.<sup>37</sup>

There are various factors which contribute to this situation. The major one is the actual pragmatic policy stance of the agency in Zambia whose task it is to provide support for the government's own policies and development programmes. From this perspective, programmes are pursued where the agency and the government have overlapping policy interests. meaning that aspects of agency policy which are not a government priority tend to drop out of the picture.

# Concept of Fade-Away

There is a great deal of variety among development agencies. A minority of bilateral agencies are strongly committed to explicit and strong policies of supporting women's advancement and gender equality. The Scandinavian governments' development agencies provide the best examples in this category.

However, the majority of development agencies in Zambia have made very little contribution to women's advancement during the past decade. Evaluations by consultants who have had the opportunity to assess various programmes bear this out. One Zambian consultant who has looked at the operations of several UN and other international development agencies in Zambia uses the term "fade-away" to describe the lack of focus on gender issues.<sup>58</sup>

This is the phenomenon where attention to gender issues is written large and definite into the agency's development policy, but gradually fade as the policy moves toward plans, and plans move toward implementation. In other words, gender policies tend to evaporate between New York and Lusaka. Of course this fade-away phenomenon is not confined to Zambia. It is a global tendency. At the level of implementation, the project officer may typically explain that a water project is not a gender project — there are no gender issues here! — a defining statement which indicates the agency's gender policy has evaporated entirely.

# Effect of Multi-Donor Sectoral Programmes

Recent multi-donor sectoral development programmes seem to have their own potential for contributing to the process of fade-away. In Zambia such programmes as the Health Reforms and Education Sector Support are obvious examples.

Such large programmes tend to have one agency which takes the lead in drawing up the plan, and calling on various donors and development agencies to choose a part of it which they would like to support. In practice this gives priority and weight to the policies of the lead agency, and other agencies must conform to the overall plan.

A few development agencies have their own policies on gender equality, and adhere to them. However, this independence of purpose may become increasingly difficult if their country aid budget is increasingly swallowed up within multidonor programmes.

# THE WAY FORWARD



# GAP BETWEEN GENDER NEEDS AND GENDER POLICIES

A Gender Profile provides a comparison between seriousness of need, and policy intentions (Tables 28 and 29). The needs are divided between the need to close gender gaps (Table 28) and to address women's special welfare needs (Table 29). It takes the Seriousness Index (SI) for genderrelevant issues from Part I, and compares it with the SI of policy intentions from Part II. The policy profile assesses current government policy, as well as draft gender policy. Since the seriousness of gender issues within indicators, and the seriousness of policy were both assessed on a six-point scale, this Gender Profile provides a direct comparison of need versus policy.

Indicators have been arranged in order of seriousness of need for action by putting the most serious at the top, and the least serious at the bottom of the Gender Profile (Tables 28 and 29). For each indicator there are also the figures showing the assessment of seriousness of current and draft policy. In this way, the Gender Profile provides a graphic picture of the difference in the assessment of seriousness of need, as against seriousness of policy.

An overall pattern of the relationship between need and policy is revealed. The most notable aspects of the pattern are:

There are low-level policy intentions to close gender gaps, except in one or two isolated areas, most notably school enrolments;

The national draft gender policy is far ahead of current government policy in its intention to close gender gaps;

There is no policy focus on the most serious gender gaps. The pattern shows the reverse - where the need is more serious, the policy tends to be weakest. Policy intentions are more serious where the need is least;

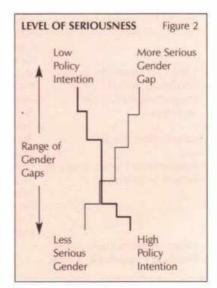
◆ A comparison shows that current government policy is much stronger in the area of women's welfare needs (Table 29), rather than in the area of closing gender gaps (Table 28). In the area of women's welfare needs, current government policy is more serious, and the need-policy gap is smaller.

# PRIORITIES FOR ACTION Identification of Priority Areas for Action

The Gender Profiles in tables 28 and 29 speak for themselves in identifying the priority areas for action and show a depressing and contradictory pattern that current government policy intentions are lower in those areas where gender gaps are the most serious as summarised in the diagram (Fig. 2).

This pattern is encapsulated in the paradigm example of the stronger government policy focus on closing gaps in school enrolments, when this area - relative to other areas - is less serious. Even within education, the policy focus is on closing gaps in primary and secondary education when, in fact the larger and more serious gaps are at the tertiary level - particularly in university enrolment, and especially in science and maths. (Whereas increasing girls' access to science and maths in secondary school may contribute to closing gender gaps at





# BEYOND INEQUALITIES

INDICATOR			ASSESSMENT OF SERIOUSNESS					
I LONG I GIN		V or	ANOLS .	and the set		00314635		
		GG	1	2	3	4	5	6
Government Media: Top two		GG	-			:		
	f Directors - Top Management	GG	L	-				
mount of Agriculture Credit		GG						1
ormal Employment	Agricultural Forest & Fisheries	GG						-
	Production Related Occupations	GG						-
olitical Positions	Members of Parliament	GG		-		-	-	-
	Councillors	GG		4				-
Mayors Decision Making: Defence force & Police		GG GG						-
JNZA Enrolment	Agricultural Sciences	GG		-				-
y Subject:	Engineering	GG		-				-
y subject.	Mining	GG		1		+		-
nrolment in DTEVT	Craft Technologist	GG	-					-
rogramme byGender by Subject		GG						-
eople killed by spouse		GG		-		:		
AIDS Cases Amongst Young People		GG					1.00-00-0	
Chiefs		GG		1				
ntrepreneurs: Registering Ne	w Business	GG						
emale Entrepreneurs Fundeo		GG						
werage Wage Earnings	Urban	GG				T	1	
nenge mobe mininge	Rural	GG	-		<b>--</b> -	-	1	
University Enrolment	Copperbelt Campus	GG		F			-	
since say enounced	Lusaka Campus	GG		1			-	-
hort-Term Training Programn		GG	-					-
eacher Training: Secondary I		GG				:	-	
Drop-Outs: Grade 6 and 7		GG		-				-
<b>JNZA Enrolment by Subject:</b>	Vert. Medicine	GG					1	-
Enrolment in DTEVT Programmes: Engineering		GG				-	-	
leads of Household: Rural		GG	1				1000	
Number of agricultural extens	ion staff	GG		1				
Obtaining title deeds to land		GG		1				-
Distribution of work time in F	Rural Economy activity	GG		ALL SAL		:		
Decision-Makers	Cabinet Minister	GG				:		
	Permanent Secretaries	GG				:		
	Supreme Court Judges	GG						
	Ambassadors & High Commissioners	GG						
Drop-Outs from School	Grade 1	GG				:		
	Grade 2	GG					11.00	
	Grade 3	GG		1000	1.88	:	1	
	Grade 5	GG		1	1221.01	-	he al	
JNZA Enrolment by Subject:		GG		200		:	1	
nrolment in DTEVT	Paramedical and Science	GG	-	1.00		-		-
rogramme by Gender	Applied Arts	GG	1	1		:		
y Subject:	Business Studies	GG		-	Transfer 1		-	-
	Teaching	GG		-		:		
Government Media	Board of Management	GG						
	Board of Directors	GG				:		
ndependent Media: Board o		GG	-					
ormal Employment	Technical workers	GG			-	:		
	Administration & managerial workers		1000			-		
	Service	GG	120			:		
	Total formal labour force	GG		-		-		
	Professional & Technical workers	GG	1.000				200	
Jnemployment rate (urban)		GG				-	_	
		GG				-		

Women in Zambia

	1000				Tabl	e 28 co	ontinue		
INDICATOR		ASSESSMENT OF SERIOUSNESS							
	W or GG	1	2	3	4	5	6		
Number of Workers in the Formal Economy Rural	GG				:				
Urban	GG			-	:	_			
Formal Employment: Sales	GG		-			-			
Secondary School Enrolment	GG	-				-	-		
School Drop-Outs from Grade 4	GG			-					
Staff of the Curriculum Dev. Centre: Education	GG		-				-		
UNZA Enrolment by Subject Education	GG		-						
Law	GG	_	-		:		-		
Medicine	GG			-			-		
Humanities & Social Sciences	GG			-	:				
Continuing Education	GG GG		1						
Number of community Development staff			_ L .		- :	-			
Labour force in agriculture			1000		1.				
Total economically active population by age: 45-54	GG						-		
Heads of Households: Rural	GG					-			
Number of workers in informal economy: Rural	GG		L			-	-		
Formal employment: Clerical and related	GG		-	-			-		
Illiteracy rate	GG		_		-				
Primary school enrolment	GG		-			1	-		
Teacher Training enrolment: primary level	GG	_				1	-		
Enrolment in journalism training	GG	_				_	-		
Unemployment rate (National)	GG		-	-		and a second	-		
Number of workers in informal economy (rural)	GG		-	-			-		
Child mortality rate	GG		-		:		-		
Infant mortality rate	GG	-			:				
Key: = Wele: CG = Gender Gap SOURCE: ZARD 1998			- NEED		CURRENT		DRAF		

university in due course, there are other steps, especially at the tertiary level, which ought to be taken.)

The Gender Profile shows that the most serious need is in decisionmaking positions. There is a huge need-policy gap of 4 or 5 among Members of Parliament, local government councillors and mayors. The equally large need-policy gaps in the top decision-making positions in media, police and defence, are almost certainly indicative of a similar gap in most public institutions and statutory bodies.

By comparison, there seems to be better policy intentions, and diminishing gaps for cabinet ministers, permanent secretaries and ambassadors.

There is a lack of policy for affirmative action to achieve a definite proportion of women in decision-making positions. The draft national gender policy states that 40 percent of top decision-making positions should be occupied by women, however any mention of this affirmative action is missing from the draft strategic plan for the advancement of women.

Another priority area, not quantifiable on the Gender Profile, is the need for constitutional reform. While the Constitution allows the subordination of women under customary law, women will be unable to take their equal place in society. In particular, it is difficult to see how women who are legally under the control of their husbands can assume any independent position in high level decision-making.

Finally, priority importance should be given to the special needs of

NDICATOR		ASSESSMENT OF SERIOUSNESS							
	W or GG	1	2	3	4	5	6		
Maternal Mortality Rate	W	-		1	: :	1			
Malnutrition Adult Deaths	W	1	1		1		1180		
Child Mortality Rate	W	2.50	4	1	:	1.0			
nfant Mortality Rate	W	1	a second	-		1	1.00		
Malnutrition Children All:	W	in the second		100			17/11		
Urban Malnutrition	W								
Rural Malnutrition	W	E State			:	T	<b>1</b>		
Calorie intake per day	W						1.5		
Assaults against women (reported cases)	W						1000		
Women raped (reported cases)	W	0.00							
Urban Population with access to safe water	W	1		04					
Urban Population with access to sanitation	W	-	a standard			1			
Survival rates by age range: 6 - 14	W	100	1 TO INC		and the second				
15-25	W		I Emmo						
Contraceptive Use (both genders)	W								
Life expectancy at birth (in years)	W								
Population growth rate	W	1894	1	1000					
Number of AIDS Cases	W								
Rural Population with access to safe water	W	1.1.1	I Faile	1					
Rural population with access to sanitation	W				1				
Survival rates by age group: 15-26	W		-				-		
No. of public shelters for abused women	W			A		-			
New born babies birth weight	W					2			

female heads of household. In terms of target group focus, it is rural female heads of household who are the poorest of the poor, and who are particularly affected by the discrimination against women in access to resources — especially credit and land. By the same token, it is single mothers who experience the most hardship in bringing up small children.

A focus on rural heads of household is not a sectoral focus, but would cut across all sectors, and could provide a focus for gender mainstreaming in development programmes in all sectors.

# STRATEGIC ALTERNATIVES The Central Problem

This Profile reveals the Zambian government's lack of commitment or determination to advance women. Apart from cleaning up some of the more overt discriminatory elements within statutory law, there has been little substantive action. The MMD government, despite seven years in office, still has no approved policy and there are serious doubts whether the draft national gender policy will be approved. Equal doubts exist about the government's will or administrative ability to put the policy into practice.

It is simply inadequate for NGOs and development agencies to behave as if the government has that commitment. Nor should these agencies blame lack of progress on opposition from traditional interests within the wider society. To do so is a serious misreading of the problem from which no useful strategy can arise. The central problem remains the lack of government will. Its policy position is contradictory and ambiguous, its practice is discriminatory and it continues to maintain male domination. There may be some liberal elements within government which might be mobilised towards gender equality but until the overall position is changed government will remain the main obstacle to progress, not the means to progress.

For these reasons the strategy cannot be to merely wait for government to take action. Neither can international agencies simply support government programmes for women's advancement. A clear strategy must be based partly on putting various forms of economic and political pressure on government to make progress on its commitments, while finding NGOs willing to make progress on implementing programmes for women's advancement.

As noted above, the draft national gender policy is curiously lacking in recognition of this central problem and therefore lacking appropriate intervention strategies.

#### Legislative Strategy

The limited efforts by the Zambian government to clean up statutory law is instructive. It reveals the vulnerability of government to charges that women are not equal in law, and its willingness to take action to achieve some semblance of international respectability.

Where a government claims to follow principles of equal rights for women, it cannot justify the existence of a discriminatory constitution and laws, nor justify lack of action. The existence of discriminatory law becomes a strategic point of leverage, where the women's movement can expect to make progress.

Pragmatically, it is a useful starting point, since equality in law provides a sound basis for further action by women to demand their rights, both in the courts and the administration of government.

National action in the next decade should focus on the struggle to obtain equal rights in law as the centre of a strategy for women's advancement. The focus should also be on women's rights under personal, marriage and customary law, since it is legalised discrimination in these basic areas which provide the legitimation for a state structure and administrative system which maintains the subordination of women.

Following below are key inter-related elements in a legislative strategy:

Amendment to the Constitution to provide unequivocally and explicitly for women's equal rights for all categories of law;

Reform of all categories of law, statutory and customary, public and personal, to conform with the equal rights amendment to the Constitution;

Use of test cases, publicity and women's mobilisation to enable women to claim and exercise their rights under existing laws;

 Identification and elimination of all gender discrimination within the administrative rules, regulations and practices of government institutions;

Equality of representation for women in decision-making bodies, with priority for the state legislature;

Increasing women's participation as female candidates in party and state elections at all levels as a means to raise issues of women's rights;

Increased mobilisation of the women, especially by non-partisan NGOs, to raise political awareness, issues of gender inequality and connect up with the world-wide women's movement.

The strategy must be based on a clear perception that gender inequality is intrinsic within the ideological, legal and institutional superstructure of society. Women's advancement is predicated upon a reform of the structure, especially within government.

Some of the goals of the draft national gender policy, especially in reform of customary law, and a quota system in Parliament, are clearly directed at structural transformation. By contrast, the much weaker draft strategic plan is concerned with action for women's advancement within the present social structure. In this way, current draft policy documents are ambiguous at a crucial point.

## Policy Development Strategy

If the government is to take the lead in a national policy for women's advancement, it cannot be led by GIDD. It must be led by the various ministries.

If the gender policy is ever approved, it must be the first stage in the development of sectoral gender policies. However, the draft strategic plan does not make this clear. On the contrary, it is drafted as if the Gender Policy is implemented by GIDD in association with NGOs and ministries.

Given the past reluctance of these ministries, and their existing discriminatory practices, there is need for a high level campaign and programme, at both the political and administrative levels, to push the ministries into formulating, adopting and implementing their own sectoral gender policies. This development must begin with a recognition of the main gender issues within each sector which should be the focus of policy goals and action. Each ministry needs to identify the extent to which gender discrimination lies within its own regulations and administrative practice.

#### Structural Transformation Strategy

Another strategic choice, especially for NGOs is whether to work within the present social structure, or challenge it. The question is whether women can advance themselves and gain equal status by action within the present denatory social structure or they must first struggle to relaws, beliefs, institutionadministrative structures.

Both strategies are essent some extent women have nities, although not equal. and der discrimination is worse areas than others. Some wome and do get to the top of alm the professions, and near the political decision-making po-

However, women in Zame still fixed in their subordinattion by a patriarchal ide which is rooted in the discrery aspects of customary law beliefs and practices still puthe body politic.

For this reason it is not surfor intervention strategies based entirely on educating enabling women to advance the present social system. Or there is space for enabling to gain confidence to make the of their present situation, he must be accompanied by strategy of ending discriminpractices.

It is this distinction between tramation and accommodation defines the difference between more radical draft gender polathe weaker strategic plan.

The gap between gender need policy intentions indicates the for soft options. This is interprea willingness to improve we welfare and access to rewithin the present social systean unwillingness to indiwomen's participation and corretransform the present social syste-

#### Grassroots Strategies

A strategic alternative to the down approach of policy dement is a grassroots strategenabling ordinary citizens to for gender equality. This suggests political mobilisation of ordinary women and men, to recognise the gender discrimination which they face, and to push for both direct action and political representation to ensure equality.

To the extent that government's position is ambiguous, divided, and contains different camps then a popular movement can use its economic, political and electoral weight to increase influence on the government and political parties.

These considerations point to a different and strategic role for NGOs. To a large extent they have to confront government's own involvement in perpetuating structural gender inequality, and to push government into adopting and implementing policies of gender equality.

# **Development Agency Strategies**

All of the strategic alternatives must concern development agencies. In particular, they must avoid confining their interest in gender issues to accommodation strategies. Instead, they should also support the process of social transformation. Being outside government, their strategic position should parallel the position of Zambian NGOs.

A development agency which takes the position that it is to support the development policies and activities of the Zambian government is inadequate, and overly accommodating in the area of women's advancement. In gender and development, agencies need to include: (i) action to push for government's development of gender policies in line with human rights and international commitments; and (ii) identify implementing agencies outside government that will be willing to pursue policies in line with their own gender policies.

In pursuing their own gender policies, which will certainly be stronger and more definite than government's, development agencies ought to consider the following areas of operation:

 Separate projects to support the process of women's advancement;

Action to promote structural transformation to ensure equal opportunities for women, and the end of discriminatory practices;

Mainstreaming attention to gender issues within all programmes supported by the development agency.

In the past, most development agencies have been content to rely mainly on strategy as a genuflection towards their own gender policy, and to disburse funds under the WID sub-head. In the past, these separate projects were concerned with increasing women's welfare and access to resources, and unconcerned with women's increased participation and control.

However, the post-Beijing era now demands an equal concentration in all three of the areas listed above. Moreover, as development agencies move into gender mainstreaming, this needs to be integrated so that all projects address the structural aspects of gender inequality.

It is no longer adequate to hide behind the phrase that a programme is gender sensitive. This term has been used to mean that projects should be implemented in order to take account of the different social and economic circumstances of women, especially that the project does not cause women's position to deteriorate.

However, the Beijing Platform for Action demands that development agencies do much more than simply take account of the situation of women. It demands action,

## Alliance Strategies

After the 1985 Nairobi Third World Conference on Women, NGOs interested in women's advancement came together to form the NGOCC, which remains the umbrella organisation for coordinating the national NGO efforts.

There is a belated need for development agencies to emulate this NGO initiative. Alliance-building is particularly lacking among agencies, which do not meet to identify the main priorities and strategies for a collective effort towards women's advancement.

It is anomalous that donors and development agencies can get together to produce collective sector support programmes in education and health, but have not done the same in women's advancement. This lack of alliance-building and collective effort may be due in part to restricted thinking, confined along conventional sectoral lines, and administratively divided by sectoral compartmentalisation.

Lack of such alliances may also be due to a lack of enthusiasm on the more difficult gender policy commitments. A collective development agency initiative on women's advancement is long overdue. It should begin by some post-Beijing pooling of policy priorities, and by identifying the priority gender gaps that stand as obstacles to overall development. These considerations may then provide the basis for an inter-agency national strategy and plan for promoting women's advancement, as an integral component within all development programmes.

The formulation and implementation of such a plan would form a useful task for the various WID sections within development agencies. These sections presently tend to be rather compartmentalised and marginalised within country offices. At present the pattern appears to be that they are overly concerned with spending money on a few minor women's projects in order to offload the WID budget.

A collective and critical appraisal of this Profile may provide the initial impetus for an improved development agency alliance for addressing gender issues in Zambia.

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#### GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT

A Declaration by Heads of State or Government of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) PREAMBLE

WE, the Heads of State or Government of the Southern African Development Community, A. NOTING THAT:

 Member States undertook in the SADC Treaty and in the Declaration to the Treaty, and in the Protocol on Immunities and Privileges, SADC not to discriminate against any person on the grounds of gender, among others;

ii) All SADC member states have signed and ratified or acceded to the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), or are in the final stages of doing so.

#### B. CONVINCED THAT:

Gender equality is a fundamental human right;

ii) Gender is an area in which considerable agreement already exists and where there are substantial benefits to be gained from closer regional co-operation and collective action; iii) The integration and mainstreaming of gender issues into the SADC Programme of Action and Community Building Initiative is key to the sustainable development of the SADC region.

#### C. DEEPLY CONCERNED THAT:

 While some SADC member states have made some progress towards gender equality and gender mainstreaming, disparities between women and men still exist in the areas of legal rights, power-sharing and decision-making, access to and control over productive resources, education and health among others;

ii) Women constitute the majority of the poor;

iii) Efforts to integrate gender considerations in SADC sectoral programmes and projects have not sufficiently mainstreamed gender in a co-ordinated and comprehensive manner.

#### D. RECOGNISING THAT

i) The SADC Council of Ministers in 1990 mandated the SADC Secretariat to explore the best ways to incorporate gender issues in the SADC Programme of Work, and approved in 1996 gender issues at the regional level to be co-ordinated by the Secretariat; ii) In execution of this mandate, the SADC Secretariat has developed and maintained working relations with key stakeholders in the area of gender, which resulted in the approval and adoption of the SADC Gender Programme by the SADC Council of Ministers in February 1997.

#### WE THEREFORE:

E. REAFFIRM our commitment to the Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies, the Africa Platform of Action and the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action.

F. ENDORSE the decision of Council on: i) The establishment of a policy framework for mainstreaming gender in all SADC activities, and in strengthening the efforts by member countries to achieve gender equality;  ii) Putting into place an institutional framework for advancing gender equality consistent with that established for other areas of co-operation, but which ensures that gender is routinely taken into account in all sectors;
 iii) The establishment of a Standing Committee of Ministers responsible for Gender Affairs in the region;

iv) The adoption of the existing Advisory Committee consisting of one representative from Government and one member from the Non-Governmental Organisations in each member state whose task is to advise the Standing Committee of Ministers and other Sectoral Committees of Ministers on gender issues;

 v) The establishment of Gender Focal points whose task would be to ensure that gender is taken into account in all sectoral initiatives, and is placed on the agenda of all ministerial meetings;

vi) The establishment of a Gender Unit in the SADC Secretariat consisting of at least two officers at a senior level.

#### G. RESOLVE THAT.

As leaders, we should spearhead the implementation of these undertakings and ensure the eradication of all gender inequalities in the region;

#### AND

H. COMMIT ourselves and our respective countries to, inter alia,

 Placing gender firmly on the agenda of the SADC Programme of Action and Community Building Initiative;

ii) Ensuring the equal representation of women and men in the decision-making of member states and SADC structures at all levels, and the achievement of at least 30 percent target of women in political and decision-making structures by year 2005;

iii) Promoting women's full access to, and control over productive resources such as land, livestock, markets, credit, modern technology, formal employment, and a good quality of life in order to reduce the level of poverty among women;

iv) Repealing and reforming all laws, amending constitutions and changing social practices which still subject women to discrimination, and enacting empowering gender-sensitive laws;

 v) Enhancing access to quality education by women and men, and removing gender stereotyping in the curriculum, career choices and professions;

vi) Making quality reproductive and other health services more accessible to women and men;

vii) Protecting and promoting the human rights of women and children;

viii) Recognising, protecting and promoting the reproductive and sexual rights of women and the girl child;

ix) Taking urgent measures to prevent and deal with the increasing levels of violence against women and children;

 Encouraging the mass media to disseminate information and materials in respect of the human rights of women and children. IN WITNESS WHEREOF, We, the Heads of State or Government of the Southern African Development Community, HAVE SIGNED THIS DECLARATION.

DONE at Blantyre on this 8th day of September 1997, in two original texts, in the English and Portuguese languages, both texts being equality authentic.

Republic of Angola Republic of Botswana Kingdom of Lesotho Republic of Malawi Republic of Mauritius Republic of Mozambique Republic of Namibia Republic of South Africa Kingdom of Swaziland United Republic of Tanzania Republic of Zambia Republic of Zimbabwe

Fourth World Conference on Women Beijing, China, 4-15 September 1995

# BEIJING DECLARATION

1. We, the Governments participating in the Fourth World Conference on Women,

2. Gathered here in Beijing in September 1995, the year of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations,

3. Determined to advance the goals of equality, development and peace for all women everywhere in the interest of all humanity,

4. Acknowledging the voices of all women everywhere and taking note of the diversity of women and their roles and circumstances, honouring the women who paved the way and inspired by the hope present in the world's youth,

5. Recognize that the status of women has advanced in some important respects in the past decade but that progress has been uneven, inequalities between women and men have persisted and major obstacles remain, with serious consequences for the well-being of all people,

6. Also recognise that this situation is exacerbated by the increasing poverty that is affecting the lives of the majority of the world's people, in particular women and children, with origins in both the national and international domains,

7. Dedicate ourselves unreservedly to addressing these constraints and obstacles and thus enhancing further the advancement and empowerment of women all over the world, and agree that this requires urgent action in the spirit of determination, hope, cooperation and solidarity, now and carry us forward into the next century.

#### We reaffirm our commitment to:

8. The equal rights and inherent human dignity of women and men and other purposes and principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international human rights instruments, in particular the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women and Convention on the Rights of the Child, as well as the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women and the Declaration on the Right to Development;

 Ensure the full implementation of the human rights of women and of the girl child as an inalienable, integral and indivisible part of all human rights and fundamental freedoms;

10. Build on consensus and progress made at previous United Nations conferences and summits — on women in Nairobi in 1985, on children in New York in 1990, on environment and development in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, on human rights in Vienna in 1993, on population and development in Cairo in 1994 and on social development in Copenhagen in 1995 with the objective of achieving equality, development and peace; 11. Achieve the full and effective implementation of the Nairobi Forward-looking Strategies for the Advancement of Womer; 12. The empowerment and advancement of women, including the right to freedom a thought, conscience, religion and belief, the contributing to the moral, ethical, spirituand intellectual needs of women and merindividually or in community with other and thereby guaranteeing them the possibility of realizing their full potential in society and shaping their lives in accordance with their own aspirations.

#### We are convinced that:

13. Women's empowerment and their faparticipation on the basis of equality in a spheres of society, including participation the decision-making process and access power, are fundamental for the achievement of equality, development and peace;

14. Women's rights are human rights; 15. Equal rights, opportunities and access resources, equal sharing of responsibilities for the family by men and women, and a hamonious partnership between them are crit cal to their well-being and that of their farilies as well as to the consolidation democrary;

16. Eradication of poverty based on sutained economic growth, social development, environmental protection and social justice requires the involvement of womein economic and social development, equopportunities and full and equal particiption of women and men as agents and bene ficiaries of people-centred sustainable deveopment;

17. The explicit recognition and reaffirmation of the right of all women to control a aspects of their health, in particular the own fertility, is basic to their empowerment 18. Local, national, regional and globa peace is attainable and is inextricably linke, with the advancement of women, who are fundamental force for leadership, confliresolution and the promotion of lasting peace at all levels;

19. It is essential to design, implement and monitor, with the full participation women, effective, efficient and mutual reinforcing gender sensitive policies and programmes, including development polcies and programmes, at all levels that will foster the empowerment and advancement of women;

20. The participation and contribution of a actors of civil society, particularly women groups and networks and other non-governmental organisations and community-based organisations, with full respect for the autonomy, in cooperation with Governments, are important to the effective implementation and follow-up of the Platform for Action;

21. The implementation of the Platform for Action requires commitment from Governments and the international community. By making national and international commitments for action, including those made at the Conference, Governments and the international community recognize the need to take priority action for the empowerment and advancement of women.

#### We are determined to:

22. Intensify efforts and actions to achieve the goals of the Nairobi Forward-looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women by the end of this century;

23. Ensure the full enjoyment by women and the girl child of all human rights and fundamental freedoms and take effective action against violations of these rights and freedoms;

24. Take all necessary measures to eliminate all forms of discrimination against women and the girl child and remove all obstacles to gender equality and the advancement and empowerment of women;

25. Encourage men to participate fully in all actions towards equality;

26. Promote women's economic independence, including employment, and eradicate the persistent and increasing burden of poverty on women by addressing the structural causes of poverty through changes in economic structures, ensuring equal access for all women, including those in rural areas, as vital development agents, to productive resources, opportunities and public services;

27. Promote people-centred sustainable development, including sustained economic growth, through the provision of basic education, lifelong education, literacy and training, and primary health care for girls and women;

28. Take positive steps to ensure peace for the advancement of women and, recognizing the leading role that women have played in the peace movement, work actively towards general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control, and support negotiations on the conclusion, without delay, of a universal and multilaterally and effectively verifiable comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty which contributes to nuclear disarmament and the prevention of the proliferation of nuclear weapons in all its aspects;

29. Prevent and eliminate all forms of violence against women and girls;

30. Ensure equal access to and equal treatment of women and men in education and health care and enhance women's sexual and reproductive health as well as education;

31. Promote and protect all human rights of women and girls;

32. Intensify efforts to ensure equal enjoyment of all human rights and fundamental freedoms for all women and girls who face multiple barriers to their empowerment and advancement because of such factors as their race, age, language, ethnicity, culture, religion, or disability, or because they are indigenous people;

33. Ensure respect for interactional law, including humanitarian law, in order to protect women and girls in particular;

34. Develop the fullest potential of girls and women of all ages, ensure their full and equal participation in building a better world for all and enhance their role in the development process.

#### We are determined to:

35. Ensure women's equal access to economic resources, including land, credit, science and technology, vocational training, information, communication and markets, as a means to further the advancement and empowerment of women and girls, including through the enhancement of their capacities to enjoy the benefits of equal access to these resources, *inter alia*, by means of international cooperation;

36. Ensure the success of the Platform for Action, which will require a strong commitment on the part of Governments, international organisations and institutions at all levels. We are deeply convinced that economic development, social development and environmental protection are interdependent and mutually reinforcing components of sustainable development, which is the framework for our efforts to achieve a higher quality of life for all people. Equitable social development that recognises empowering the poor, particularly women living in poverty, to utilize environmental resources sustainably is a necessary foundation for sustainable development. We also recognize that broad-based and sustained economic growth in the context of sustainable development is necessary to sustain social development and social justice. The success of the Platform for Action will also require adequate mobilization of resources at the national and international levels as well as new and additional resources to the developing countries from all available funding mechanisms, including multilateral, bilateral and private sources for the advancement of women; financial resources to strengthen the capacity of national, subregional, regional and international institutions, a commitment to equal rights, equal responsibilities and equal opportunities and to the equal participation of women and men in all national, regional and international bodies and policy making processes; and the establishment or strengthening of mechanisms at all levels for accountability to the world's women;

37. Ensure also the success of the Platform for Action in countries with economies in transition, which will require continued international cooperation and assistance;

38. We hereby adopt and commit ourselves as Governments to implement the following Platform for Action, ensuring that a gender perspective is reflected in all our policies and programmes. We urge the United Nations system, regional and international financial institutions, other relevant regional and international institutions and all women and men, as well as non-governmental organisations, with full respect for their autonomy, and all sectors of civil society, in cooperation with Governments, to fully commit themselves and contribute to the implementation of this Platform for Action.

SOURCE: United Nations, Platform for Action and the Beijing Declaration, UN Department of Public Information, New York, 1996

Fourth World Conference on Women Beijing, China, 4-15 September 1995

# PLATFORM FOR ACTION: MISSION STATEMENT

1. The Platform for Action is an agenda for women's empowerment. It aims at accelerating the implementation of the Nairobi Forward-looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women and at removing all the obstacles to women's active participation in all spheres of public and private life through a full and equal share in economic, social, cultural and political decision-making. This means that the principle of shared power and responsibility should be established between women and men at home, in the workplace and in the wider national and international communities. Equality between women and men is a matter of human rights and a condition for social justice and is also a necessary and fundamental prerequisite for equality, development and peace. A transformed partnership based on equality between women and men is a condition for people-centred sustainable development. A sustained and long-term commitment is essential, so that women and men can work together for themselves, for their children and for society to meet the challenges of the twenty-first century.

2. The Platform for Action reaffirms the fundamental principle set forth in the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action, adopted by the World Conference on Human Rights, that the human rights of women and of the girl child are an inalienable, integral and indivisible part of universal human rights. As an agenda for action, the Platform seeks to promote and protect the full enjoyment of all human rights and the fundamental freedoms of all women throughout their life cycle.

3. The Platform for Action emphasizes that women share common concerns that can be addressed only by working together and partnership with men towards the comp goal of gender equality around the work respects and values the full diversity women's situations and conditions – recognises that some women face particbarriers to their empowerment.

4. The Platform for Action requires intridiate and concerted action by all to creat peaceful, just and humane world based human rights and fundamental freedincluding the principle of equality for people of all ages and from all walks of and to this end, recognizes that broad-baand sustained economic growth in the creat of sustainable development is necess to sustain social development and social tice.

5. The success of the Platform for Act will require a strong commitment on the of Governments, international organisation and institutions at all levels. It will require adequate mobilization of resourat the national and international levelwell as new and additional resources to developing countries from all available funding mechanisms, including multilater bilateral and private sources for the advanment of women; financial resources strengthen the capacity of national, subgional, regional and international inst tions; a commitment to equal rights, ecresponsibilities and equal opportunities to the equal participation of women and m in all national, regional and internation bodies and policy-making processes; and establishment or strengthening of mech nisms at all levels of accountability to a world's women.

SOURCE: United Nations, Platform for Action and Beijing Declaration, UN Department of Ful Information, New York, 1996











