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VOLUME AND IMPLICATIONS OF MIGRATION TO LUSAKA

CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
1. Introduction	1
2. Development of Lusaka	2
3. Population and its growth	3
4. Migration	
a) Early trends and policy	4
b) Recent rates of urbanization and migration	5
c) Origin of population	6
d) Age and sex distribution	7
e) Housing	11
f) Income and employment	15
g) Education	20
5. Summary	22
BIBLIOGRAPHY	24

1. Introduction

1. The very rapid growth of the urban population constitutes one of the most fundamental problems of the time: the startling pace of the world-wide migratory trend to towns and cities is a special and perhaps the most pressing aspect of the problem.
2. The movement of people to urban areas in search of job opportunities, better living conditions, educational and health facilities is giving rise to slums and squatter settlements and to some extent social disintegration.
3. Zambia is not an exception to this world-wide phenomenon of internal and especially rural-urban movement of population. The growth of some of the cities and towns of Zambia since independence in 1964 is particularly striking. Previously the Government of Zambia did not have any national policy for the prevention of internal migration or for the rational distribution of the population within the country. However attention was given to the economic development of rural areas to enable them to absorb a larger proportion of the population and labour force.
4. Moreover a special attempt was made in 1972 when the National Commission on the Establishment of a One-party Participatory Democracy in Zambia made a decision on the rural-urban movement of population. In the report of the Commission it was mentioned that the migration of people from rural to urban areas would be minimised with accelerated rural development. Thus it was recommended, that "Local authorities be assisted to enforce the laws relating to squatter control more effectively than hitherto with a view to phasing out illegal dwellings and, in addition, to the repatriation of illegal immigrants that special measures be taken to meet the problem". So it is clear that the Government of the country is quite aware of the problem of migration and is attempting to prevent the shifting of its population not only by measures aimed at economic development but also by special administrative measures directed towards the control of urban development. Although the main purpose of the paper was to prepare a comprehensive study of volume and implication of migration towards Lusaka, data in this respect is unfortunately very scarce. This paper, therefore, attempts to summarize the general aspects of internal migration to Lusaka. The primary sources of data for the report are the 1963 census of African population and the 1969 census of population and housing.

2. Development of Lusaka

5. Lusaka as well as all other towns of Zambia is a product of European rule in the country. Early in 1900s when the railway from Southern Rhodesia to the Copper belt was built, it was necessary to have sidings at regular intervals of 16-20 kilometers. In 1905 a siding was constructed near a small Lenje village known as Lusaka. In 1913 there was established a village management board, and Lusaka began its existence as a commercial and service centre for surrounding areas.
6. In the year 1931 Lusaka was chosen as the capital of Zambia. This decision was based on the fact that it was, and still is, near the heart of the network of trunk roads. Moreover, it has relatively easy access to all places along the rail line. A plan for the construction of the new capital city was made for a population of 10,000 consisting of 5000 Europeans, 1000 Africans policemen and 4,000 other Africans. In 1933 this plan was modified with a view to enlarging the area of the city.
7. At that time Lusaka was still a very small place with a European population of about five hundred, including many newcomers who had moved to the town in the expectation of employment or profits when the construction of the new city began.
8. The population of the city increased rapidly in the period after 1946. As mentioned in the book "A Social Geography of Zambia" by G. Kay, the number of European residents rose from 1,254 in 1946 to 11,810 in 1961, and the number of African employees from 14,756 in 1951 up to 24,942 in 1961. The built-up area grew accordingly and spread far beyond the limits set in the early plans of the town. Now it is a collection of diverse units scattered over a wide area.
9. From 1935 to independence in 1964 the city grew steadily without any basic changes in its administration. Commerce was rather overshadowed by the Civil service and industry had very little encouragement. At independence Lusaka was a small but sprawling city of about 110,000 people.
10. It is well known that Lusaka was built primarily for colonial administration. The number of government offices available at independence was absolutely inadequate for the subsequent marked expansion of the public sector. Moreover, the city was designed primarily for an expatriate minority population.
11. Since the establishment of the capital Europeans occupied most of the residential land. They were in almost complete control of the means and the mobility for shopping regularly in the old city. Importing most of their consumer goods they did not need a strong local manufacturing industry. Consequently, comparatively few semi-skilled and unskilled jobs existed outside the government and domestic services. Although Europeans numbered about one tenth of the population, Lusaka at independence was essentially an expatriate city (D.K. Davis, 1969, *Zambian urban Studies*, V.1).

12. At the same time the settlement of Africans in Lusaka was based on the master plan of the city which provided that spatial separation of the European and African populations was not only desirable but absolutely necessary. Professor Adshead, who directed the planning of the city was convinced that differences between the two races justified, in fact, required separation and differential treatment. His reasoning was, that it would be foolish to offer Africans those bodily comforts which they had never known and which generations and generations of habit have made necessary to the white man, and that it would be ridiculous to expect them to accept the responsibilities of the white man". (G.Kay. "A social Geography of Zambia", London 1967).

13. So this view was put into the master plan of Lusaka and shaped the development of squatter areas and other unauthorised housing in the city. The planners' hopes to limit African settlement to one part of Lusaka was unrealistic in view of the development of the city and the lack of transportation. So the capital was very soon surrounded by a variety of growing housing areas of different types of temporary construction, which during the period of further development of the city became permanent unequipped squatters' settlements.

14. Although no law prevented Africans from settling in European areas, racial segregation in fact existed virtually until the eve of independence.

3. Population and its growth

15. Lusaka is a very young city having been founded only 60 years ago. But since its establishment, it has grown from a very small village with the population of about 200 persons up to one of 354 thousand people in 1969.

16. The growth of the population during different periods of time has been very uneven. The total number of Europeans increased between 1931 and 1946 from 433 to 1254. Comparatively the number of Africans increased between 1931 and 1946 from 1280 to 7544. Thus the African population in the same period of time increased at twice the rate of the European resident population.

17. Between 1946 and 1956 the European population grew at approximately twice the rate of the African population. The European population increased from 1254 to 7500, while the African population increased from 7544 to 20200. If Europeans in the suburbs are included the European population grew of almost three times the rate of the African population. At the same time the Africans in both the town and the suburbs increased threefold. The absolute number of Africans in 1956 was almost three times that of the Europeans.

18. Events in the war years appear to have encouraged the movement of the African population to Lusaka. During the post-war-period there was a continuation of the movement but at a reduced rate relative to the rapid increase of Europeans. The increase in both European and African population does not appear to be a post-war population explosion but a simple development of the city.

19. The most rapid increase of population in the city of Lusaka was in the period after independence in 1964. According to the census of 1963 Lusaka had a population of more than 110,000 people, among them 12,000 Europeans and about 98,000 Africans. The great increase in the African population up to 1963 was a result of change in the borders of the city of Lusaka, and the further industrial development of the city.

4. Migration

a) Early trends and policy

20. In colonial times all the urban areas of Zambia were developed as industrial or administrative centres. This development went on under the strict enforcement of migration controls in respect of the rural African population. This had a lasting effect on the population structure of the city. According to the Report of Zambian Department of town and country planning - "Low cost Residential Development to Lusaka", the first system of control was that of "circulatory Labour migration". According to this, African men were allowed to go to the towns to work and they were given rent free housing. They had to have passes and were sent back to the rural areas to their families if they lost their job.

21. In the 1930s the Government recommended the compulsory repatriation of workers after two years absence from their homes in rural areas. So in some suburbs of Lusaka the housing was generally of the type which was intended to provide accommodation for single men. So the colonial policy towards the African population was directed primarily to the provision of a cheap labour force in the urban areas.

22. At the same time the development of industry required that some skilled personnel be available. In this connexion, there was a continuing debate on the desirability of stabilising the urban population, in other words allowing the workers to bring their families to the town with them. In Lusaka the first official settlement with houses large enough to accommodate families was built as late as 1945. At the same time private employers were also expected to provide accommodation for families. In any case all housing for married workers was tied to employment, and it was expected that families would return to their native settlements when the head of the family retired.

b) Recent rates of urbanization and migration

23. Since independence in 1964 the picture has changed completely. Abolition of the pass system resulted in a steady movement of the rural population to Lusaka. In 1963 there were only about 110 thousand inhabitants in Lusaka but in 1969, 6 years later, the population of the urban area was about 185 thousand. So the population during the period of six years increased by about 70 percent. The annual rate of growth was more than 90 percent a year.^{1/}

24. This rate of growth of the Lusaka population was due much more to the mass movement of population to the city than to the natural increase, or the migration of white people and Africans from neighbouring countries. From 1963 up to 1969 the rate of growth of the African population of greater Lusaka was about 9.6 percent per year. At a time when the European population did not increase at all or even decline the African population grew from 98 thousand to 1738 thousand inhabitants. Unfortunately there are no current statistics of internal migration in Zambia, and the main source of data is the population census data concerning the classification of the population by district of birth, by 5 year age-groups and ethnic groups divided into Lusaka rural and urban areas.

25. Estimates of immigrant figures for Lusaka are many and varied. According to the household sample survey conducted in October 1968 by city planners, Doriadis Associates, about 95 percent of the increase in Lusaka's population since independence had been due to net migration to the city. This estimate was made on the basis of comparing the 110 thousand population of the municipality with the 250 thousand which make-up the total population, and includes the Greater Lusaka area. The estimate was not accurate owing to the fact that it is rather difficult to find a proper means of comparing the population of the municipality with that of a whole area which includes not only peri-urban but some rural areas. At the same time according to the 1969 population census the number of inhabitants of Greater Lusaka was about 338 thousand and not 250,000. The estimate of the rate of net-migration to the cities which could be more acceptable for Lusaka city was made by the Central Statistical Office of Zambia. For the purpose of this estimate urban areas have been taken to comprise major towns and township councils. It was found that during the period from 1963 to 1969 the Zambian urban male population increased at an average rate of 7.6 percent and the urban female population at the rate 10.1 percent. Unfortunately in the absence of separate data on the natural rate of increase of the urban and rural populations it was not possible to determine accurately the proportion of the observed increase in the urban population owing to net-immigration into the urban area during the intercensal period. In this connexion it was assumed that the rates of natural increase of the urban population for the two sexes were the same as those for the population of Zambia as a whole. The assumption in any case is rather questionable, but at the same time it is possible to accept it because during the intercensal period there was a heavy flow of young people from the rural to urban areas which could change the rate of natural increase of the urban population.

^{1/} Statistical Yearbook 1970, Lusaka, Zambia 1971 p. 4T. 1.2. (a)

26. Thus the rate of increase of the urban population of each sex due to net immigration - R was calculated by the Central Statistical Office for the period 1963-69 by the formula:

$$U_{1969} = U_{1963} (1 + r + R)^6$$

Where - U_{1969} and U_{1963} are the urban population for the years 1963 and 1969. R and r are rates of net - immigration into urban areas and natural increase of urban population. The rates of net-immigration so obtained for males and females were 4.9 and 7.4 respectively, or about 6.1 percent. If we assume, that the rate of natural increase of the Lusaka urban population is about 2.5 percent we can find that the rate of immigration for Lusaka urban was about 6.5-7.0 percent per year. This means that more than 72 per cent of the year's average increase of Lusaka's urban population was due to net in-migration to the city, which represents more than 29 thousand people per year.

c) Origin of population

27. According to the data Lusaka's metropolitan population born in the district accounts for only 31.8 percent of the total figure whereas for the Lusaka urban area the population born in the same district accounts for only 28.3 percent. This means that more than 70.0 percent of the population of the city were immigrants from different regions of Zambia and from abroad. In particular 57.5 percent of the city's population was born elsewhere in Zambia, and 14.3 percent came from different neighboring countries and from outside the continent.

28. If we consider the same data from the point of view of ethnic groups the large difference between the in-migration to the city for Africans and non-Africans can be seen.

Table 1. Distribution of the Population of Lusaka by ethnic groups.
(in percentage of the population of the same ethnic group)

	Born in District			Born elsewhere in Zambia			Born outside Zambia		
	Afri- cans	Euro- peans	Others	Afri- cans	Euro- peans	Others	Afri- cans	Euro- peans	Others
Lusaka Total	32.8	7.4	22.3	56.4	7.1	13.0	10.0	85.5	64.7
Lusaka Urban	28.5	8.4	25.5	59.5	4.8	11.2	12.0	86.8	63.3
Lusaka Rural	37.2	5.7	11.4	53.2	12.1	19.3	9.6	82.2	69.3

Source: 1969 Census of Population and Housing

29. For Africans the more common sources of in-migrant to Lusaka are the different regions of Zambia, mostly the Eastern and Central provinces (at about 10 and 15 percent respectively) that constitutes about 66 percent. For the Lusaka total only 10 percent was born outside Zambia. For the Lusaka urban area almost 60 percent of the African population came to the city from different Zambian regions and only 12 percent from outside of Zambia.

30. Compared with the Africans, more than 85 percent of the Europeans in the Lusaka metropolitan area was born outside Zambia, but again, the greatest number of them were found during the census period in the Lusaka urban area - 86.8 percent and 13.2 percent were born in the district as compared with 14.5 per cent for Lusaka total.

31. The places of birth of other ethnic groups has also a very great variation. The main reason is that these people, Asian mostly, were settled in the city, since its creation, as major trade groups. The main part of this group about 65 percent, was born outside Zambia. But at the same time almost one fourth of the group was born in the same district due to the great concentration while settling in the city.

32. So from the data on place of birth only 37.2 per cent of the Africans living in Lusaka rural and 28.5 percent in Lusaka urban could be considered to have been born in the city. More than 62 percent of the population of rural Lusaka and 71.5 of that of Lusaka's urban population practically in-migrated to the city since its creation and especially since independence in 1964.

d) Age and sex distribution

33. As would be expected from the knowledge of other African cities the population of Lusaka is extremely young. At the same time according to the data of 1969 census their proportion in the working population is rather high. More than 44 percent of the African population of metropolitan Lusaka is under 15 year of age and 90.6 percent is under the age of 45. The population of Lusaka urban reflects almost the same picture but the proportion of the age group under 45 is a little bit higher. - 44.4 and 92.8 percent respectively for the age groups under 15 and 45 years.

34. The 1963 census of population does not have complete data of the age structure of population by 5 year age groups. There are only three broad main age groups of 0-20, 21-45 and over 45 years. Between 1963 and 1969 the change in the age structure of the African population of urban Lusaka was as follows: the proportion of the population under 20 years of age has grown from 51.6 to 54.5 percent. The proportion of the population of 45 and over has also grown from 41.7 to 72.7 percent. At the same time the proportion of the population in the 21 to 44 years group has declined from 43.8 to 37.8 percent. The proportion of the African population under 45 years has also declined from 95.4 to 92.3 per cent. Various explanations can be offered. But the main one is the abolishing of the pass system to reside in the city after independence. As a result, the male working population of Lusaka brought their families to the city and this has influenced the level of fertility.

35. Doxiadis indicates that there was in Lusaka not only a large influx of young in-migrants and female immigrants, but also a large number of youthful marriages among them. About 87 percent of the population of Lusaka in the 20-24 age group consists of immigrants and 55 percent of these are female. Moreover, 53 percent of the total population over the age of 10 years is married, including 25 percent of the females in the 10-19 year category, and 90 percent in the 20-34 year category. These factors could be considered the main reasons for the growth of the population over 45 years especially female, as well as for that under 20 years of age.

Table 2. Distribution of the population by age groups in 1963 and 1969
(in percentage)

Age Groups	1963	1969
0 - 20	51.6	54.5
21 - 44	43.8	37.8
45 and over	4.7	7.7

Source: 1969 Census of Population and Housing

36. With respect to the age structure of Lusaka's population it is impossible not to mention the effect upon it of the in-migrants to the city. African in-migrants who account for more than 68 percent for metropolitan Lusaka and 72 percent for Lusaka urban area are mostly concentrated in the age group 15-45. Also there is a great difference between the age structure of the population born in outlying districts and born outside Zambia.

37. Of the African population born in the district those under 15 years of age represent 67.1 and 79.7 percent of the populations of metropolitan Lusaka and urban Lusaka respectively, whereas people born outside the district represent 33.3 and 32 percent. In the 15 to 45 years age group 24.2 percent was born in metropolitan Lusaka and 16.4 in urban Lusaka, whereas the corresponding figures in this age group for the population born outside these two areas are 57.2 and 60.2 percent respectively. For the population over 45 years of age, those born within the areas specified and those born in outlying districts represented approximately similar proportions lying somewhere between 8.7 and 9.5 percent, except for the Lusaka urban area where the figures for those born in the area is 3.9 percent. This can be explained by the fact, that before independence most of male working population had to leave the city on losing their jobs.

38. As far as the population born outside Zambia is concerned one can see that it has a very small percentage of people between 0 and 14 years of age and the greatest part of the population between 15 and 44 years of age. The part of the population over 45 years of age is a little bit higher than that of people born in the district and outside it.

Table 3. Distribution of African population by places of birth
(in percentage)

Age Group	People born in					
	District		Outside District		Outside Zambia	
	Metropolitan	Lusaka	Metropolitan	Lusaka	Metropolitan	Lusaka
	Lusaka	Urban	Lusaka	Urban	Lusaka	Urban
0 - 14	67.1	79.7	33.3	30.2	26.6	26.5
15 - 44	24.2	16.4	57.2	60.8	61.4	62.5
Over 45	8.7	3.9	9.5	9.0	12.4	11.9

Source: 1969 Census of Population and Housing

39. So, as it was indicated above the main stream of in-migrants to the city consists of people between the ages of 15 and 45. According to Doriadis more than 90 percent of the total African population of Lusaka urban included in this age range might be considered as in-migrants to the city.

40. In respect of sex structure of the African population of Lusaka it is necessary to point out that since the 1963 census of population of Lusaka the percentage distribution of male and female people has changed. In 1963 the male population of urban Lusaka was about 56 percent whereas in 1969 it accounted for only 52.6 percent. However the female population grew from 44.0 to 47.4 percent. In most cases the proportion of males is higher than that of females among in-migrants to the city. If we take into consideration the data on classification of population by district of birth, sex and 5 age groups of the 1969 census, we find that the male population of urban Lusaka is, in two cases, higher than that of the female. Only among those who were born in the district does the male population constitute 49.6 percent as compared with 50.4 percent for the female population. Among those born outside the district and outside Zambia the male population accounts for 53.4 and 55.6 percent respectively.

Table 4. Distribution of the population by sex and places of birth
(in percentage) 1969

	Born in the District		Born elsewhere in Zambia		Born outside Zambia	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
%	49.6	50.4	53.4	46.6	55.6	44.4

Source: 1969 Census of Population and Housing

41. There is quite a different picture in the sex composition of the population by age groups. In the age group from 0 to 24 years the female population is greater than that of the male. At the time when the male population in this age group born outside Lusaka district and outside Zambia accounts for only 48.5 and 46.6 percent respectively, the female population constitutes 51.5 percent and 53.4 percent.

42. On the contrary, for the age group 25-44 the percentage of the male population is higher than that of the female, and accounts for 58.4 and 60.7 compared with 41.6 and 39.3 percent in the case of the female population.

Table 5. Distribution of population by sex, places of birth and age groups
(in percentage) 1969

Age groups	Born in the District		Born elsewhere in Zambia		Born outside Zambia	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
0 - 24	49.5	50.5	49.5	51.5	46.6	53.4
25 - 44	61.8	38.2	58.4	41.6	60.7	39.3
45 and over	58.3	41.7	67.4	32.6	72.7	27.3

Source: 1969 Census of Population and Housing

43. The age and sex structure of the population of Lusaka born in the district reflects the same picture. But in any case, the great stream of young females to the city might in future influence the sex structure of the African population of urban Lusaka and increase the percentage of the female population in general.

44. Due to the heavy stream of in-migrants to the area the city will continue to grow rapidly. It is very unlikely that this movement will cease until the governmental programmes for rural development in the country are finalized and can provide a counter-attraction which might begin to keep people in the rural areas. At the same time it is necessary to say that owing to the rather high birth rate, aid to the decline of the death rate because of improved medical facilities, the population of Lusaka may grow rather rapidly in the next few years even if rural-urban migration was to drop off.

e) Housing

45. Owing to the very rapid increase of Lusaka's population it would be expected that conditions of housing, education and vocational training as well as employment and community services are far below what is required to meet the rapidly growing demand for them in the city. While a great number of in-migrants to the city have obviously been socially mobile in the period of independence, it can be said that the majority of them still belong to the lower socio-economic groups. There are a lot of people in the city which put a severe strain on the already congested housing and other facilities, especially those in the shanty towns of the urban areas. Moreover, many more of the in-migrants are swelling the population of the other high-density residential areas - many of them staying with relatives or even friends until they have the possibility of establishing their own homes.

46. Housing in Lusaka for many years has been one of the most pressing problems in its development. As was mentioned above there is no point in investigating the problem of housing for the whole population of Lusaka since there is no comparable data. Furthermore, the European population is very small in number compared with the African population and in general has no problem with regard to housing. The most acute shortage of housing prevails among the African population, the number of which is increasing from year to year. The European residential areas took a disproportionately large part of the total building area of Lusaka. A few Europeans live in blocks of flats. Most of them live in spacious detached or semi-detached houses. Even in 1956 there was little or no overcrowding as the following figures show.

Table 6. Percentage distribution of European Households by number of rooms per house/

No. of rooms	% of households	No. of rooms	% of households
1	1.2	5	36.5
2	3.2	6	15.0
3	11.7	7	4.4
4	24.4	8 and more	3.6

More than 95 percent of European households had, at that time, 3 and more rooms.

47. On the contrary, there was a great difference between conditions in European housing and those of African housing. Many African dwellings are temporary structures. Furthermore, most African houses in Lusaka are extremely small.

48. According to George Kay 23.8 percent of all houses of Lusaka consisted of one room, 31.3 percent of two rooms and 44.9 percent of three and more rooms. Since that time the situation has changed considerably. In 1969 one-room houses accounted for 34.8 percent, two-room houses for 32.2 percent and houses of three or more rooms for about 33.0 percent. In other words, one- and two-room units constitute 67.0 percent of the whole housing stock in Lusaka city. According to the Lusaka Residential Study "Low Cost Residential Development in Lusaka", prepared by the Department of Town and Country Planning, in conventional housing areas 23 percent and in self help areas 75 percent, of the houses are one-room units, 41 percent and 19 percent respectively are two-room dwellings. This gives a total of 64 percent for one- and two-room dwellings in conventional housing areas and 94 percent in self-help areas, or 70 percent overall to compare with 67 percent in the Lusaka city. At least 30 percent of the dwellings (33 percent in the Lusaka city) have three rooms or more while more than 60 percent of the families have five or more members. So it appears that nearly 9500 overcrowded dwellings exist in the low cost housing areas". To compare this situation with the situation of housing in the whole Lusaka city one can see that 71.8 percent of the one-room houses and 79.9 percent of two-room units are occupied by 3 or more persons. It means that more than 50.6 percent (or 18055 out of 35668) of the total number of dwellings in Lusaka city are overcrowded. One factor governing this has been the shortage of funds for house construction in relation to demand. Limited finance has led to the construction of predominantly one and two room houses.

49. The Zambia Government pays great attention to the housing situation in the city. Since independence, to meet the demand for houses arising from the fast growth of the urban population, the Government has taken steps to promote low cost residential housing in Lusaka. These included the development of official low cost residential areas, aided self-help housing and the development of unauthorized settlements.

50. The first official housing programme was drawn up in 1965 by the Ministry of Local Government and Housing, which for the first time officially introduced self-help housing. Through the programme Lusaka was allocated 8 million Kwachas for housing from 1965 to 1969, and the city council set a construction target of 5200 houses and plots. By 1967 the city council had spent 16.4 million of Kwachas in the construction and servicing of only 3637 houses and plots.

51. In 1967 an assessment of the housing situation in Lusaka was carried out by a Working Party set up for the purpose. In its report^{1/} attention was drawn to the housing backlog which by 1967 had increased to 11445 units in addition to 2412 of the existing houses which were considered to be sub-standard. Meanwhile, the number of households in urban areas was growing at a rate 3000 a year. The houses becoming available were more expensive owing to the increase in the price of construction materials, and higher labour costs. Thus by the end of 1969 the housing situation had worsened, as the policy of development of official low cost housing aimed at providing houses for all employees in the city, practically failed to meet the targets

^{1/} Report of the Working Party on the Housing Development in the Lusaka Area. 1967

set. It has been recognized that the financial resources of the Government and City Council are inadequate to meet the needs. Finally, in the Second Development Plan emphasis has been laid on serviced plots, so that conventional housing will play a very small part in housing policy in the near future.

52. As mentioned above the self-help housing policy was established officially in 1965. Since 1965 financial aid has been given to all house-builders who were on the city Council housing waiting list, and whose minimum monthly income was not more than 20 Kwacha. This policy, besides aiming at providing very low cost housing for the people, was based on a certain assumption with regard to unauthorized compounds. The area for the construction of such a housing was intended to be an area for the resettlement of residents of unauthorized areas. But in the implementation of the project problems occurred mostly because of the limited financial resources of the people living in unauthorized settlements. Unfortunately neither did low cost residential housing nor aided self-help housing cater for new in-migrants to the city. In most cases these people are not on the housing waiting list, have not yet found regular employment and are not able to meet the initial deposit required. So new arrivals have to stay with their relatives or friends while establishing themselves and then may build, but or rent a house mainly in the squatter areas, as their financial resources are usually not sufficient to enable them to go to the plots of self-help construction, or, which is much more rare, to the conventional housing area.

53. In this connexion, for a better understanding of the housing situation in Lusaka it is necessary to have a close look at the housing conditions in the squatter settlements of Lusaka, which in some cases is the final place where the in-migrants settle when they have sufficient resources to build a house. The rate of growth of unauthorized settlements has greatly increased since independence, owing to the increasing rate of rural-urban migration, which has been encouraged by the abolition of the pass system in Zambia and by the small but growing employment potential in the city. To compare the rate of growth of the urban population in Lusaka 9.5 percent per year, and 10.6 percent in the low cost residential areas, the rate of growth of the squatter population since 1963 has been far more than 30.0 percent per year. If the population of unauthorized areas has grown at the same rate as between 1963 and 1969 the population of the area may well be more than 250,000 by now.

Table 7. Growth of the population in unauthorized areas of Lusaka

	1957/8 ^{1/}	1963	1967	1969
Population	15,786	17,984	47,107	91,804

^{1/} "Low cost residential development in Lusaka" - Department of Town and Country Planning, Lusaka, Zambia, 1972.

54. In terms of dwellings it appears that since 1957 both the size of households and the average number of people occupying each dwelling has been increasing. Thus in 1957 the mean household size in the squatter areas was 3.2 persons and in 1969 - 4.4, while the occupancy rate increased from an average of 3.4 persons per dwelling in 1952 to 4.7 in 1969.

55. This differs from the average household size in official low cost housing areas where in 1969 it was 5.7 people. This difference may be explained mainly by the tendency of rural in-migrants to the urban areas to stay with relatives or friends until they are able to establish a separate house.

56. Studies of different types of surveys, which had been carried out in various unauthorized compounds, show that, in two main unauthorized settlements Kalingalinga and Nguluwe, half of the residents of the former and 92 percent of latter had previously lived elsewhere in Greater Lusaka. This in any case may reflect the trend mentioned above for men to stay with relatives or friends at first and only to set up house and bring the rest of their family into the city when they have a job and somewhere to live. The survey also shows that the length of stay in the unauthorized areas is related to the age of development of the particular area. Kalinalinga is an old established settlement which has grown rapidly throughout the period covered, whereas Nguluwe grew rapidly between 1963-1967, was demolished in 1970 and has grown again since to at least its former size. Of the people of Kalingalinga, 36 percent had been resident for more than 5 years, 40 percent for between one and five years, 13 percent for between six and twelve months and only 11 percent for less than six months. Of the population of Nguluwe in 1967 only 5.2 percent had lived there for between one and five years, 14.2 for between six and twelve months, and 80.3 percent for less than six months.

57. The surveys included some questions on the origin of the residents of these two areas. It is quite clear that Lusaka is the first step for migrants from the Eastern province. They account for over half the inhabitants of Kalingalinga and Nguluwe. There is considerable movement into Lusaka from surrounding areas. At the time when the population born outside Zambia in both the areas accounted for about 18 percent of their total population, percentage people born in Zambia varies from 82 to 85 percent. Percentage of people born in the Central province for Kalingalinga accounts for 21.1 percent and in Nguluwe 11.5 percent. So practically 79 percent of the population of Kalingalinga born outside the city and came to it from different regions of Zambia. For Nguluwe the percentage of its population born outside Lusaka is 89. This is almost the same picture as it is for the population of Lusaka urban area.^{1/}

58. Using the usual standard of overcrowding of a maximum of two persons per room one finds that in the unauthorized 68.5 percent of the population are living in overcrowded conditions. This is similar to the proportion of 70.0 percent in official low cost housing areas and much more than the average percentage of 50.6 percent in Lusaka urban area.

^{1/} Low cost residential development in Lusaka, Department of Town and Country Planning, Lusaka, Zambia, 1972.

59. In conclusion it is possible to add that the development of unauthorized areas has for many years been the main feature of Lusaka's growth in terms of housing. That was due to the fact that the official housing policy in general tied housing to regular employment. Even just before independence the policy of providing houses to the entire city population failed to meet Lusaka's housing needs and as a result unauthorized areas began to develop. After independence due to the high increase of migration from the rural to urban areas, official housing policies have been even less able to meet the demand. As a result unauthorized settlements have grown rapidly and in 1969 they contained about 40 percent of the city's population.

f) Income and Employment

60. On the question of employment and income, African immigrants as one could suppose are again much worse off. While the average annual per capita income of the residents of Lusaka is about 270 Kwacha, this obviously includes incomes ranging from a few Kwacha to those of thousands. This inequality of income distribution might be illustrated by the fact that the average monthly income of residents of low cost housing areas is only 77.0 Kwacha, and ranges from 29 Kwacha in agriculture to 129 Kwacha in mining and quarrying.^{1/} As a result, households with only a few members receive much higher incomes than many large households. Since many of these large households - especially in such zones of the city as low cost residential housing area and squatters settlements - include many immigrants. These immigrants in any case make up a very large proportion of the city's low-income population.

61. According to the data of the "Department of Community Surveys", 1967, the income of households in some unauthorized areas is much less than that of people of the Lusaka urban area. Almost 78-80 percent of the population of squatters receive a monthly income of less than 40 Kwacha. At least 11-12 percent between 40 and 50 Kwacha, and only 8-9 percent of the squatter population receive more than 50 Kwacha per month. Unfortunately there is no complete data for income allocation among the population of Lusaka.

62. The low level of monthly income of the African population of Lusaka urban area, as well as that of the population of low cost housing area are very closely connected with or even result from the comparatively low level of employment in the areas.

63. According to the data of the 1969 census of population and housing the economically active population of Lusaka urban area constituted 54.0 percent of the total of Lusaka's urban African population or about 97.6 thousand persons. Among them the male population constitutes 54,572 people or 55.8 percent of the total economically active population, or 30.1 percent of the total population of the Lusaka urban area. The economically active female population constituted 44.2 and 23.9 percent respectively.

^{1/} Monthly Digest of Statistics Vol. VIII, No.2, February 1972. Average monthly income for last quarter 1970 for Africans only.

64. At the same time of the economically active population almost 93.0 percent consists of Africans of which the male population represents more than 55 percent and female only about 45 percent or 30.7 and 24.8 percent respectively of the total African population of the Lusaka urban area.

Table 8. Distribution of African economically active population by place of birth and five year age groups of Lusaka urban areas

	Born in the district		Born elsewhere in Zambia		Born outside Zambia		Total	
	Number of People	%	Number of People	%	Number of People	%	Number of People	%
15 - 19	3,844	44.9	11,715	16.8	1,71,755	14.8	17,314	19.2
20 - 24	1,763	20.6	15,575	22.4	1,898	16.0	19,236	21.4
25 - 29	1,144	13.3	13,469	19.5	2,087	17.6	16,800	18.6
30 - 34	664	7.8	9,676	14.0	2,085	17.6	12,425	13.8
35 - 39	499	5.8	7,760	11.1	1,662	14.1	9,921	11.0
40 - 44	322	3.7	4,748	6.8	997	8.6	6,067	6.8
45 - 49	204	2.3	3,559	5.1	785	6.6	4,548	5.1
50 - 54	85	1.0	1,764	2.5	315	2.6	2,164	2.4
55 - 59	54	0.6	1,272	1.8	243	2.1	1,569	1.7
TOTAL	8,579	100.0	69,538	100.0	11,827	100.0	90,044	100.0

Source: 1969 Census of Population and Housing

65. As one can see the population between the aged of 15 to 24 constitutes the main part of the economically active population among those born in the district of Lusaka. It accounts for 65.5 percent of that population. Contrary to this the major part of economically active population among those born outside the district as well as outside the country is to be found in the 25 to 39 years age group. It accounts for 44.6 and 49.6 percent respectively. The percentage of the economically active population for the same age group among the people born in the district constitute not more than 27 percent.

66. Among those born in the same district the total number of economically active population constitute only about 17.3 percent, or not more than 10.0 percent of the total African population in this age group. At the same time the percentage of economically active population among those born elsewhere in Zambia accounts for 67.3 percent. Practically 90 percent of the African population of working age in the Lusaka urban area are those who came to the city from outside the district as well as from outside Zambia. The latter constitutes also only 13.0 percent of the total African population. So, almost 77 percent of the whole African population of working age represents those born in Zambia outside the Lusaka district.

67. If we examine the sex composition of those born in Zambia we can see that the larger part of them, about 56.0 percent, is male.

Table 9. Distribution of the economically active African population by place of birth, five-year age groups and sex.
(in percentage of those born in the same area)

Age groups	Born in the district		Born somewhere in Zambia		Born outside Zambia	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
15 - 19	49.2	50.8	16.5	53.5	46.3	53.7
20 - 24	47.7	52.3	50.1	49.9	42.9	57.1
25 - 29	47.4	52.6	55.8	44.2	51.3	48.7
30 - 34	50.1	49.9	56.1	43.9	62.4	37.6
35 - 39	50.5	49.5	61.1	38.9	65.7	34.3
40 - 44	54.9	45.1	66.3	33.7	69.6	30.4
45 - 49	64.2	35.8	70.4	29.6	71.3	28.7
50 - 54	67.0	32.7	67.1	32.9	74.6	25.4
55 - 59	53.7	46.3	69.7	30.3	77.3	22.7
TOTAL	49.9	50.1	55.5	44.5	57.1	42.9

Source: 1969 Census of Population and Housing

68. The percentage of the male population in the economically active population, born outside Zambia, is a little higher than that of those born elsewhere in Zambia, and constitutes about 57 percent, which is not unusually high for foreign immigrants. So it is possible to say that the main stream of immigrants to the Lusaka urban area consists in general of males of working age. The female population constitutes only about two fifths of the total African population of working age born outside the city district.

69. Bearing in mind that almost 90 percent of the economically active population are immigrants, it should be pointed out that as a result of such a significant movement of population, the urban area fails to meet the needs of the migrants in terms of employment, social facilities and as it has already been mentioned above, in terms of housing.

70. According to the 1969 census of population and housing most of the members of Lusaka's urban area labour force of 47,927 are male. The male working population accounts for 85.2 percent of the working population in the urban area. The proportion of the male African working population of the total African working population is a little higher than that of males in the total working population and constitutes 87.0 percent.

Table 10. Percentage of male and female working population

	Total Lusaka urban		Africans Lusaka urban	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
	85.2	14.8	87.1	12.9

Source: 1969 Census of Population and Housing

71. It is necessary to stress that according to the census data the category of "unpaid family workers" is included in the working population. If this category was not recorded as employed, the percentage of the male working population of the total population of Lusaka urban area and the analagons percentage in respect of the African population accounts for 87.3 and 89.6 percent respectively.

72. As has been estimated above the total economically active population for Lusaka city is 93.6 thousand persons, of which the African population constitutes about 94.0 percent.

73. According to R. MacDonald the proportion of employed among the in-migrants is considerably lower than among the total population of Lusaka city. Doxiadis Associates point out that the proportion of the total employed among the employable immigrants compared with the total of employed persons among the total employable population of Lusaka gives a ratio of 92.8 to 100.

74. The percentage of the African working population among the employable varies widely over the different age groups.

Table 11. Working African population classified by 5-year age groups

Age groups	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59
% of economically active population	20.3	68.4	83.6	86.9	87.4	68.7	38.3	59.3	21.2

Source: 1969 Census of Population and Housing

75. The highest percentage of employed population is found among those between 25 and 39 years of age.

76. Distribution of the male African population by employment status shows that the greatest proportion of them, or about 93.0 percent, is in more or less regular employment. Only 6.9 percent of population is self-employed and the remainder represents employers.

77. Concerning employment it is necessary to describe the employment situation in the low cost housing areas. Among those living in the official housing areas and in squatter settlements only 73.3 and 76.0 percent of the male population are working as compared with the average percentage of the total male working population of Lusaka urban area - 87.3 percent.

78. Despite the smaller proportion of the low cost housing working population in comparison with the total population of the Lusaka urban area, the majority of them contrary to the popular belief are in more or less regular employment.

Substantial additional proportion of them make a living from trades such as charcoal burning, vegetable selling, tailoring and carpentering.

Table 12. Employment status of male population in official and unauthorized housing areas (in percentage)

	Self-employed	Employer	Employee
Total official housing areas	5.5	0.8	93.7
Total unauthorized areas	12.1	1.2	86.7

Source: "Low Cost Residential Development in Lusaka", Department of Town and Country Planning", Lusaka, Zambia, 1972.

79. The Table shows that there is in fact a higher proportion of men working in the official housing areas than in the unauthorized areas. At the same time there is a higher proportion of men in unauthorized areas who are self-employed. Also, a slightly higher proportion of the men are employers, often with small business, such as shops or repair services. In many cases they are tied to living in the unauthorized areas by their business. However, many of them are not able to obtain houses in the official housing areas because that housing is mainly tied to employment, or choose to live in an unauthorized area even after they are prosperous enough to move.

80. The employment structure of the population of both areas shows that there are fewer employed people from the unauthorized areas than from the official low cost housing areas in the category "Community, Social and Personal Services", which is the largest single employment group in both types of area. Employment in administration, health or education usually implies eligibility for official housing, whereas the major proportion of employed from unauthorized areas as domestic servants with no housing provided.

81. Fewer people from unauthorized areas than from an official low cost housing area are employed in Banking, Real Estate, Insurance and Business Services, which are predominantly white collar jobs; in Transport and Communications; in Wholesale and Retail Trade, Restaurants and Hotels. On the other hand much more people proportionately are employed in such categories as Construction, Manufacturing and Agriculture.

Table 13. Employment of population from unauthorized and official low cost housing areas by type of industry
(in percentage to total number of employed)

	Unauthorized areas	Total official low cost housing areas
Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing	3.5	2.0
Mining and Quarrying	0.4	0.5
Manufacturing	13.3	12.0
Electricity, gas and water	1.2	1.4
Construction	22.9	8.6
Wholesale, retail trade, hotels	16.7	11.9
Transport, storage, communication	9.7	13.8
Financial, insurance, etc.	2.6	4.8
Community, social and personnel services	35.8	44.9

Source: "Low Cost Residential Development in Lusaka, Department of Town and Country Planning", Lusaka, Zambia, 1972.

g) Education

82. In the past and even at present serious unemployment in Zambia in general has not been common among those with relatively high academic qualifications or recognized professional and technical skills.^{1/} The report "Zambian Manpower" of 1969 pointed out that all workers, including subsistence farmers and the unskilled can perform their job better if they enable to read and write and maintain simple records. According to the 1969 census of population and housing among the total working population of the Lusaka urban area almost 14.3 percent of the population had no schooling at all, 66.7 percent had had in primary education and only 16.2 percent had graduated from the secondary school. About 2.5 percent of the working population had of technical education. As far as education of Zambians is concerned almost a quarter of Zambian working population in Lusaka had no schooling at all. About 54-56 percent of the population had had a primary education. The percentage of working population which had recorded a technical education accounted for only 1.1 percent.

^{1/} P.O. Ohadike, "Bottlenecks in the African Labour Situation in Zambia".

83. In Zambia as a whole the Government has placed very strong emphasis on the development of formal education. As A.Matejko^{1/} points out only 15 percent of total government expenditure in 1966-67 was allocated for education. It was planned that the school enrolment would increase more rapidly. To compare with the data of the 1963 census of African population, the persons who had completed some form of education in 1969 accounted for more than 44 percent. In 1963 it was not more than 29 percent. The percentage of persons who have never been to school has decreased from 56.8, in 1963 to 30.6 in 1969. In general, there has been a rapid rise in the numbers attending educational institutions at all levels.

84. Unfortunately there is no data concerning immigrants, particular in respect of their educational qualifications. But meanwhile P.O. Ohadike observes^{2/} that "having migrated elsewhere before coming to Lusaka the adult "plural movers" aged 15 and over were not only more educated than those moved from their birthplace but also surpassed those non-migrants born in the city. Thus migration to the city brought more persons with an education. The educational level of the Zambian population in general is relatively low especially among the older population due to the fact that school facilities were not available to them when they were of school age. According to the data of the 1969 census of population 53 percent of the population of the unauthorized housing areas aged 5 years and over had received no schooling at all, compared to 30.6 percent of the total population of Lusaka urban area and 32.5 percent of the African population. Of the population in the unauthorized areas 37 percent had received a primary education and 3.5 percent secondary or higher education only. There are, practically no secondary schools in the unauthorized areas in Lusaka. Furthermore, only about 29 percent of the children from these areas aged 5 to 9 years attend school, compared to 97.2 percent of the total population in this age group in Lusaka urban areas and 97.5 percent of the African population. Only about 8 percent of the total number of children at school in the unauthorized areas were receiving secondary education, compared to about 15 percent of the total population attending school and 14.1 percent of the African population.

85. According to the Ministry of Education Survey in 1970 the main reasons for this are:

- official primary schools are located only in official housing areas;
- a system of geographical preference used by head teachers in the allocation of places, whereby places are first awarded to children of the appropriate age who come from the area immediately surrounding the school. Children from other areas have in practice second priority for schooling.

^{1/} Matejko, "The Social Upgrading of Africans in Employment after Independence" The Zambian Case, Lusaka, Zambia, 1968.

^{2/} P.O. Ohadike "Urbanization, Migration and Migrants in Zambia", A Survey of Patterns, Variations and Change in Lusaka", paper prepared for the International African Seminar, Lusaka, 1972.

86. Thus as a result of the lack of education facilities in the unauthorized housing areas, the majority of the population and especially those who migrated to the city cannot receive an adequate education. So they will only have the possibility to obtain such an educational level to be employed at unskilled job.

5. Summary

87. The Second National Development Plan of Zambia stated that estimates of the rural urban breakdown of the country's population bring out the fact that dimensions of the drift of the rural population to urban areas has assumed such proportions as to dictate urgent attention to reducing this movement. In the years immediately following independence there was a substantial movement of the population as families joined their male working members in urban areas especially in Lusaka and because of increased employment opportunities coupled with high expectations resulting from post independence development. It is rather difficult to expect that the lack of adequate employment opportunities and the increasing cost of housing even in the already overcrowded urban areas will act as a deterrent to rural-urban migration, especially for the young generation. Moreover, the estimate of future urbanization in Zambia made in the SNDP^{1/} indicates that the proportion of urban to total population would increase from 19 percent in 1963 to 38 percent by 1978. Even if the rate of net-migration to the cities dropped the above is particularly true of the situation in Lusaka.

88. Between 1963 and 1969 the total African population of Lusaka grew over 13 percent per year. At the same time for the Lusaka urban areas this rate of growth was about 9.6 percent per year. This means that the greatest share of migrants was associated with the high density suburbs. Practically only in these unauthorized areas can the jobless build or rent houses of indifferent quality since the demand for houses in the authorized areas is very high. In 1972 there were about 22,000 families on the city Council housing waiting list. Thus the unauthorized areas grew and will grow in response to the need for a larger number of houses and the need for cheap housing.

The very high demand for housing and especially cheap housing is due to the fact that practically more than 72 percent of Lusaka urban population are migrants who come to the city after independence in 1964.

89. It should be pointed out that those who came to Lusaka were between 15 and 45 years old, and constitute about 47 percent of the existing population. At the same time the share of the African population in the same age group accounts for about 50 percent. Besides, there is a great difference in the age structure of the African population born in the district and those from outside Lusaka. While the African population of the Lusaka urban area born in the same area is extremely young - almost 80 percent being 15 and under of those born outside the district 77 percent consists of the population of working age - of 15 years and above.

^{1/} Second National Development Plan

90. According to the 1969 census of population the economically active population of the Lusaka urban area constitutes more than 54 percent of the total population. Among them male population accounts for 55.8 percent of the total economically active population. During to such a large movement of population, especially that of working age, the urban area fails to meet the needs of the urban population in terms of employment. Out of 47,927 males in the population of working age of the Lusaka urban area, only 85.2 percent are working that accounts for only 46.2 percent of the total economically active population of the area. Such a rather low level of employment is due mostly to the lack of job opportunities due to administrative nature of the city and to the very low level of education of the population. Even among the working population almost 14.3 percent had no schooling at all, 66.7 percent had only had a primary education; less than 17 percent had graduated from secondary schools and only 2.5 percent had received a technical education. Owing to the fact that the Government of Zambia has placed strong emphasis on the development of formal education, school enrolment has increased gradually since 1963. The percentage of persons, who have never attended school, has decreased since 1963 from 56.8 to 30.6 in 1969. But meanwhile the situation is still far from satisfactory. This is especially so with respect to the population of official low cost housing areas and squatter compounds. About 53 percent of the population of the unauthorized housing areas had no schooling at all, 37 percent had only had a primary education and only 3.5 percent a secondary or higher education. This situation arises mainly from the lack of educational facilities in this area. As a result of this the majority of the population, and especially those who migrated to the city will receive such a medium of education that they will be only fit to be employed at unskilled jobs.

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