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CYCLES OF DEPENDENCE AND INDEPENDENCE:  
WESTERNIZATION AND THE AFRICAN HERITAGE  
OF LUSAKA'S YOUNG WOMEN

by

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Abstract: Kinship relations of educated and uneducated women change in the passage from childhood to adolescence, young adulthood, and maturity. Socioeconomic and demographic changes have caused a widening of kinship networks and individualizing the uses to which the kinship network is put in contemporary life. Women who achieve economic autonomy change from childhood dependence to early adult independence to mature interdependence. Economically dependent women, overwhelmingly the poor and uneducated, remain lifelong dependents on blood kin. Brittle marriages and the absence of state welfare benefits ensure the survival of blood kin ties as the major form of social security for both educated and uneducated women.

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Kinship studies over the past twenty years suggest modifications of old concepts without changes in the basic structural assumptions underlying analysis. For example, studies of societies in which matrifocality is the typical form of family organization challenge the familiar contention that nuclear families are the universal, fundamental building blocks of society (Adams 1960; Murdock 1965 ed.). Network studies in Third World countries show that the predicted world-wide nuclearization of families under the impact of urbanization and industrialization (Goode 1963) has not materialized (Keefe 1979). Numerous studies of family networks in western industrialized societies (e.g., Young and Willmott 1957) suggest that nuclear families are not the core of western kinship relations, and that social scientists have exaggerated their importance to mythic proportions (Uzoka 1979). Network studies, though methodologically dynamic, tend to be based on the assumption of fixed structural units that themselves derive from genealogically specific ties. Even such an apparently structure- and value-free label as "domestic domain" is beset with difficulties.

Fortes defines the domestic domain<sup>1</sup> as:

The system of social relations through which the reproductive nucleus is integrated with the environment and with the structure of the total society.

The label "domestic domain" is presumably intended to circumvent the structural fixity of "family," and "reproductive nucleus" is supposed to avoid the ambiguity of "marriage." Yet, Fortes assumes a bond of sorts within the "reproductive nucleus," for it, rather than the man and woman individually and separately, is supposed to be integrated with the environment and the structure of the total society. The "reproductive nucleus," however, does not always exist as a unit in all societies.

One way to analyze status kinship structures dynamically is to emphasize process. Hence, Goody (1958) sees families as undergoing "developmental cycles." Gray and Gulliver (1964) introduce the dynamic environmental adaptation in their definitions of "family estate" and "inheritance." Family estate is (1964:5):

The processes by which the family exploits, distributes, uses and consumes goods and services in the environment.

Inheritance is (Idem.):

An ongoing process by which individual family members are allocated definite rights and obligations with respect to control, ownership, and exploitation of resources.

In this conceptualization, structural fixity in membership is assumed or implied, for it is the family as a unit of social structure that exploits, distributes, uses and consumes goods and services, and allocates rights and obligations.

Given the biological fact of sexual reproduction of helpless offspring, studies of family relationships would seem a basic necessity. However, anthropological research stimulated by the women's liberation movement (e.g., Schlegel 1977; Capland and Bujra 1978; Tiffany 1979; Matthiasson 1974; Iglitzin and Ross 1976; Reiter 1975; Giele and Smock 1977; Barker and Allen 1976; Rosaldo and Lamphere 1974) has shown that the world is ordered and perceived quite differently by women and men. Limiting analysis to men's circumstances, or to women's circumstances as perceived by men, has obscured our understanding of social stratification (Acker 1973), motherhood (Macintyre 1976), community studies (Frankenberg 1976) and kinship studies (di Leonardo 1979). Data are thus clearly needed on women's strategies in relating to their kin in order to study cultures in their wholeness (Quinn 1977; Lamphere 1977).

A new body of recent literature focuses on urban African women's experience in and attitude toward family life in relation to the economic resources of their societies (Hafkin and Bay 1976). Described are their experiences as young girls growing up in several different families (Sangree 1979; Schuster 1979); their experiences in school (Roach 1979) or as drop-outs (Robertson 1979), or as adolescents (Schuster 1979); their lives as adults working at careers (Fapohunda 1982; Schuster 1979, 1981, 1982; Oppong 1974; Lewis 1977; Gould 1978; Dinan 1977; Pellow 1977; Nelson 1978, 1979; Obbo 1980) and as housewives (Hansen 1975); their attitudes toward their children's future (Schuster 1979); their definition of their problems (Staudt 1975; Schuster 1979, 1981, 1982; Obbo 1980); and their perceptions of each other and the men in their lives (Mandeville 1979; Keller 1978; Bujra 1977; Schuster 1979, 1982; Lewis 1977) and how they are perceived by society at large (Wipper 1972; Schuster 1979, 1981, 1982; Wachtel 1977). This literature suggests that just as options for men have opened since the "winds of change" brought political independence to African nations in the late 1950s-early 1960s, so too have the women of Africa experienced changes in their options.

The similarity of research findings on the dynamics of perceived opportunity structures in women's lives is striking. As members of kinship networks and as actors in the wider social arena, women--from societies whose traditional cultures vary widely in domestic group organization and patterns of residence and inheritance and who live in different geographic regions, and have achieved different levels of education--have many of the same problems, ambitions and attitudes toward their situations, use a similar range of strategies, and are foci for the expression of similar social tensions resulting from the discrepancy between rising expectations and actual economic opportunity in their communities. Similar themes emerge in the literature: of inner contradictions in women's positions; of society's ambivalence toward women exploring new alternatives for self-expression; of men's loss of control over women resulting in severe conflict between the sexes (Remy 1975; Gould 1978; Obbo 1980; Schuster 1979; Sangree 1979).

This paper suggests that to understand the kinship relations of urban Zambian women and the dual impact of westernization and the Zambian cultural heritage, we must put aside many of our comfortable and familiar assumptions of variations on a theme of fixed structural units and of meaningful rules of inheritance, and focus more adequately on the individual.

To assume that we should study a fixed structure restricts us a priori, and possibly distorts the relations of men, women, and children in society. There is no reason to assume, a priori, that men and women marry, that a woman will raise her own child, or, if married, that husbands, who may or may not be genitors of their wives' children, contribute toward their maintenance. I would also argue that inheritance may not be a relevant factor in kinship relations. Poverty is deepening in some population sectors and there is nothing of consequence to inherit. Finally, I think we must consider the changes that individuals undergo in their personal development (Quinn 1977). The passage from childhood to adolescence, adulthood, maturity, and old age changes the relationships of individuals to their kin. Each stage of growth brings changes in personal needs and priorities, responsibilities and obligations, rights--of which the individual may not be fully aware--and privileges--which the individual may never personally enjoy.

So long as we insist that the family as a unit of social structure exploits, distributes, uses and consumes goods and services, and allocates rights and obligations, we will not understand the dynamics of kinship relations in some societies. Rights and obligations with respect to control, ownership, and exploitation of what few resources there are may not be definite. Instead of being fixed and clear, they may be ambiguous and fluid. The lack of fixity may make for dynamic process, conflict, and contradiction. There may be little--and sometimes no--agreement between the sexes and among the generations in many situations and contexts, as indeed Gluckman suggested long ago (1960). Inclusion and exclusion into the family may themselves be fluid and situationally selective.

Given these considerations, kinship relationships might be meaningfully understood in the context of how individuals use kinship networks in making decisions to achieve personal goals. Kinship relations may then be interpreted in the light of socioeconomic constraints imposed by the wider society, which give form both to problems and available options. Kinship relations may be analyzed by studying the strategies and techniques chosen by the individual to cope with particular situations. If we are to understand the nature of urban Zambian family life, the meaning of "westernization" and the cultural heritage of African kinship, we must, perhaps, reach beyond structure and look to ideology.

I would suggest that the essential significance of "family" in modern urban Zambia centers on potential freedom to request and be granted help and the potential desire to offer help and have it accepted on the basis of a blood tie mutually recognized. Specific genealogical tie matters but little, for if any kind of blood tie can be traced, it does not seem to

matter what the specific tie is. Thus, a family is not a specific set of inclusive/exclusive relationships that bind categories of people. It is not a husband or wife, because marriage has only a limited role. Family life exists independently of marriage.

Variations in personal fortune are such that role relationships within the family change within the help-given/help-received dimension. This fluidity is enhanced by the near universal absence of state welfare agencies. The position of children is particularly fluid; they move in and out of various households and are subject to widely variant socializing agencies in the streets of the towns, the gardens of rural villages, government primary schools, church boarding schools. Moving about among a number of different blood relatives who may not be related to each other and in different socioeconomic circumstances as they grow up, builds in children the strong feeling of "family" independent of genealogically specific ties with set, unambiguous roles with which these are traditionally, in anthropological theory, associated.<sup>2</sup>

Indeed, "family" itself is a source of ambiguity and ambivalence. Avoidance of families by individuals is too widespread in Africa to ignore in any theory of African family life; it occurs under many different conditions, and not just in urban Zambia. The returned migrant who wants to open a shop in a rural area knows the chances for success are less if the shop is located too near kin (Watson 1958). The unemployed young men of Lagos and Nairobi shun kin after a while (Gutkind 1977). Women run away from families when they are shamed by premarital pregnancies (Nelson 1978, 1979) or by barrenness, or when they want to escape unhappy marriages (Obbo 1980). Families can be seen as a nuisance, making endless demands of time and money, as interfering and destructive (Oppong 1974; Schuster 1979). Yet, however much an individual may want to disassociate himself or herself from kin at times, permanent alienation is unthinkable. Under these circumstances, it seems most productive to ask: How and why does an individual attach or detach himself or herself from kin over time? What are the forms of attachment to kin in terms of the society's resource base? What constitutes help? The complex texture of urban African modes of attachment to their kin must be based upon analysis of the individual and separate integration of men and women to the environment and the total social structure; access to resources must be seen as processual, adaptive mechanisms by which people cope with conditions imposed by society at large.<sup>3</sup>

In much of contemporary Africa, a woman's ability to support herself is increased, although not entirely determined, by education. Education gives a woman the opportunity to earn a secure income that is potentially available to an uneducated woman only at the price of great physical effort, and that is rarely as reliable as the income of an educated woman. The differences in income earning opportunities, in security of income, and in the physical effort necessary to produce the income, affect women's modes of attachment to kin. Modes of attachment to kin by income-earning women vary according to the stage of life and include cycles of dependency and independency with periods of interdependency at different points.

These shifts in dependence/independence contrast with the continuous attachment (dependence/interdependence) and hence greater vulnerability of uneducated women who earn either no income or one that is intermittent and just enough to fend off starvation (but not malnutrition). The remainder of this paper shall focus on the young women of Lusaka, Zambia, considering first, educated and second, uneducated women.<sup>4</sup>

### Educated Women

Educated women are defined as those who have completed a minimum of nine years of formal schooling plus some sort of advanced training, such as in clerical or secretarial work, nursing, teaching, or university studies.<sup>5</sup> The policies of the Zambian government to replace foreign employees with local citizens and to expand the formal sector of the modern economy ensured that in the decade following independence in 1964 new and unprecedented opportunities for upward socioeconomic mobility would open to young women. For this reason, the women chosen for the study were nearly all under the age of thirty. My educated informants took advantage of these opportunities, becoming the first generation of Zambian women whose position in society was determined by their personal achievements rather than by their relationship to men. The rest of this section focuses on shifting modes of attachment to kin as the educated women pass from early childhood to maturity.

Early childhood. Children begin life as total dependents. For the typical Zambian girl, the period of dependency is brief. As she grows, her relationship to the household in which she lives gradually changes from total dependency to interdependency. In exchange for physical maintenance, adult residents come to expect the girl to play a strategic role in the performance of household duties. Duties vary according to household circumstances: daily shopping, cooking and cleaning in town; drawing water in villages or shantytowns. Child-minding is, perhaps, the most strategic role of all, because extra-domestic adult activities are planned based on the assumption that a girl will be available to look after young children and tend to household chores. None of my 156 educated informants was excused from performing household chores as a young girl.

Further, none of my informants grew up in an isolated nuclear family. Fluid household structures were characteristic. Children themselves shifted households in response both to the needs of others for services and their needs for adequate schooling. Households themselves shifted in composition as kin and friends joined particular households for varying periods of time, and as households broke up and former members moved about. Parental relationships were varied. Of fifty University of Zambia (UNZA) female student interviewees,<sup>6</sup> 32% of parental marriages were inter-ethnic, thus introducing a student to a minimum of two ethnic traditions, and sometimes, when parents were themselves of mixed ethnicity, up to four ethnic traditions. Thirty-four percent of UNZA women's parent's marriages ended in divorce or death; twenty percent of these parents remarried after the divorce or the death of their spouse.

Fluidity of household structure was matched by geographic mobility. By the time they entered the University, students had lived in or visited an average of 6.5 different geographic areas (3 urban + 3.5 rural). In Table I the geographic mobility of UNZA students according to urban/rural patterns is shown.

TABLE I  
GEOGRAPHIC MOBILITY OF UNZA WOMEN

	Urban	Rural	Both (Urban + Rural)
Birthplace	38%	62%	
Early Childhood	16%	24%	60%
Primary Education	7%	52%	22%
Secondary Education	20%	58%	16%

Table II contains data on 48 of Lusaka's young female office workers. The comparison of "home" province--that is, the geographic region of Zambia in which the individual's ethnic group is concentrated--with province of birth and province of secondary school (since this is sometimes the occasion for parents to "introduce" their daughters to their home areas), illustrates the women's broad spread of regional mobility. Further, the comparison of residence in early childhood--before primary school--with province of birth shows that many women began their careers in regional mobility quite early. Finally, the calculation of percentage of women who experienced life in a minimum of two provinces in their youth highlights the mobility of these young office workers.

TABLE II  
GEOGRAPHIC MOBILITY OF WORKING WOMEN BY PROVINCE

Province of birth = home (tribal) province	60%
Province of birth ≠ home province	38%
No data	2%
Residence before primary school = province of birth	73%
Residence before primary school ≠ province of birth	27%
Lived or visited more than one month in two or more provinces	69%
Home province = province of secondary school	42%
Home province ≠ province of secondary school	59%

At independence, free primary education was made available to boys and girls and parents were encouraged--even cajoled--to register their children. Lower primary education was not universal, however, since mass migration to the cities meant a shortage of places in urban schools, some villages were a long walk from rural schools, and the cost of school uniforms was a hardship for many rural and urban families. Nevertheless, of a total national population of about four million, in 1973, 810,120 children were registered in primary school (Clarke 1976). Whereas in the past parents were reluctant to send daughters to school, by 1973, 49% of the pupils registered in first grade were female (ibid.). Although girls started school, it took very special circumstances for them to remain there. In 1973, the percentage of girls in each successive grade of primary school dropped until by seventh grade it was 37% (ibid.).

Government policy intended secondary education for fewer children. In 1973 there were 61,354 pupils enrolled in Forms I - V. Thirty-seven percent of the students in Forms I and II in 1973 were female; the figure dropped to 34% in Form III; and to 26% in Form IV; and picked up to 29% in Form V. In 1973, 17% of the graduating class of the University of Zambia (of 284 students) was female (ibid.).

Staying in school was not just a matter of individual luck (for example, not getting pregnant), intelligence, or determination, although these certainly mattered. That the drop-out rate for girls was higher than for boys indicates that there were greater social pressures on females than on males to leave school. Conversely, a female student needed even greater support services from society at large to create conditions that would allow her to remain with her studies. Among these conditions was a basic change in her status and roles in the domestic group. The errand-girl had to be transformed to school girl; from interdependency relations she had, once again, to return to dependency relations. Since she would likely go to boarding school at about the age of twelve, she would have to be released from her servicing role and would, in fact, become a burden, needing money for uniforms, transportation to school, and a boarding fee.

Adolescence. Adolescence was typically spent in boarding schools, that were "total institutions" in Goffman's sense (1970:274):

Their encompassing or total character is symbolized by the barrier to social intercourse with the outside and to departure that is often built right into the physical plant, such as locked doors, high walls...cliffs, water, forests, or moors.

Physically separated from family but normally able to attend school because of family support, the girl became at once independent of, alienated from, and yet deeply dependent on her kin. Because she needed a sponsor for her school expenses and a host for holiday time, a girl's personal kinship network came to be particularly important at this time. A sponsor was a blood relative who had both the financial means and the willingness to support her schooling, and who would mediate with her

parents to allow her to continue in school. Thirty-one percent of the unmarried office workers had non-parental sponsors.

An individual's relationship with her sponsor was essentially contractual: an informal agreement that she would eventually repay in some way the investment made in educating her. The "way" might be no more than her potential willingness and availability to help members of her sponsor's personal kinship network. The relationship is akin to what Boswell (1969, 254-255) calls the "dormant state" of an "effective network":

Links with the past members of an effective network may remain dormant unless activated by a change of circumstances. Nevertheless, at any one time the members of the social network are in the potential position of being mobilized to deal with a problem situation (his emphasis).

Thus, the helper/helped dimension of kinship networks was extended irrespective of specific genealogical tie and potentially involved wide networks of kin. At the same time, the boarding school experience was essentially alienating, for an adolescent was indoctrinated in values wholly different from, and often antagonistic to, home values. Schools were intended to be westernizing agents, and students were expected to adjust to a new cultural environment and new evaluations of the inferiority of their own cultural heritage and upbringing.<sup>7</sup>

Young adulthood. A young woman with a Form II (in later years extended to Form III) or Form V certificate was in a fully independent financial position because the Zambian government and private firms paid in-service training allowances and provided room and board to trainees. After the training program, a woman entered the world of urban subelites.

The monthly net salary of an educated young woman of subelite status--which averaged K174.24 (U.S. \$261.36 in 1976) among my single office worker interviewees--may have been more than her subsistence-farmer kin earned in a year or more than her uneducated female kin earned in their lifetimes. (Unskilled urban workers earned about K30 = U.S. \$45 net/month.) Thus, the subelite was very well off relative to the Zambian masses.

Two important processes operate in young adulthood: individualization of access to society's material resources is a product of participation in the modern economic sector; this in turn brings about individualism in income allocation. The combination of economic autonomy and a large surplus income beyond subsistence (food and rent) increases the sphere of choice. All women in my sample spent the bulk of their surplus income on personal items, mainly clothing. Their conceptualization of their rights and obligations in their roles as daughters, sisters, and mothers was clear to them: they had a right to turn to kin for help and an obligation to support them financially when necessary. In their tiny flats they hosted visiting kin and when the visit drew to a close gave them money. However, they avoided, as much as possible, financial entanglements--

borrowing and lending money--with kin as well as supporting kin. Only sporadically did they send money to the kin keeping their children, to siblings in school, or to an aged parent.

Young adulthood was a period in their lives when they wished to live the "highlife" in which leisure hours were spent at parties in the company of other subelite women and subelite (or preferably elite) men. Avoidance of social and economic relationships with kin of different generation and of different marital, educational and social status did not mean rejection of the idea of family, but rather individualization of choice in contacts. Social contacts between blood kin of the same social position, whose residences were within walking distance, were enjoyed with pleasure when they also shared similar value orientations. If, however, there was a discrepancy in values such that kin disapproved of each other's behavior, they too would avoid contact.

The mature years. Over the years as women advance in their careers, bear children, and become seriously involved with men--sometimes in consensual unions, sometimes in customary marriages, and, increasingly, in Christian marriages--their relationships with kin are resumed, broadening in scope and deepening in intensity. The years of independence end at marriage.

The earning power of men is normally greater than that of women, often including such fringe benefits as housing at a more luxurious standard than that available to women. Marriage therefore brings a higher standard of living than that possible for a single woman. The price paid for the respectable married status and its perquisites is a surrender of autonomy. Husbands have final authority over the allocation of their wives' incomes as well as the membership of their households.

The households may include children born of the marriage, children of the spouses by others, elderly rural-based visitors, friends of the spouses, and promising young relatives of either or both, whom the couple sponsor in school. Thus, the attachment of a woman to her kin once again shifts; with her husband's consent, she fulfills the expectation of her childhood supporters and in turn becomes the one on whom others depend.

Given a choice, many women prefer to remain in marriages despite disappointment over the quality of the relationship. However, they do not always have the choice, for husbands divorce or abandon their wives. Marriage is so unstable that women assume that ultimately chances are that they will have to support themselves. The enhanced position of the married woman is often only temporary.

The moveable property accumulated by educated couples can be considerable. The claims of kinsmen are most evident when a husband dies. When a husband dies intestate--a not uncommon occurrence--his relatives strip his house bare within days, taking the wife's moveable property and clothes as well. It is usually only top elite husbands who make legal arrangements in which wives can retain major properties such as houses and

farms. Perhaps long ago marriage was a process that truly marked an alliance between two unilineal kin groups in traditional Zambian societies, and customary laws protected widows and their children. No such protection is in evidence under modern urban conditions.

The vulnerability of the divorcee and widow, so widely appreciated by Lusaka's young women, makes them value their careers as their long range source of security. Although husbands can attempt to prevent their wives from accumulating investable surplus incomes, there are indications that Lusaka's young educated women follow a policy familiar to them in their personal experience of their African heritage: investing in children. Educated women, who as young single adults may have shown little interest in their young children and young siblings, become increasingly committed to them as they come to be of school age. They take pains to see that the children attend "good" schools. Even when a woman loses custody of her children after divorce, she will support them in boarding school if her ex-husband does not himself wish to do so, and she will continue to support them even if her new husband objects. The African heritage remains strong despite western style individualism, for women, like their uneducated countrymen and women, see their ultimate old age security in the support that will be given to them when they are too old to work. No pension plan can replace the human care and concern given to an aged mother by her successful, devoted child.

#### Uneducated Women

The need to analyze the individual and separate integration of the sexes in kinship relations in Lusaka is apparent in the case of uneducated poor women. Their various economic strategies for physical survival in the urban environment covary with their kinship relations. Their economic marginality in the urban socioeconomic system severely limits, but does not preclude, individualism.

Employment opportunities for the uneducated are extremely limited, in general, in African cities. Most people live on a bare subsistence level, engaging in a constant struggle to survive. Participation in the labor force is intermittent, emergency aid to kin takes precedence over commitment to a particular job. Insofar as they are able, husbands and wives maintain strong relationships with their relatives, helping and accepting help as circumstances require. Ultimately, security comes from one's own kin rather than from a spouse or a spouse's kin. For poor urban women, individualism, expressed as taking the initiative for self-betterment, is a last resort.

Uneducated women are defined as those who do not have sufficient schooling to enter skilled employment in the modern economic sector. Their options for economic autonomy are, therefore, restricted either to unskilled or semi-skilled work, usually self-created, in the informal economic sector, or, more rarely, unskilled employment in the formal economic sector.

Earlier in this paper I suggested that the "winds of change" increased options for women. Yet, many researchers suggest that the position of women has in fact declined under the impact of colonial and even post-colonial "modernization" (cf., e.g., Van Allen 1976). According to this view, the differential education of boys and girls and the differential involvement of the sexes in formal employment and in national rural and urban development programs and projects means that women are increasingly dependent on men for money. In contrast, under traditional conditions, men's and women's roles in production and the provision of services were complementary; the sexes were interdependent. The balance of power and responsibility shifted throughout contemporary Africa when men gained easier access to cash incomes than did women. Women's position, therefore, became more vulnerable and dependent.

While I would not dispute the accuracy of this generalization, I would suggest that it be scrutinized. Obbo (1980) maintains that under contemporary conditions in Uganda there is room for the play of individual initiative by women for self-betterment. To some extent the same is true for Zambia, although it seems less strong than in Uganda where the informal sector seems much more vibrant. Education makes self-betterment easier, but since independence even the uneducated have had at least the possibility.

In colonial Zambia women endured particularly severe handicaps. The prevalence of male labor migration meant that they were left in the villages. For years they were not legally permitted to migrate to towns, and only the most defiant, adventurous, and perhaps desperate and brave did so. Obbo considers the possibility of migration as an important strategic choice for a woman who wants to help herself. In the colonial period in Zambia, women in town found next to no opportunities for earning money legally. Exceptional individuals are found in all social systems, and there were individual cases here and there of urban Zambian women who managed to become personally successful, even under these harshly limited conditions. The majority manipulated their options by sexual exchanges, which Obbo shows is one of Ugandan women's important strategies. In colonial Zambia, because there were few women in proportion to men, women's services, a scarce and valuable commodity, were much in demand. Women could leave one man for another more able or willing to provide for them. Severely imbalanced sex ratios and low wages paid to men would indicate unhealthy social conditions. The main sexual option available to migrant women under colonial conditions must be considered in this light.

The increased migration of women to town, beginning in the mid-1960s, balanced out the sex ratios and therefore eliminated the option of playing one man off against another.<sup>3</sup> After independence, some avenues to economic autonomy for women, for example, beer brewing, continued to be illegal. National political leaders, however, constantly exhorted women to modernize, to help themselves, not to be "lazy parasites," but, instead, to work outside the home. The idea of a woman working outside the home became respectable, for the message of national leaders was received in the wider society.

In Lusaka at the time of my fieldwork, three main options were open to uneducated women: dependent housewife, trader, and cleaner at a public institution.<sup>9</sup> Employment as a cleaner was very difficult to obtain; there were always more applicants than places available, and only the most persistent and aggressive were able to find such work. There were more opportunities in trade; the growth of shantytowns generated new market-places with areas set apart for women to trade in fresh produce.

Although trading was the most common strategy for an uneducated woman to earn money, there were upper limits both to the scope of an individual's trading activity and to the number of traders supportable by an urban system whose major feature was mass poverty and underemployment. Hence, for the majority of women, the first option, dependence as a housewife, was the most prevalent. In contrast to colonial conditions, however, women came to depend increasingly on a particular man, thereby considerably increasing their vulnerability and need to maintain personal kin ties as a protection against abandonment. The following discussion of early childhood, adolescence and adult lives of Lusaka's uneducated young women compares the experiences of housewives, marketeers, and cleaners.<sup>10</sup>

Early childhood. The widespread availability of formal schooling in post-independent Zambia is reflected in the educational backgrounds of the urban poor interviewed. As shown in Table III, a not insignificant percentage of women attended school. Their problem was thus not necessarily lack of education, but inadequate education.

TABLE III  
EDUCATION OF URBAN POOR WOMEN

Years of Schooling	Occupational Category:		
	Housewives	Traders	Cleaners
None	30%	43%	19%
1 - 5	44%	19%	53%
6 - 7	15%	31%	22%
8+	11%	7%	6%

Eighty-one percent of the cleaners, 70% of the housewives, and 57% of the marketeers had some schooling. Since so many began school, the question becomes: Why did they drop out? Overwhelmingly, the women blamed the poverty of their families. That financial resources were scarce in their families is evident from a survey of their fathers' occupations (see Table IV).

TABLE IV  
FATHERS' OCCUPATIONS OF URBAN POOR WOMEN

	Housewives	Traders	Cleaners
Subsistence Farmer	39%	61%	48%
Laborer	58%	38%	48%
Skilled Laborer	3%	1%	4%

Most women claimed that their fathers (mostly farmers and unskilled laborers) were opposed to their continuing in school. Fathers who could afford to educate some of their children chose sons rather than daughters. When fathers could not afford school expenses even for their sons, some of the women's brothers found intermittent employment to pay their school fees. This was not an option open to the women, since the work of girls was unpaid domestic labor. Sometimes those who had no schooling said they were sent to help relatives in villages where there were no schools. Only three of the 58 housewives interviewed said they deliberately chose to leave school out of boredom or fear of teachers' beatings. Others left after failing.

The dependency relations of a girl's kin on her labor is implied by mothers' income-earning activity. Among my informants, 52% of the housewives' mothers worked, while only 38% of the cleaners and 15% of the traders did. These figures suggest that the girl's domestic services freed their mothers to work. Mother's work seems to have limited the chances of young housewives to attempt entry into the labor force. That so few mothers of young traders worked seems to suggest the opposite: that daughters of non-working mothers sought income earning opportunities. The fact that so few traders' mothers worked may have been an inducement to their daughters to try their hand at trading, since their mothers were not a potential source of financial help. In contrast, mothers needed help from their marketeer daughters.<sup>11</sup> The mean age of housewives was 23 and of traders, 25. Cleaners, whose mean age was 30 years, were at a more advanced stage of the life cycle and had more children<sup>12</sup>, a longer history of relationships with men, and more responsibilities. That both they and their mothers showed greater economic autonomy relative to each other is therefore consistent.

Earlier I suggested that the high degree of geographic mobility of educated women put them in touch with a large network of kin. In Table V the geographic mobility (in early childhood) of one category of educated women, university students, and the three categories of urban poor is compared.

TABLE V  
WOMEN'S GEOGRAPHIC MOBILITY

	Housewives			Traders			Cleaners			UNZA Students		
	Urban	Rural	Both	Urban	Rural	Both	Urban	Rural	Both	Urban	Rural	Both
Birth- place	30%	70%		17%	83%		17%	83%		38%	62%	
Early Child- hood	14%	47%	39%	38%	54%	8%	15%	53%	32%	16%	24%	60%

A number of interesting patterns are suggested by Table V. In all categories, the majority of young women were rural born. Many spent their youth shuttling back and forth between town and countryside. Proportionally more educated women experienced shuttling, suggesting the enthusiasm

of kin to see that they were placed in "good" schools. But, considerable numbers of housewives and cleaners shuttled as well. They moved either because of the death or divorce of parents, or because their services were needed in a particular household. Urban-born housewives were sent to rural relatives; urban-born students to rural schools. Rural-born traders and cleaners were sent to urban relatives. It would seem that once in town, traders were less inclined to shuttle, which may explain how they developed the know-how to direct their energies to trade as they entered young adulthood.

The kinship relations of uneducated women in early childhood seemed to be characterized by interdependency. That is, the girl was physically dependent on grandparents, parents, older siblings, or siblings of parents for the basic necessities of food, clothing and shelter. At the same time, members of the households in which she lived depended on her domestic labor.

Adolescence and young adulthood. Adolescence and young adulthood are less clearly defined stages among the uneducated than they are among the educated. Unprotected by the "total institution" of the boarding school which uses drastic measures to limit contact between sexes, girls who leave school begin sexual experimentation after puberty, and within a few years start producing children, before or shortly after marriage. The adolescent years differ somewhat for the urban and rural dweller.

Many town-dwelling adolescents postpone marriage, being as interested in peer group activity as are their school-going counterparts. No boundaries separate them from exposure to the world of subelites; it is only the barrier of education that inhibits their personal life; they too hunger for the good things the city has to offer, especially the fashionable clothing which is such an important symbol of success in Lusaka.

Adolescent town girls live with kin until they marry. Since they are not rejected by kin when pregnant outside marriage, they continue living in relatives' households with their children. It is extremely rare in Lusaka to find young uneducated women setting up independent households, supporting themselves and their children as has been reported elsewhere in Africa where premarital pregnancy ruins a girl's chances for a respectable marriage (Nelson 1978, 1979). Nor do they tend to give their children to others to raise as do some educated single women.<sup>13</sup>

There is conflict of interest between a town adolescent and her guardian. It is the guardian's responsibility to prevent the girl from having sexual encounters outside marriage. But sexual encounters may be the girl's only means of obtaining prized clothing or money. Even if she assists her guardian in a shop or market stall, or joins a relative's household to serve as cook/nanny, any money she receives for her labor is a function of the generosity and good will of her guardian, not something due her as payment for her work. Therefore her main access to money is through relationships with boyfriends.<sup>14</sup> Upon impregnating a girl, a boyfriend is required by customary law to pay "damages." This cash payment is made to her guardian rather than to the girl herself.

In contrast to the town dweller, the rural adolescent anticipates marriage. Young men in town write to elders at home to find wives for them. Elders write back when they have located a suitable adolescent girl. She and her family agree to meet the young man, and, if the young couple find each other congenial, they marry under customary law and migrate to town. Lacking such marriage prospects, some rural adolescent girls migrate alone to town, joining the households of kin until marriage. Adolescence for poor women is associated with marriage and migration.<sup>15</sup>

Among the housewives in my sample, 33% came to Lusaka at the time of marriage. Among these women, 86% married in their teen years, 23% immediately after puberty, and 63% later in their teens. Of the cleaners, 52% migrated with a husband and 14% came to Lusaka to live with a relative.<sup>16</sup> By the age of 18, most uneducated women had borne their first child.

The early married years of young couples are characterized by interdependency with kin. Since the husband may be only intermittently employed, they may join the households of either the husband's or wife's relatives already established in town, live in a tin shack on a relative's building site, in a house temporarily vacated by a relative, or set up joint households with other siblings. Those husbands with steady employment, who eventually manage to build a house in a shantytown or on a site-and-service-scheme plot, host members of both their own and their wife's families; when lack of space does not permit all to sleep under the same roof, they eat their evening meal together. Within the shantytown where they settle, many have relatives on either the husband's or wife's side or on both sides. Nearly all have relatives in other areas of Lusaka. If the walking distance is not great, they visit or receive visits from relatives, the motivation for visits being mainly exchange of food, money, job information for the man.

The household composition of young married couples in a ward of Mutendere compound in Lusaka is shown in Table VI.

TABLE VI  
HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE OF HOUSEWIVES: MUTENDERE

Nuclear (Hu + Wi + Ch)	38%
Polygamous (Hu + Wi + Wi + Ch)	7%
Extended	55%
Ch of Hu or Wi living elsewhere (Ch of Wi by other men Ch of Hu by other women Ch of both with Wi kin Ch of both with Hu kin)	24%

The Mutendere housewives were at the early stages of their child-bearing careers and their major interest was in bearing children. In times of particular financial hardship, they sent some of their children to live with other relatives, keeping only suckling infants. Thus, they were able to live as dependents. Although a few earned incomes before marriage, nearly all said their husbands opposed their engaging in income-earning activity, fearing infidelity. One housewife sold beer illegally and another sold charcoal produced by her father on his farm on the outskirts of Lusaka. Others dreamed of working, but made no specific effort to find work.

As housewives, poor women are subject to contradictory social forces and values. On the one hand, they are expected to provide food for the members of their households as women do in rural areas where they produce subsistence crops. On the other hand, while nearly all housewives keep kitchen gardens and grow maize on the outskirts of shantytowns, in no way can they produce enough to avoid buying food. Rainy season kitchen gardens merely supplement the diet. Staples must be purchased.<sup>17</sup> Fuel too is normally purchased, for it is extremely difficult to gather wood in Lusaka's fast disappearing bush.

The central issue in every woman's life is to develop strategies for ensuring the physical survival of herself and the members of her household. The various strategies chosen by uneducated women reflect the socio-economic constraints and conflicts of the wider urban society. Thus, while the most common strategy is dependence on a husband, there are two problems with this dependency.

The first problem is that manliness is not associated with the role of provider to a wife and children; a man's prestige in the world of men derives from his ability to share the cost of nightly drinking with his peers and from the number of children he fathers, not the quality of life he is able to provide for them. The social interests of poor urban housewives and their husbands often conflict; women think their husbands should support their families, and while some husbands accept this responsibility, others do not. Wives use love magic (Keller 1978) to ensure husbands' support; they maintain exchange relationships with kin and neighbors, obtain credit from shopkeepers for food purchases, and in desperation gather whatever wild foods they can.

The second problem is the precarious nature of men's employment; there is a vicious circle in employment. Because men expect that their jobs are temporary, they do not subordinate social commitments to jobs. They may take off from work for several days to attend a family rite de passage in a distant place, returning to work to discover that they have been replaced. Few women have strong enough motivation to struggle to earn incomes if their husbands have steady employment and give their wives money for household expenses. But when husbands lose their jobs, fall ill, or refuse to support their wives, some wives feel they have no option except to earn their own incomes.<sup>18</sup>

Among the women in my sample, 81% of the traders were married and 16% of their husbands were unemployed; they described their motivation to trade as "desperation." The "desperate" need of married traders to earn incomes was illustrated by their household budgets. Only 25% of the husbands supplied their households with charcoal fuel for cooking; 19% of the spouses shared this expense; and 56% of the wives met this basic expense themselves. Further, only 46% of the husbands provided clothing and 54% of the spouses shared clothing expenses.

Much entrepreneurial activity conducted by vegetable sellers in Lusaka's new shantytowns is less a profit-making venture than a means by which mutual exchanges of produce and services keep fellow sellers and their dependents alive. Cash incomes earned by female traders are barely enough to provide for basic urban subsistence. Entrepreneurial activity or wage employment does not produce a sufficiently dependable surplus income for the women to become independent of kin. Part of their earnings are therefore invested in maintaining kinship ties and, for example, supplying food to relatives who visit their homes. Only in the older, well established markets where there is lively trade do some produce sellers make a small cash profit from their stalls. The profit permits a better diet and more clothes. It is rarely sufficiently large or steady to allow for other investments.

The interdependence of kin in families of female traders was seen in their household structure. In my sample, 49% of the traders' households included one or more elders, a parent of either the husband or wife or others of that generation. Among the traders, 39% lived in joint sibling households and 14% supported siblings' children.

Since the most difficult form of respectable work to obtain and the most physically demanding is cleaning in a public institution, it is not surprising that cleaners were mostly divorcees (55%), widows (24.5%), separated from their husbands (4.1%) or never married (4.1%).<sup>19</sup> Of the 12.2% married cleaners (N=6), two were polygynously married. In one case, the wives lived in the same household; in the other case, they lived apart. The total number of children in these families was 19. Of the other four cases, one husband was unemployed, and another drank and gave no support. In this latter case, the wife's income covered all household expenses, including support of their six children and two husband's siblings. The wife also gave the husband money for drinking. The husband, a clerk, paid their rent. The third wife gave her policeman husband all her earnings, and the fourth shared all expenses with her cleaner husband.

The structure of the households in which cleaners lived is described in Table VII. Among the cleaners, 37% headed their own households, 43% lived in joint households with siblings, and 4% lived with dependent parents. In 6% of the cases, husbands appeared intermittently; in 10% of the cases a husband and wife lived together. Forty-eight percent of the divorcees supplemented their incomes by involvements with boyfriends, all of whom were married to other women.

TABLE VII  
HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE OF CLEANERS (N=49)

Ego headed (37%)	N
+ children	9
Alone	4
+ Ch + SiDa	2
+ Ch + SiDa + DaCh	1
+ Ch + SiDa = MoBrDa	1
+ Ch + Mo	1
Joint Sibling (43%)	16
+ Mo	3
+ MoSi	1
+ MoSiDa	1
Both Parents (4%)	-
+ Ego + Ego Ch + Si + MoSi	1
+ Ego + Ego Ch	1
Husband + Wife (10%)	
+ Ch + 2nd Wi + Ch	1
+ Ch + HuBr + WiBrSo	1
+ Ch + Br	1
+ Ch + SiDa + BrCh	1
+ Ch + Br + Si	1
Husband occasionally present (6%)	
+ Ego + Ch + MoSiDaSo	1
+ Ego + Ch	1
+ Ego + Ch (2nd Wi + Ch elsewhere)	1

The mature years. Over the years, interdependency relations of a woman with her kin continue. Those whose parents did not break ties with rural kin, maintain these rural ties. They go "home" for special events, although rarely to help expressly with the harvest (as Obbo describes for Uganda). However, when they happen to be home at harvest time, they may delay returning to the city.

Because anthropologists working in urban Zambia during the colonial period were interested in determining indices of commitment to urban living, I asked my young informants who had rural ties whether they wanted or expected to leave Lusaka later in life to resettle in the rural area. Recent arrivals living in rented quarters thought it likely that they would resettle if their husbands experienced a long period of unemployment. Those who owned homes, however, replied that they would return only as a last resort. Their logic was that they would stay in town, try to bear as many children as possible, and hope that six would survive childhood illnesses. The women reasoned that, with luck, one or two of the six might become successful and remember their mother in her old age.

Town life was hard, they said, because it was expensive; men drank too much, were unfaithful, and did not support their families, even when they had jobs. But, it was better than village life, which was a life of digging. The main problem in town was that marriage was brittle. Apparently, happy marriages of many years duration and the minimum requisite six healthy children would snap at any moment. Any ordinary hardworking, serious man might, by chance, meet a new woman while drinking. They would begin to meet regularly and within a few weeks the husband would fall in love. He would stop giving his wife money and buy his woman friend presents; soon he would be supporting her. He would answer his wife's pleading, begging, shouting, and demands for money with beatings; within months he would abandon her completely. "The government should give paychecks directly to wives, not husbands," was a frequently heard remark among poor women. But despite its hardships, town life gave hope for improvement, at least for their children's future and, thus, for themselves.

Women were particularly keen on seeing their daughters become educated members of the formal labor force. It was a rare woman who preferred that her daughter marry young in preference to higher education, training, and several years of work before marriage. Women were not particularly anxious to see their daughters marry. As long as a daughter was single, a woman could count on the girl's financial support in a crisis, albeit not regularly. But once the daughter married, the woman could no longer be certain that the daughter would be in control of her income; thus, support was less certain and, sometimes, obtained under strained circumstances. Marriage was a respectable status; people should, of course, marry. But, marriages were not to be depended on. In the end, only one's blood relatives gave help.

#### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In the final analysis, fluid kin relations remain deeply important in Zambian society. With the exception of the top elites who invest their surplus incomes in commercial farms and retail businesses, ultimately most Zambians have only blood relatives for security. The importance of the blood tie is reinforced by the transience of the marital bond and the absence of state welfare.

When women's personal goals are to achieve economic independence, they make use of strategies that change their relationship to their families from childhood dependence to early adult independence to mature interdependence, when they sponsor the potential upward mobility of kin. In contrast, women who are not able to overcome obstacles to the achievement of economic autonomy remain lifelong dependents who, while possibly contributing in important ways toward household production, receive no reward for their labor, remain vulnerable to control by others, and contribute little to the upward mobility of kin. Dependency relations on kinship networks vary by stage in life cycle and level of education which increases options for employment. The key factor in explaining differences is whether the woman's earning power is sufficient for her to become a source, rather than a recipient, of economic support.

In the limited sense of the importance of blood ties, the African heritage of contemporary Zambia remains strong despite the massive social, economic, and demographic changes of the past 50 to 60 years. Perhaps kinship relations have changed in the sense of the widening of kinship networks and individualizing the uses to which networks are put in contemporary life. More categories of people in a greater number of varying geographic regions and economic circumstances are included as potential helpers and recipients of help. Kinship relations are perhaps more fluid and selective than in the past.

The strength of the African heritage of kinship ties allows the central government to channel its limited national resources to areas other than housing and welfare. In the early years following independence, national resources were allocated to prestige building projects, import substitution industries, and the development of health and educational facilities. More recently, military expenditures have consumed a larger share of national resources. Housing and other welfare measures have been neglected without evoking uncontrollable unrest by the Zambian urban masses, largely because the impact of poverty and underdevelopment is cushioned by the aid and support kin give each other. Kinship relations thus have a stabilizing function in the political sphere. The dramatic forces of historic change were marked by colonialism, urbanization, the development of a small modern economic sector, and the struggle for, and achievement of, political independence. With independence, the colonial elite was replaced by an indigenous elite and a new subelite rose. Independence brought educational programs, some measures of increased job opportunities, and increased rural-urban migration in search of employment. Independence made opportunities available that would never have existed under the colonial regime. When the country as a total social unit is considered, independence did not significantly alter the basic structure of the economy. Rather, it gave Africans the chance to replace the British in the modern sector. Thus, a first generation of educated Zambians was born, giving hope to the masses that they too could enjoy the "fruits of independence." But independence did not alleviate their poverty. As a result, further changes in kinship relations in the direction of the loosening of their importance, as new forms of security emerge, seem rather unlikely in the foreseeable future. On the contrary, it would seem likely that the ideology of kinship will remain a paramount feature of Zambian culture and society.

NOTES

1. Quoted in Gray, "Introduction" to Gray and Gulliver, eds., The Family Estate in Africa, p. 3.
2. The position of children has been a neglected area of research. What are the perceptions of the rural girl picked by an elite relative to act as servant? Who is her family? Is she not individually and separately integrated into the environment and the total structure of her society? Oppong (1974) hints at the problem when she states that Akan elite wives select a servant girl from their rural kin. I found the same practice among the Nigerian Ibo professional elite working on contract in Zambia. It was not common among Zambian elites at the time of my study.
3. This is a productive approach for rural Africa as well. (See, for example, Brain 1976; Dinan 1977; Sangree 1979; Klima 1979; Krige 1979; Spring 1980). Similarly, by utilizing this methodology (which is a theory of how a society works), Stack (1974) exploded the myth of non-involvement of Afro-American men in kinship relations (cf. Moynihan 1967) and the myth of matrifocality as the valid unit of analysis of Afro-American kinship relations. She showed the basis of familial structure and economic cooperation to be an extended cluster of kinsmen related through children, marriage and friendship, and that individual household composition fluctuations over time do not significantly affect cooperative arrangements.
4. Data were gathered as part of a study of the adaptation to urban life of women of various educational, income, and occupational categories in the decade following Zambia's independence. Research was conducted between January 1971 and August 1974, supported by grants from the U. S. National Institute of Mental Health and the University of Zambia. An additional year, from September 1975 to August 1976, was spent in the field. Special thanks are due to the granting agencies, my field research assistants Juliana Chileshe, Annie Mubanga and Beatrice Mulamfu, and to Beni Schuster who helped with data analysis.
5. The educated sample of 156 women included 50 students at the University of Zambia (two married) and 50 students at the University Teaching Hospital School of Nursing (all unmarried), 16 Enrolled Nurses (3 married), and 40 women who worked in central offices of parastatal companies: 22 unmarried, 5 divorced, 1 widowed, 12 married (including two second marriages). Open-ended questionnaires were used for this group. Interviews were supplemented by participant-observation of all categories of educated and uneducated women, and collections of newspaper interviews of other trainees and working women, married and unmarried.
6. The sample of 50 university students represented 1/3 of all female Zambian African students registered at the university in 1971-1972.

7. As self-perceived socializing agents western style schools intend to alienate young people from families when families are considered socially and culturally inferior. For the children, either their families become false to them or their books do--cultural relativity is a painfully difficult balance to achieve. See Handlin (1951:244, 246-247) on the impact of schools on immigrants to the U.S.A.; Kozol (1968) on Afro-Americans; Jackson and Marsden (1962) on British working class children. In Zambia the old colonial curricula have since been revised and, at least at the primary and secondary levels, there is less conflict. At higher educational levels what Mazrui (1978) calls "cultural dependency" persists.
8. Between the years 1963-1969, 52,600 men and 42,500 women migrated to Lusaka-urban (55.4% men), and 5,900 men and 14,600 women to Lusaka-rural (mainly the outskirts of the municipality) (29% men) (Veitch 1970).
9. Prostitution was uncommon. Employment as a waitress in a bar was scarce, dangerous, and had very low status.
10. The study of uneducated poor women is based on open-ended interviews with 179 informants. These included 78 marketeers in Luburma, Mandevu-Marrapodi, Chipata, Matero, and George markets, 58 housewives in a ward of Mutendere, a neighborhood which began as a site-and-service scheme and was subsequently considered a shantytown, and 43 cleaners employed at the University of Zambia main campus and the University Teaching Hospital. Although special effort was made to exclude foreign nationals from the sample, a few were included. A few women were older than 30, a few were teenagers. The vast majority were in their twenties, the same ages as the educated women. More than 20 ethnic groups were represented; four research assistants worked in five languages in conducting interviews. Sustained contact was maintained with particular families in Chipata, George and Mutendere shantytowns, Kaunda Square site-and-service scheme, and Matero low income city council housing estate for about three years.
11. The low incidence of earning income by mothers of marketeers may be because in the new shantytowns many traders are themselves newly arrived migrants taking advantage of the new niche opened to women. The mothers of young traders in Lusaka's older, more established markets, as Luburma, sometimes themselves traded in the past. All the Luburma "restauranteurs" inherited their "restaurants" from their mothers.
12. The average number of children of housewives was 2.5, while that of traders and of cleaners was 2.7 and 4.6, respectively.
13. Children by former lovers or husbands are often left with the woman's mothers, mother's sister, or her older sister when she marries.

14. In the market survey, no young woman working in a family shop or stall received a salary. The case of Mary Lusemba is typical. Mary, aged 17, is a Kaonde born in Kitwe, where she attended school. Her father was a miner. Before coming to Lusaka she lived with her mother's brother and his (Bemba) wife in Chililabombwe. At 15, she came to Lusaka to live with her sister, her sister's (Tonga) husband and their three children. At the time of the survey she had been working in her sister's husband's shop for a year and a half. Her (Nsenga) boyfriend bought her clothes.
15. Among Mutendere housewives, 67% of all marriages were within the ethnic group. Data were obtained on tribes of the housewife's parents, her own, and her husband's. Of 58 interviewees, no data on tribe were obtained for one case, and in one other no data on husband's tribe were obtained. The parental generation had seven cases of intertribal marriage, mostly between neighboring tribes:

<u>Wife</u>	<u>Husband</u>
Ngoni	Chikunda
Ngoni	Chewa
Ngoni	Nsenga
Chewa	Nsenga
Nsenga	Rhodesian (Zimbabwe)
Bemba	Nsenga
Tonga	Soli

Among the housewives, there were 19 cases of intertribal marriage (33%):

<u>Wife</u>	<u>Husband</u>
Rhodesian	Chewa (2)
Rhodesian	Ngoni
Soli	Nyanja (2)
Tonga	Rhodesian (Zimbabwe)
Tonga	Chewa
Chewa	Rhodesian (Zimbabwe)
Chewa	Ngoni
Ngoni	Tumbuka
Ngoni	Malawian
Nsenga	Chewa
Nsenga	Tumbuka
Bemba	Rhodesian (Zimbabwe)
Bemba	Malawian
Kunda	Nyanja
Kaonde	Lamba

Housewives came from twelve ethnic groups and from Zimbabwe: Nsenga = 15 (26.3%); Ngoni = 9 (15.7%); Soli = 7 (12.2%); Zimbabwe = 6 (10.5%); Bemba = 5 (8.8%); Chewa = 4 (7%); Tonga = 3 (5.2%); Chikunda = 3 (5.2%); Tumbuka = 2 (3.5%); Kaonde, Lozi, Swaka = 1 each (1.8% each)

Husbands came from twelve ethnic groups and from Zimbabwe, Malawi and Tanzania: Nsenga = 11 (19.6%); Ngoni = 10 (17.9%); Chewa = 6 (10.7%); Zimbabwe = 6 (10.7%); "Nyanja" = 5 (8.9%); Tumbuka = 3 (5.4%); Bemba = 2 (3.8%); Malawi = 2 (3.8%); Swaka, Lamba, Tonga, Chikunda, Lozi and Tanzania = 1 each (1.8% each)

16. Of my sample of 179 poor women, only one migrated alone, with her child, to Lusaka. (She was alone in the sense that she did not come to live with members of her family.) She was divorced in her village in Chipata by her non-Zambian husband after four of their children died. Wanting a new beginning, she deliberately chose a city where she had no relatives.
17. Staples are maize, sugar, tea, salt, oil, candles, soap, detergent, matches, kerosene and batteries. Fresh produce is bought for relish. Opportunity for increasing variety and hence nutritive value of relish is increased through exchanges.
18. There is a group pressure not to use this solution. Women who choose to earn money rather than depend on neighbors are criticized by their female neighbors.
19. The reasons given for divorce by the cleaners (N=27) were as follows:

N	
<u>9</u>	drink
5	other wife
4	other wife (Husband's family wanted him to marry his own tribeswoman)
2	left Zambia: went home (other African country: Tanzania, Zimbabwe)
2	beatings: (includes one who also went home: Mozambique)
1	quarreled in village with husband's two other wives
1	desertion (Husband migrated to Livingstone, married there)

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