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Zambia at 60

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Zambia at 60



Introduction

This series of Infosheets was a result of the African Studies Assembly (ASA) activities, sponsored by Leiden University after the inclusion of the African Studies Centre as part of Leiden University in 2016. ASA was coordinated by Ton Dietz (African Studies Centre Leiden) and David Ehrhardt (Leiden University College in The Hague) and supported by Maaik Westra (African Studies Centre Leiden), and the technical / publication aspects of this series by Machteld Oosterkamp, Edith de Roos, Fenneken Veldkamp, Harry Wels, and Mieke Zwart. After the retirement of Ton Dietz as director of the African Studies Centre in 2017 the coordination of ASA activities has been continued by Jan-Bart Gewald (2017-2021) and Marleen Dekker (2021 onwards). From 2024 onwards these joint activities of the African Studies Centre Leiden and other Africanists at Leiden University have become part of the Africa Strategy of Leiden University. To all those who have made ASA and the Africa-at-60 series a success: thanks! Zambia was Ton Dietz's first African adventure, together with Annemieke van Haastrecht and Rudolf Scheffer, as a student fieldwork in Kafue and Mazabuka in 1975. Preparations for that fieldwork started in '74; fifty years ago now, and ten years after Zambia had become an independent state.

Political history

1960 was the 'Year of Africa': many former colonies in Africa became politically independent. For Zambia it would last another four years before the country became independent, on the 24th of October 1964. Zambia had been a British crown colony from 1924 onwards, under the name of Northern Rhodesia. In 1895 the area had become a possession of the British South Africa Company. Between 1953 and 1963 Northern Rhodesia was part of the (British) Central African Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Nyasaland became politically independent on July 6th, 1964 as Malawi; Northern

At that time Zambia, under President Kaunda, was one of the countries opting for a 'third way', between capitalism and communism, and Kaunda called it 'humanism'. It was after a period of great optimism, and the fieldwork in the New Town of Kafue and in the new Nakambala Sugar Estate in Mazabuka showed that optimistic spirit. In 1977 the report was published as: "The local effects of two large scale industrial projects in the Kafue-Mazabuka area in Zambia: Kafue estate and Nakambala sugar estate" (AJ Dietz, A van Haastrecht, R Scheffer; Nijmegen Geografische Cahiers 8, 1977). Our supervisors had been Leo van den Berg of the Department of Geography of the University of Zambia in Lusaka, and Ton van Naerssen at the Department of Geography in Nijmegen. In 2008, for an edited volume honoring Ton van Naerssen, a follow-up study was done: Dietz, T., van Haastrecht A., and Scheffer R., "Revisiting Peripheral Capitalism in Zambia", in Paul Hebinck, Sef Sloatweg, and Lothar Smith, (eds.), *Tales of Development: People, Power and Space*. Assen: Royal Van Gorcum, 2008, pp. 61-78. In this Infosheet we will explore what the various developments have been in Zambia between 1960/1964 and 2024.

Rhodesia followed on the 24th of October 1964 as Zambia and the white minority regime of Southern Rhodesia unilaterally declared its independence on 11th November 1965 as Rhodesia, which was strongly opposed by Zambia and many other countries. After a civil war Rhodesia became truly independent on 18th April 1980. But Zambia's resistance to South Africa's Apartheid regime continued until also South Africa became a democracy with majority rule in 1994.

Figure 1: Political timeline Kenya since independence

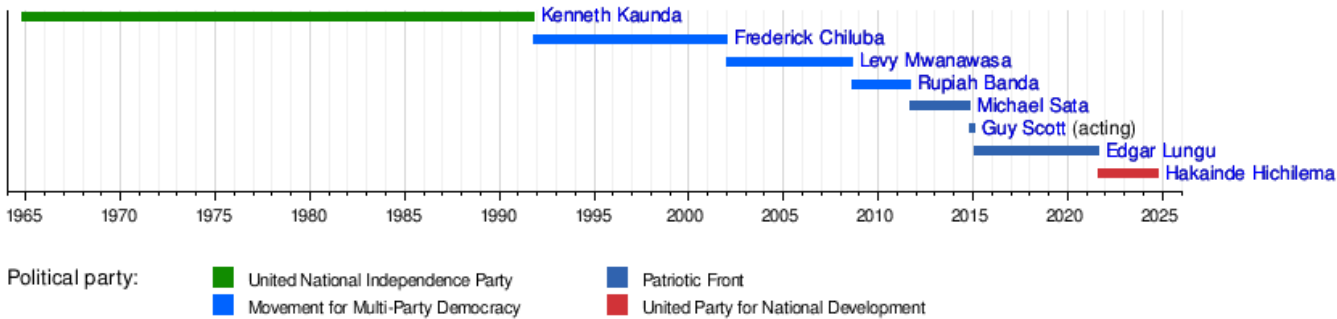


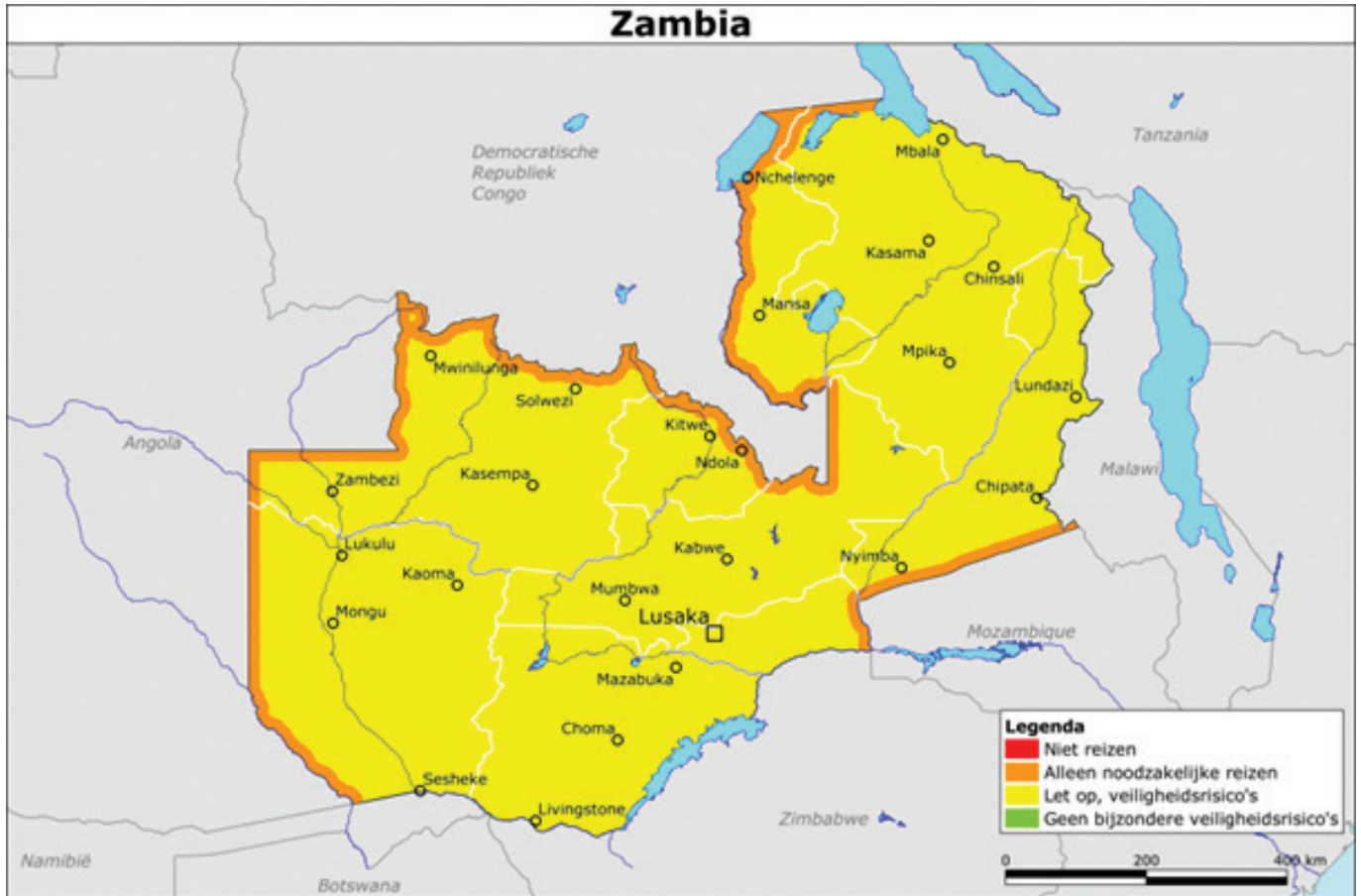
Figure 1: Political timeline Zambia since independence

Kenneth Kaunda (1924-2021) had been among the founding members of the Northern Rhodesian African National Congress in 1949 and had become its secretary general in 1953. He broke away in 1957 and became the leader of the United National Independence Party. In 1964 he became prime minister of Northern Rhodesia, preparing for Independence later that year. The 1960s would then prove to be a period of growth, as copper exports provided government income and economic and political opportunities increased for black Zambians. Tensions with white-dominated Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) dampened these positive developments, not least because of the costs of re-routing copper exports and other trade routes northwards, away from Southern Rhodesia and towards Tanzania. In 1972 Kaunda made Zambia a one-party state, integrating among others the Zambia African National Congress into the United National Independence Party (UNIP). He promoted ‘Zambian Humanism’, as a third way between capitalism and communism, with an emphasis on state companies (but accepting private enterprise), and stimulating education and health care. However, Zambia’s initial growth based on high copper prices, had come to an end after the oil crisis of 1973 and the collapse of the world copper prices afterwards. As the economy declined and political tensions between the country’s major ethnic groups – and between Zambia and Rhodesia – increased, Kaunda’s governing style became increasingly authoritarian. Rural development programmes did not produce their imagined results and attempts to address national debt problems clashed with the

desire to provide government subsidies to support people’s livelihoods. After many one-party re-elections, Kaunda could no longer resist the call for multi-party democracy, and after a change of the constitution in 1991 the chairman of the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy, Frederick Chiluba (1943-2011), became President. He was re-elected in 1996 and faced a coup attempt as well as continuing public dissatisfaction with the economic situation. In 2002 Levy Patrick Mwanawasa of the MMP was elected (1948-2008), and after his death he was succeeded by Rupiah Banda (1937-2022), who supported major Chinese influence. In 2011 opposition leader Michael Sata (1937-2014) of the Zambia Patriotic Front took over, with a lot of anti-Chinese rhetoric. When he died in 2014 he was briefly succeeded by Vice-President Guy Scott, the first white Zambian president since independence (*1944). In 2015 Edgar Lungu (*1956) took over, but ever more became an autocratic leader, despite making improvements in infrastructure. Long-time opposition leader Hakainde Hichilema (*1962; supported by Kenneth Kaunda) and his United Party for National Development won the elections in 2021 and has been Zambia’s president since then.

Conflict, state fragility, and travel risks

For African standards Zambia is in the middle range on the ‘security risk’ indices. Currently, in June 2024, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands regards Zambia as a relatively safe country for travellers, with exceptions (some security risks) at the borders with Angola, the DRC and Mozambique.

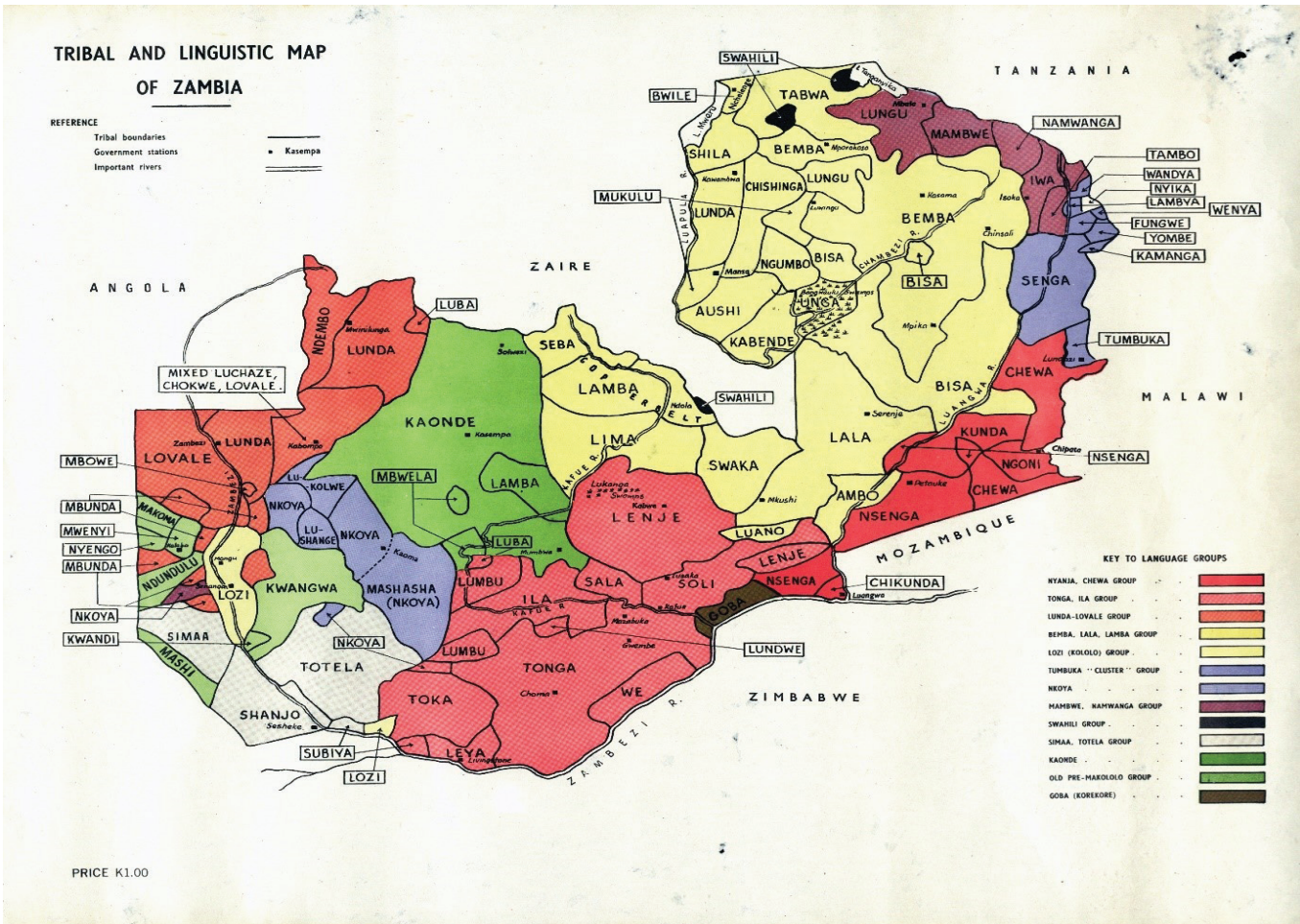


Source <https://www.nederlandwereldwijd.nl/reisadvies/zambia>

Travel advice MFA the Netherlands for Zambia, July 2024

The State Fragility Index of the Fund for Peace for 2023 puts Zambia in the 'middle warning range', with 81.8 points (most negative score would be 120.0 points; for Africa, 'middle warning' is a relatively low risk category) (<https://fragilestatesindex.org/excel/>). The index consists of twelve variables, and Zambia has relatively good scores for the quality of the security apparatus (3.9 out of 10) and for refugees and internally replaced people (4.9), but very problematic scores for demographic pressure (score: 9.4), and for economic decline (9.1). Group grievances (mainly between different ethnic groups) are relatively

modest (5.9), although ethnicity can sometimes be a major element of state fragility. Figure 3 shows the ethnic diversity of Zambia, based on linguistic evidence, although almost everyone speaks one of the Bantu languages. Wikipedia acknowledges 72 different ethnic groups (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Demographics_of_Zambia). The 2010 Census (with Zambia having 13 million people at that time) shows the relative importance of the Bemba in the north-east (21%), the Tonga in the south (12%), the Chewa in the east (7%) and the Lozi in the west (6%).



Source: https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/4/47/Tribal_Linguistic_map_Zambia. (Collection African Studies Centre Leiden).

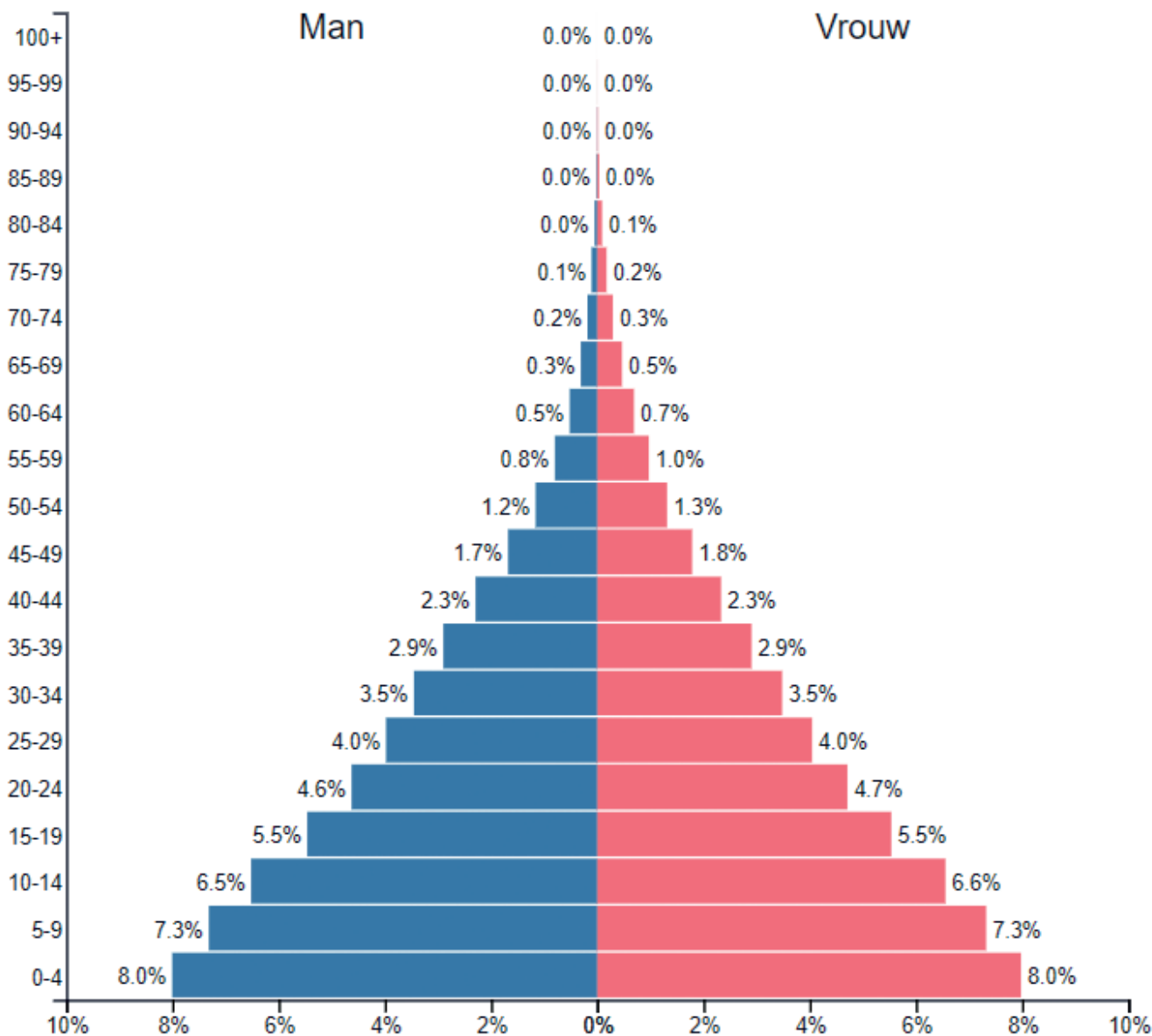
Ethnic and linguistic diversity in Zambia

Zambia regards itself as a Christian nation, with more than 75% of the people practicing some form of Protestantism according to the Census results of 2010 (in the past mainly the Anglican faith, but ever more Pentecostal and Evangelical forms of 'new' Christianity), and 20% Roman Catholics. Few people still adhere to forms of animistic or traditional African religions, and less than 2% stated that they had no religion. Religious animosities sometimes influenced politics (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Religion_in_Zambia).

Demography

Zambia's population increased almost sevenfold between 1960 and 2020, from 3.1 million in 1960 to 21.1 million in mid 2024, mostly through high fer-

tility rates and longer life expectancy for both males and females (also because of rapidly improving child and infant mortality figures), and despite the severe impact of the HIV-AIDS epidemic in the 1980s. Population growth figures were always more than 2.4 percent per year, and more than three percent per year from 1956 to 1969, 1976-1986 and 2001-2019. Currently the average growth rate is around 2.8 percent per year. Total fertility was around 7.1 per woman in 1960; it first increased to 7.4 around 1975, and then started to diminish, with currently 4.1 births per average woman in Zambia during her lifetime. As a result of these demographic developments Zambia has a very skewed population pyramid, with many more young people than adults and elderly people.



Source: <https://www.populationpyramid.net/nl/zambia/2020/>

Zambia: Population Pyramid, 2020
(Man = Men ; Vrouw = Women)

The median age changed from 15.8 years old in 1960, to only 14.0 years old in 1980, and currently 17.4 years old; Zambia has one of the youngest populations in the world. Although Zambia was mainly a rural country at Independence (ca 21% lived in cities; around 800,000 people), but the urbanization rate rapidly increased to a level of 41% in 1990. Between 1990 and 2015 it was slightly lower, to increase again

afterwards. Currently the urbanization rate is 47%. The life expectancy figures for Zambia show the impact of the HIV-AIDS epidemic: with average figures of 47 years in 1960 life expectancy had increased to 55 years in 1975, but it had dropped to 45 years in 2000. Afterwards there was a rapid recovery, to a level of 63 years currently.

	1960	2024
Population	3.1 million	21.1 million
Fertility rate	7.1 children per women	4.1 children per women
Life expectancy (males)	46 years	66 years
idem (females)	48 years	66 years
Median age	15.8 years	17.4 years
Infant mortality (<1 yr)	117/1000	37/1000
Under-5 mortality	204/1000	52/1000
Urbanisation rate	18%	47%
Urban population	0.6 million	9.8 million
Rural population	2.5 million	11.3 million

Source: Worldometers <https://www.worldometers.info/world-population/zambia-population/>

Demographic statistics, Zambia as a whole, 1960, and 2024

Human Development Index, Zambia as a whole, 1990 and 2024

Human Development Index data have existed since 1990, with annual UNDP updates. In 1990, Zambia's Human Development Index started at a level of 0.412. The HDI consists of a health index, an income index and an education index, while UNDP also provides data about life expectancy, and some other indicators. For Zambia the HDI shows a gradual improvement until 2019 (1990: 0.412; 2000: 0.418; 2019: 0.575), but afterwards a slight decrease, as a result of the Covid-19 crisis (2021: 0.565). Between 1990 and 2021 Zambia's population increased from 7.7 million people to 18.4 million people. The increase in the

HDI between 1990 and 2021 can be attributed to improvements in all components: health, education and standard of living, and can also be seen in the data for life expectancy. However, the most significant growth took place in education. Average income levels per capita (in US\$ of 2011, PPP) slightly increased from 7.609\$ in 1990 to 7.675\$ in 2021, but for this thirty-year period one can say that average incomes stagnated, and Zambia's economic crisis during this period has been severe, and long-lasting. However, education and health levels (and life expectancy, Mean Years of Schooling, and Expected Years of Schooling) have improved a lot during these 30 years.

	1990	2021	2021/1990
Health Index	0.430	0.634	1.47
Income Index	0.454	0.524	1.15
Education Index	0.359	0.543	1.51
Life Expectancy	47.9	61.2	1.28
GNI/capita in US\$ (2011PPP)	7.609	7.675	1.01
Mean years of schooling	4.5	7.2	1.60
Expected years of schooling	7.5	10.9	1.45
Total HDI Index	0.412	0.565	1.37

Source: <https://globaldataab.org/70/>

Zambia: HDI and its composition, and indicators; data for 1990, and 2021

Trade statistics, Zambia exports and imports, 2022

In 2022 Zambia exported products for a total value of 14.8 billion \$, and imported for a total value of 10.2 billion \$ (mostly from South Africa, Equatorial Guinea, China, UAE, and the DRC, in that order), resulting in a major positive trade balance. Leading

import products were refined petroleum, nitrogenous fertilizers, trucks, copper ore (and cobalt; both from the DRC, to be re-exported again), and medicaments, in that order.

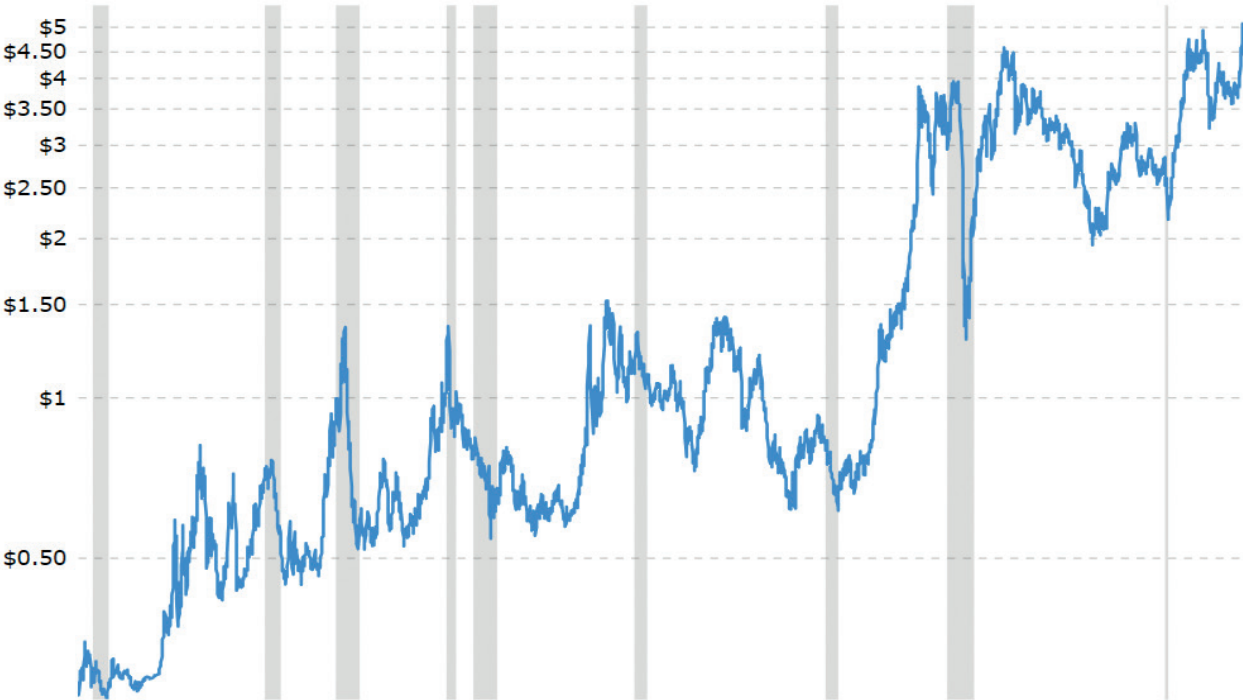
The most important export products and most important export destinations in 2022 were:

Main export products (value in \$ million)		Main export destinations (value in \$ million)	
Raw copper	6.6	Switzerland	4.5
Refined copper	2.8	China	2.6
Gold	1.0	DRC	1.5
Precious stones	0.4	Pitcairn	1.5
Ferroalloys	0.3	UAE	1.0

Source : <https://legacyec.world/en/profile/country/zmb/ken/>

Currently, Zambia is the world's leading export country for copper. Figure 5 shows the long-term developments of the world market price for copper, which has always been crucial for Zambia's economic situation. The first nine years after Independence (1964-1973) showed major price increases, and hence a very good start for the young nation. However, this was followed by a major slump, as a result of the world's oil crisis after 1973. With a brief exception

during the late 1970s this lasted until the late 1980s, and 1995-2005 again was a period of low copper prices. With a few exceptions nominal copper prices became relatively high again after 2005, and reached all-time highs during the last few years. However (as Figure 6 shows) inflation should be taken into account, and corrected by inflation figures, the highest copper prices were noted in 2011.



Long-term world market prices for copper in US\$ per pound, 1955-2024

Source: <https://www.macrotrends.net/1476/copper-prices-historical-chart-data>

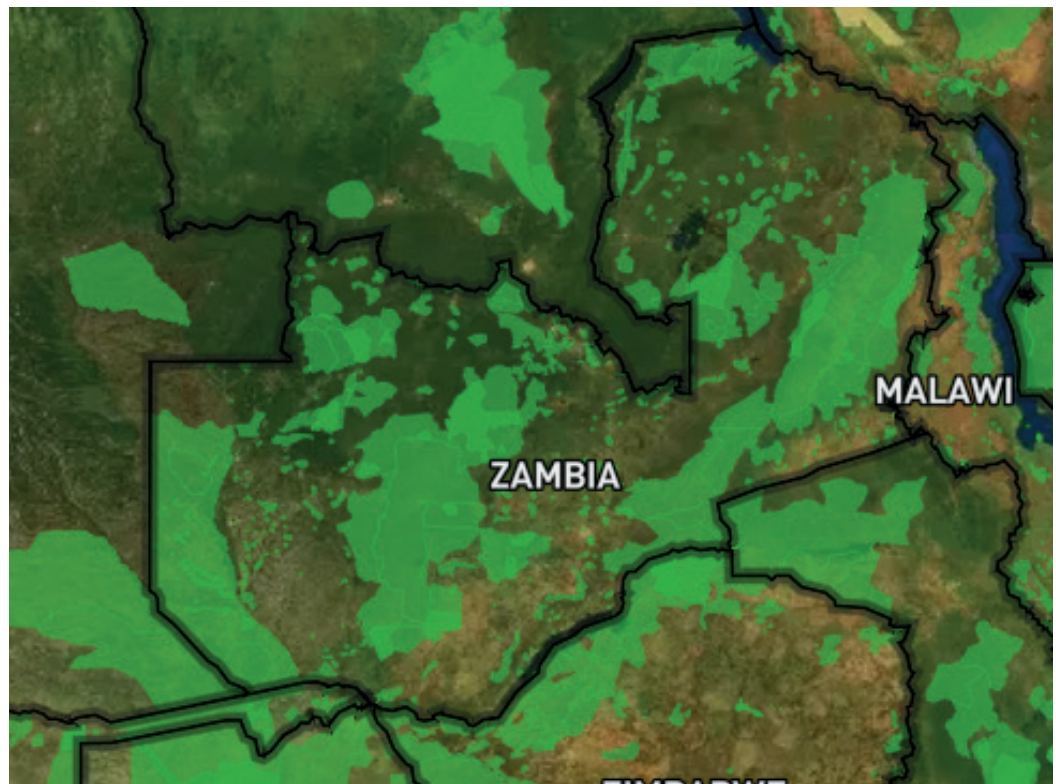


Inflation-adjusted figures for copper prices, 1980-2024, in US\$/metric ton

Protected areas and Forests

Zambia currently has 641 protected areas, in many different categories, e.g. 555 forest reserves, 20 national parks, 36 game management areas, 2 wildlife sanctuaries, and 2 bird sanctuaries, 1 conservation area, and 16 natural monuments. There are eight Ramsar wetlands sites, and there is one UNESCO-MAB biosphere reserve. There is also one world heritage site. Of the total land and water area 41% is currently protected (<https://www.protectedplanet.net>).

[net/country/ZMB](https://www.protectedplanet.net/country/ZMB)). However, between 2001 and 2020 Zambia has lost 1.9 million ha of its forest cover, which currently is 16.6 million hectares or 22% of the national land area of 756,000 km² (<https://rainforests.mongabay.com/>). Other areas are mainly 'other wooded land', and areas for agriculture, livestock, hunting and gathering (as well as urban and mining areas). Figure 7 shows a map of Zambia's protected areas.



Zambia's protected areas

Source: <https://www.protectedplanet.net/country/ZMB>

Agricultural Zambia

Crop Area (in 1000 hectares), and total production

(in 1000 tonnes), 1961 and 2022, in the order of the crop areas in 2022.

Crops	1961		2022		2022 /1961	
	Area	Prod.	Area	Prod.	Area	Prod.
Maize	750	660	1115	2706	1.5	4.1
Soy beans	0	0	375	475	+++	+++
Cassave	24	150	299	3498	12.5	23.3
Groundnuts	60	50	253	190	4.2	3.8
Beans and peas	13	10	182	95	14.0	9.5
Sunflower seed	2	0	164	80	82.0	+++
Other vegetables*	16	116	60	491	3.8	4.2
Sugarcane	0	0	47	4877	+++	+++
Sweet potatoes	2	20	40	132	20.0	6.6
Rice	0	0	40	62	+++	+++
Wheat	1	1	34	235	34.0	235.0
Millet	115	66	33	24	0.3	0.4
Fruits**	7	40	28	130	4.0	3.3
Seed cotton	0	0	25	23	+++	+++
Tobacco	8	7	21	39	2.6	5.6
Sorghum	67	40	20	15	0.3	0.4
Coffee	0	0	8	9	+++	+++
Other***	0	0	3	15	+++	+++
Total	1065	1160	2747	13096	2.6	11.3

2022/1961: red = 2022 is below 1961; green: 2022 is more than 6.3 times the 1961 figures (that is: more than population increase in Zambia from 3.2 to 20.0 million between 1961 and 2018); black: in-between. * Onions, Potatoes, Spices, Tomatoes, and 'other vegetables'; ** Bananas, Oranges, Pineapples, 'other fruits', and 'other tropical fruits'; *** Barley and Tea (leaves).

Zambia's land area is 75.6 million hectares, and its crop area increased from 1.4% to 3.6% of its land area between 1961 and 2022. Almost all food crop areas have expanded between 1961 and 2022, with the exception of the 'old grains': millet and sorghum. Since Independence many new crops have been introduced and soybeans, sugarcane, rice, and seed cotton have expanded, while also some coffee, barley and tea fields have been newly established. Some existing crops also expanded rapidly and (much) more than Zambia's high population increases: sunflower, cassava, beans and peas, sweet potatoes and wheat. Measured in weight terms total production volumes have increased twice as much as population growth, but that is mainly due to the bulky volumes of sugarcane. The most important food grain, maize, also expanded, but in terms of area only one-and-a-half times, but in terms of production volumes 410% (but

that is lower than the 630% increase of Zambia's population). Yields per hectare for maize have increased: from 880 kg/ha to 2230 kg/ha.

The numbers of all live animals, measured in stock units, expanded less rapidly than Zambia's population: in total 540% compared with 660% between 1961 and 2022. This is mainly due to the relatively slow increases for cattle, because the number of goats, pigs, chicken and sheep has expanded more rapidly than Zambia's population. Per capita the numbers of live animals in the country (measured in stock units) decreased from 0.31 in 1961 to 0.26 in 2022. The good performance for chicken, goats and also somehow for pigs and sheep is good news for women. These animals are especially important for 'small' and 'medium' cash incomes, and for Zambia's women.

	1961	2022	2022/1961
Cattle	1283	4699	3.7
Chicken	4100	41183	10.0
Goats	143	4456	31.2
Pigs	76	1161	15.3
Sheep	38	261	6.9
Livestock units	965	5254	5.4

Source: Faostat data; 1 livestock unit = based on 0.7 cattle; 0.1 goats/sheep/pigs; 0.01 chicken; colours: see the table for crops.

Livestock numbers
(x 1000)

International migration

In 2015 238,000 people who were born in Zambia lived outside the country (1.4% of Zambia’s total population of 16.5 million people inside and outside the country during that year), of which 164,000 elsewhere in Africa (mainly in South Africa, Malawi, Zimbabwe, and Botswana, in that order), and 74,000 outside Africa: 0.5% of Zambia’s total population: most of them in the UK (31,000 of the total 38,000 in Europe), and the USA (22,000) (UN migration report 2015). In 2020 Zambia had around 201,000 immigrants (UN migration report 2020), most of them in other African countries: mainly Zimbabwe, Angola, DRC, Malawi and Congo. Between 1990 and 2020 the number of immigrants steadily increased from only 85,000 in 1990 to 160,000 in 2000, and 201,000 in 2020. UNHCR writes: “Zambia hosts over 105,000 refugees, asylum-seekers and others of concern. The majority of people of concern (POCs) are refugees from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC),

Burundi, as well as Angolan and former Rwandan refugees. They reside in the three designated refugee settlements of Mantapala [in Luapula Province], Meheba [in Northwestern Province], and Mayuk-wayukwa [in Western Province], as well as in Lusaka and other urban centres” (<https://www.unhcr.org/countries/zambia>).

Urban Zambia

Zambia’s urban population increased from only 600,000 people in 1960 (only 18% of its national population) to 9.8 million in 2024 (47%). There are eight major cities of which Lusaka currently has more than one million inhabitants. Smaller major cities are Kitwe, Ndola, Chingola, Mufulira and Luanshya in the Copperbelt Province, Kabwe in Central Province and Livingstone in Southern Province. Growth has been very rapid for all cities, but particularly for the area of and around Lusaka.



Source: <https://ipinimg.com/564x/03/f2/a2/03f2a201ba4b4f59c810720ef7dab9>

Cities (and region)	Population in thousands of inhabitants				
	Macrotrends: 1964	Population census 2010	Worldometers, city, as given in 2020	Population census 2020	Macrotrends: 2020 (metropolises)
Lusaka	142	Town: 117 Prov: 2191	1267	Town: 138 Prov: 3080	3324
Kitwe/Nkana	135	83	401	121	972
Ndola	103	139	395	172	607
Kabwe		119	189	179	
Chingola		127	149	187	
Mufulira		61	121	93	
Luanshya		98	113	141	
Livingstone		140	109	177	

Source for 2010 and 2022: <https://www.zamstats.gov.zm/2022-census/>;
<https://www.zamstats.gov.zm/2022-census/reports/>, worldometers:

Major urban areas in Zambia

<https://www.worldometers.info/world-population/zambia-population/>; also:
<https://worldpopulationreview.com/countries/cities/zambia>; macrotrends:
<https://www.macrotrends.net/> (and then search for the particular city).

Regional Inequality Zambia



Source: <https://globaldatalab.org/70>

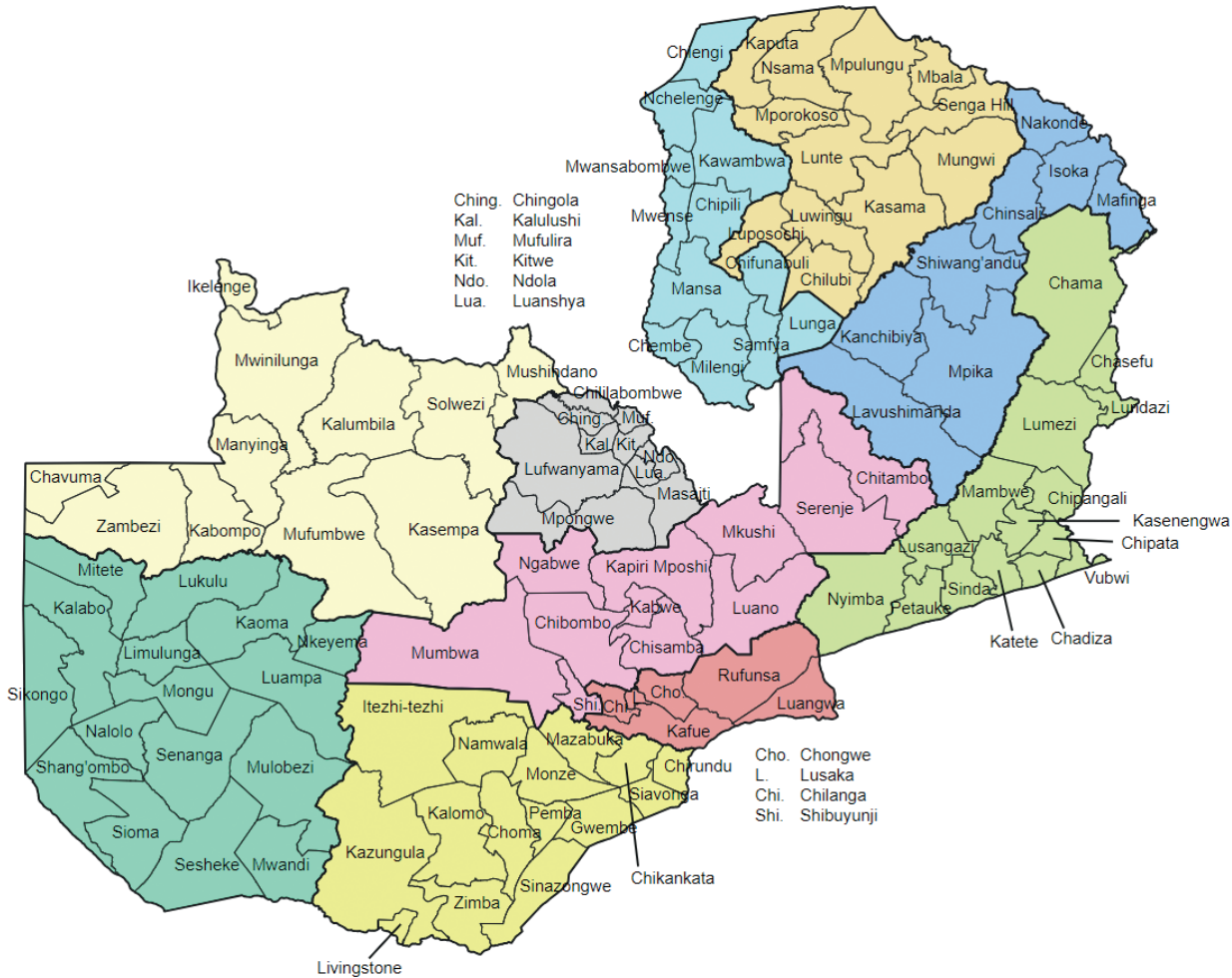
Regional specifics in Zambia, as used by GlobalDataLab. In June 2024 the latest data (Subnational HDI (v7.0) are for 1990 and 2021, but for population numbers only for 1993 and 2021 (and all years in-between). Source: <https://globaldatalab.org/70>, map: https://www.worldometers.info/img/maps/zambia_political_map.gif

In 2021 Zambia had 10 provinces. In 2011 the southern part of Northern Province and a district of Eastern Province (Chama) became Muchinga

Province. However, Chama was returned to Eastern Province in 2021.



Current Provinces in Zambia; Source: 2022 Population Census, preliminary report



However, the Globaldatalab still uses the pre-2011 provincial organization, to enable long-term comparisons. We will first look at the developments between 1990 and 2021. Between 1993 and 2021 all regions experienced population growth, but the highest growth happened in Northwestern Province, near Angola, and the DRC, followed by Northern Province. Relatively slow growth happened in the Copperbelt Province, once the economic engine of the country, but ailing after the start of a major economic crisis in 1973. If we look at the regional data for human development, which for Zambia exist

since 1990, we see that across the board improvements have taken place between 1990 and 2021. For the HDI as a whole the best conditions existed in Lusaka, the region of the capital city, but not for the best health conditions. The best health conditions could be found in the Southern Province in 1990 and this had shifted to Northwestern Province towards 2021. The worst overall conditions existed in Luapula Province, and this was also true for health conditions. However, the worst education conditions could be found in Eastern Province, in 1990 and still in 2021.

Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Districts_of_Zambia#/media/File:Zambia_districts_2022.svg

Region	Subregional HDI /1000			Health index /1000			Education index /1000		
	1990	2021	21/90	1990	2021	21/90	1990	2021	21/90
1	422	561	1.33	461	676	1.47	374	515	1.38
2	486	631	1.30	448	670	1.50	450	619	1.38
3	334	509	1.52	397	635	1.60	237	434	1.83
4	363	492	1.36	390	537	1.38	309	476	1.54
5	484	636	1.31	449	635	1.41	455	645	1.42
6	392	586	1.49	477	732	1.53	320	558	1.74
7	376	520	1.38	423	622	1.47	318	491	1.54
8	415	562	1.35	484	620	1.28	344	563	1.61
9	370	517	1.40	421	651	1.55	308	490	1.59
Zambia	412	565	1.37	430	634	1.47	359	543	1.51
Ineq	1.33	1.29		1.24	1.36		3.92	1.49	

If we compare 2021 with 1990 the health situation has improved most in Eastern Province, and the relatively slowest improvements were in Southern Province. Regional inequality in health conditions became more pronounced. However, the regional differences in education became less extreme during these thirty

years, with most improvement in the Province with the worst conditions in 1990 (and still in 2021), and relatively slow improvements in the areas with the best education conditions. Also the subregional HDI as a whole showed a trend towards less regional inequality between 1990 and 2021.

Region	Income/capita (2011 US\$ PPP)		
	1990	2021	'21/'90
1 Central	7,492	7,969	1.06
2 Copperbelt	8,372	8,614	1.03
3 Eastern	7,234	7,771	1.07
4 Luapula	7,227	7,684	1.06
5 Lusaka	8,277	8,759	1.06
6 Northwestern	7,212	7,857	1.09
7 Northern	7,209	7,652	1.06
8 Southern	7,457	7,972	1.07
9. Western	7,176	7,478	1.04
Zambia	7,609	8,076	1.06
Ineq	1.17	1.17	

Finally, the GNI/capita figures are a clear sign of economic stagnation, with hardly any improvement in the Copperbelt, and a bit more in Northwestern Province. The Province with the highest average incomes shifted from the Copperbelt in 1990 to Lusaka in 2021. Regional income inequality was not very high, though, and did not change if we compare the two reference years. However, Zambia's income inequality between the various wealth categories is very high; its Gini coefficient was 0.52 in 2022, one of

the most extreme figures in the world. But in 1991 it was even 0.61, and afterwards it fluctuated a lot, with a lowest level in 2000 (0.42) and more than 0.50 from 2003 onwards (<https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.POV.GINI?locations=ZM-1W>). The 10% highest income group earned between 70% and 80% of all national income, and the top 1% 23-25% during the last few years (<https://wid.world/country/zambia/>).

Further reading

<http://countryportal.ascleiden.nl/Zambia>
Africa2020: <https://www.ascleiden.nl/africa2020>

Country Information: Ton Dietz and David Ehrhardt
with thanks to Annemieke van Haastrecht and
Rudolf Scheffer.

Country Portal: Harro Westra

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African Studies Centre Leiden (ASCL)

The African Studies Centre Leiden, founded in 1947, is the only knowledge institute in the Netherlands devoted entirely to the study of Africa.



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