

In this chapter we explore women's status in terms of earnings, women's control over cash earnings, and the magnitude of their earnings relative to their partners. In addition, specific questions were posed to determine women's roles in household decisionmaking, on acceptance of wife beating, and on opinions about when a wife should be able to refuse sex with her husband. These questions are used to define three different indicators of women's status: women's participation in decisionmaking, the degree of acceptance of wife beating, and the degree of acceptance of a wife's right to refuse sex with her husband. The extent to which women's status influences maternal and child health and contraceptive decisionmaking is also examined. Finally, this chapter discusses the proportion of women who have ever been widowed and dispossessed of property belonging to their late husband.

16.1 EMPLOYMENT AND FORM OF EARNINGS

Table 16.1 shows the percent distribution of currently married women and men who were employed in the 12 months preceding the survey by type of earnings they received (cash, in-kind, or both). Employment is assumed to go hand-in-hand with payment for work. Not all women and men receive earnings for the work they do, and among those who do receive earnings, not all receive cash.

Table 16.1 Employment and cash earnings of currently married women and men

Percentage of currently married women and men who were employed at any time in the past 12 months and the percent distribution of currently married women and men employed in the past 12 months by type of earnings, according to age, Zimbabwe 2005-2006

Age	Currently married respondents:		Percent distribution of currently married respondents employed in the past 12 months, by type of earnings					Total	Number
	Percentage employed	Number of women/men	Cash only	Cash and in-kind	In-kind only	Not paid	Missing		
WOMEN									
15-19	35.1	448	53.4	12.0	2.0	32.5	0.0	100.0	157
20-24	39.8	1,200	60.5	8.8	1.7	28.6	0.3	100.0	478
25-29	45.1	1,125	62.5	10.1	2.5	24.9	0.0	100.0	507
30-34	48.4	933	61.3	10.4	1.4	26.5	0.3	100.0	451
35-39	52.0	556	60.5	13.9	2.8	22.9	0.0	100.0	289
40-44	50.3	485	60.3	12.4	0.9	26.3	0.0	100.0	244
45-49	44.4	396	46.7	16.2	4.1	33.0	0.0	100.0	176
Total 15-49	44.8	5,143	59.5	11.2	2.1	27.0	0.1	100.0	2,303
MEN									
15-19	*	8	*	*	*	*	*	100.0	4
20-24	86.9	311	70.3	6.3	1.8	21.2	0.4	100.0	270
25-29	90.2	692	68.0	9.4	1.5	20.5	0.5	100.0	625
30-34	92.2	755	67.4	10.6	0.3	21.1	0.6	100.0	696
35-39	91.2	581	71.9	10.1	1.4	16.0	0.5	100.0	530
40-44	90.5	415	70.3	9.7	1.2	18.3	0.5	100.0	375
45-49	86.6	369	65.2	12.3	0.9	21.4	0.2	100.0	320
Total 15-49	90.1	3,132	68.8	9.9	1.1	19.7	0.5	100.0	2,821
Total 15-54	89.5	3,419	68.5	10.2	1.1	19.8	0.4	100.0	3,062

Note: An asterisk indicates that a figure is based on fewer than 25 unweighted cases and has been suppressed.

Forty-five percent of currently married women reported being employed. Six in ten women receive their payment in cash (60 percent), 11 percent receive both cash and payment in-kind, 2 percent receive in-kind payment only, and 27 percent do not receive any form of payment for their work. The percent of currently married women who are employed increases with age, peaking in the age group 35-39 (52 percent) and then declining in the two older age groups.

Nine in ten currently married men were employed during the 12-month period prior to the survey. Among employed men, more than three-quarters were paid at least some cash for the work they did.

16.2 CONTROL OVER AND RELATIVE MAGNITUDE OF WOMEN'S EARNINGS

As a means of assessing women's autonomy, currently married women who earned cash for their work in the 12 months preceding the survey were asked who the main decisionmaker is with regard to the use of their earnings. This information allows the assessment of women's control over their own earnings. Women who earned cash for their work were also asked the relative magnitude of their earnings compared with those of their husband or partner. It is expected that employment and earnings are more likely to empower women if women themselves control their own earnings and perceive them as significant relative to those of their husband or partner.

Table 16.2.1 shows the degree of control women have over the use of their earnings, and their perception of the magnitude of their earnings relative to those of their husband or partner, by background characteristics. Almost one-third of currently married women who receive cash earnings reported that they alone decide how their earnings are used, while 62 percent said they decide jointly with their husband or partner. Only 6 percent of women report that their husband or partner alone decides how their earnings will be used. The proportion of currently married women who say that they decide by themselves how their earnings are used has decreased from what was observed in 1999 (49 percent in 1999 compared with 32 percent in 2006). The percentage of currently married women who said that they jointly decide with their husband or partner increased from 37 percent to 62 percent over the same period.

Women in the 40-44 year age group are more likely to make independent decisions on their earnings than women in the other age groups. Also, women who do not have any children or who have five or more children are more likely to decide on their own how to use their earnings than women with one to four children. This same group of women is also more likely to have their husband or partner decide how to use their earnings; 10 percent of women with no children and 7 percent of women with five or more children reported that their husband or partner decides how to use their earnings.

There is little variance by residence; one-third of both urban and rural currently married women reported that they make independent decisions on how they spend their earnings. However, the provincial data vary greatly in the way decisions are made on how women's earnings are used. The percentage of women who make independent decisions ranges from 13 percent in Midlands to 46 percent in Mashonaland Central. Furthermore, women in Midlands (79 percent) are most likely to decide jointly with their husband or partner on how to spend the money they earn while women in Mashonaland Central are least likely to do so.

About six in ten women with no education decide independently on how to spend their earnings (58 percent), compared with one in five women with more than a secondary education. Women in the latter group are most likely to jointly decide with their husband or partner how to spend their earnings (78 percent), while women with no education are least likely to do so (57 percent).

Table 16.2.1 Control over women's cash earnings and relative magnitude of women's earnings

Percent distribution of currently married women who received cash earnings for employment in the 12 months preceding the survey, by person who decides how earnings are used and by whether she earned more or less than her husband/partner, according to background characteristics, Zimbabwe 2005-2006

Background characteristic	Person who decides how woman's cash earnings are used:						Woman's cash earnings compared to husband/partner's cash earnings:						Number of women
	Mainly respondent	Respondent and husband/partner jointly	Mainly husband/partner	Other	Missing	Total	More	Less	About the same	Husband/partner has no earnings	Don't know/missing	Total	
Age													
15-19	31.9	61.0	5.3	1.1	0.7	100.0	9.5	75.4	6.9	7.4	0.7	100.0	103
20-24	32.6	61.0	6.1	0.2	0.0	100.0	12.4	75.0	11.0	1.3	0.4	100.0	331
25-29	29.5	64.3	5.2	0.7	0.3	100.0	12.8	64.0	19.0	3.6	0.6	100.0	368
30-34	30.7	63.2	6.0	0.1	0.0	100.0	13.6	64.2	18.4	2.5	1.3	100.0	324
35-39	32.0	62.0	5.4	0.0	0.6	100.0	12.2	59.3	24.4	1.1	3.0	100.0	215
40-44	41.4	55.4	3.3	0.0	0.0	100.0	16.1	59.8	18.5	4.8	0.8	100.0	177
45-49	28.1	63.8	8.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	9.4	56.9	24.5	4.6	4.6	100.0	111
Number of living children													
0	34.3	55.3	9.5	0.8	0.0	100.0	11.9	74.0	12.9	1.2	0.0	100.0	129
1-2	31.3	63.0	5.3	0.1	0.3	100.0	13.8	66.7	15.3	3.2	0.9	100.0	827
3-4	29.6	65.8	3.8	0.6	0.2	100.0	11.8	62.4	21.5	3.1	1.2	100.0	421
5+	37.5	55.2	7.3	0.0	0.0	100.0	11.2	61.7	20.6	3.0	3.5	100.0	253
Residence													
Urban	30.6	64.6	4.4	0.2	0.2	100.0	13.6	66.7	16.1	2.3	1.3	100.0	787
Rural	33.4	59.3	6.6	0.4	0.2	100.0	11.9	64.2	18.9	3.7	1.3	100.0	842
Province													
Manicaland	28.8	70.8	0.4	0.0	0.0	100.0	7.1	75.9	13.3	0.9	2.8	100.0	223
Mashonaland Central	45.9	44.8	9.2	0.0	0.0	100.0	14.2	65.3	8.8	11.1	0.5	100.0	181
Mashonaland East	44.9	51.9	3.3	0.0	0.0	100.0	11.2	51.9	34.1	1.4	1.4	100.0	105
Mashonaland West	35.4	55.3	9.0	0.0	0.3	100.0	14.4	63.7	17.3	3.1	1.4	100.0	188
Matabeleland North	34.6	63.6	1.8	0.0	0.0	100.0	16.1	66.2	13.0	3.2	1.6	100.0	56
Matabeleland South	39.8	53.6	4.5	2.1	0.0	100.0	14.5	58.0	23.5	1.8	2.1	100.0	58
Midlands	13.3	78.9	7.2	0.0	0.6	100.0	12.5	65.5	21.1	0.0	0.9	100.0	228
Masvingo	41.8	54.4	1.6	2.1	0.0	100.0	10.3	69.8	18.6	1.3	0.0	100.0	111
Harare	31.3	61.6	6.6	0.4	0.1	100.0	15.8	62.8	16.6	3.4	1.4	100.0	375
Bulawayo	23.4	70.3	5.5	0.0	0.7	100.0	9.8	68.3	18.9	2.3	0.7	100.0	102
Education													
No education	58.4	36.6	5.1	0.0	0.0	100.0	7.6	64.7	18.6	3.1	5.9	100.0	59
Primary	35.0	56.8	7.4	0.6	0.1	100.0	13.6	63.0	19.9	2.9	0.7	100.0	508
Secondary	30.6	63.9	5.2	0.2	0.1	100.0	12.8	67.4	14.9	3.5	1.3	100.0	921
More than secondary	19.9	77.7	1.4	0.0	1.0	100.0	11.0	61.8	25.6	0.0	1.6	100.0	140
Wealth quintile													
Lowest	30.6	55.8	12.3	1.3	0.0	100.0	12.2	61.7	20.3	4.7	1.2	100.0	192
Second	38.8	52.6	8.1	0.5	0.0	100.0	15.5	59.5	16.0	8.3	0.7	100.0	225
Middle	26.4	69.1	4.2	0.0	0.3	100.0	8.3	68.3	19.3	1.9	2.2	100.0	241
Fourth	35.1	59.6	4.6	0.3	0.4	100.0	11.9	71.2	14.1	1.6	1.2	100.0	476
Highest	29.4	67.2	3.3	0.0	0.1	100.0	14.6	62.6	19.6	1.9	1.3	100.0	495
Total	32.0	61.9	5.5	0.3	0.2	100.0	12.7	65.4	17.5	3.0	1.3	100.0	1,629

Regarding relative magnitude of their earnings compared with those of their husband or partner, 65 percent of women believe that they earn less than their husband or partner, 18 percent believe that they earn about the same as their husband or partner, and 13 percent believe that they earn more. The majority of younger women believe they earn less than their husband or partner. Women with no children (74 percent), those who reside in urban areas (67 percent), those who reside in Manicaland (76 percent), and women with a secondary education (67 percent) are most likely to believe they earn less than their husband or partner. Table 16.2.1 shows that 3 percent of women say that their husband or partner did not receive any earnings.

A cross-tabulation by the person in the household who decides how the woman's cash earnings are used and how her husband or partner's cash earnings are used, by the woman's earnings relative to her husband or partner, may provide some insight into a woman's status in the family and the extent of her control over decisionmaking in the household.

Table 16.2.2 shows that currently married women who believe they earn more than their husband are more likely to decide how their husband's or partner's earnings are used (16 percent) than those who earn less (12 percent) or the same as their husband (9 percent). Women who earn the same as their husband or partner are most likely to make joint decisions on how their earnings (78 percent) and their husband's or partner's earnings (82 percent) are used. Husbands and partners are the most likely to make sole decisions on the use of their earnings among the group of women who reported that they earn more than their husband or partner (18 percent).

Table 16.2.2 Woman's control over her own earnings and over those of her husband/partner

Percent distribution of currently married women with cash earnings in the past 12 months by person who decides how a woman's cash earnings are used and the percent distribution by person who decides how the husband/partner's earnings are used, according to the relation between woman's and husband's earnings in past 12 months, if any, Zimbabwe 2005-2006

Woman's earnings relative to husband/partner's earnings	Person who decides how woman's cash earnings are used:						Person who decides how husband/partner's cash earnings are used:						Number of women
	Mainly respondent	Respondent and husband/partner jointly	Mainly husband/partner	Other	Missing	Total	Mainly respondent	Respondent and husband/partner jointly	Mainly husband/partner	Other	Missing	Total	
More than husband/partner	32.9	57.3	9.8	0.0	0.0	100.0	15.8	66.7	17.5	0.0	0.0	100.0	207
Less than husband/partner	34.6	59.8	5.3	0.4	0.0	100.0	12.1	73.1	14.3	0.2	0.2	100.0	1,065
Same as husband/partner	16.6	78.2	4.9	0.3	0.0	100.0	9.1	82.3	8.0	0.0	0.6	100.0	286
Husband/partner has no cash earnings/did not work	51.6	48.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	na	na	na	na	na	na	49
Woman has no cash earnings	na	na	na	na	na	na	9.7	55.4	13.9	1.2	0.6	80.8	3,515
Don't know/missing	(58.9)	(25.8)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(15.2)	100.0	(4.2)	(36.0)	(50.0)	(0.0)	(9.8)	100.0	22
Total ¹	10.1	19.6	1.8	0.1	0.1	31.7	10.3	60.4	13.8	0.9	0.5	85.9	5,143

Note: Figures in parentheses are based on 25-49 unweighted cases.

na = Not applicable

¹ Excludes cases where a woman or her husband/partner has no earnings and includes cases where a woman does not know whether she earned more or less than her husband/partner

16.3 WOMAN'S PARTICIPATION IN DECISIONMAKING

Decisionmaking can be a complex process and the ability of women to make decisions that affect the circumstances of their own lives is essential to their status in the household and in society.

In order to assess women's decisionmaking autonomy, the 2005-06 ZDHS sought information on women's participation in four types of household decisions: respondent's own health care; making major household purchases; making household purchases for daily needs; and visits to family or relatives. Table 16.3.1 shows the percent distribution of currently married women according to the person in the household who usually makes decisions concerning these matters. Women are considered to participate in decisionmaking if they make decisions alone or jointly with their husband or someone else.

Table 16.3.1 Women's participation in decisionmaking

Percent distribution of currently married women by person who usually makes decisions about four specific issues, Zimbabwe 2005-2006

Decision	Mainly respondent	Respondent and husband/partner jointly	Mainly husband/partner	Someone else	Other	Missing	Total	Number of women
Own health care	18.6	63.1	17.0	0.6	0.3	0.4	100.0	5,143
Major household purchases	23.7	66.7	8.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	100.0	5,143
Daily household purchases	32.1	55.9	10.4	0.8	0.5	0.4	100.0	5,143
Visits to her family or relatives	12.6	76.6	9.1	0.5	0.8	0.4	100.0	5,143

The strength of the role of women in decisionmaking varies with the type of decision. In Zimbabwe, the majority of currently married women reported that most decisions in the household are made jointly between husband and wife. Thirty-two percent of currently married women reported that they alone make the final decision about daily household purchases, and 24 percent said that they mainly make the decision on major household purchases. Approximately one in five women reported that they solely make decisions on their own health care. Thirteen percent of women reported that they alone decide on the issue of visits to her relatives.

Table 16.3.2 shows the percentage of women who report that they alone or jointly participate in specific household decisions, according to background characteristics. The results indicate that 72 percent of currently married women participate in all of the four specified decisions. Only 4 percent of women report that they do not participate in any of the decisions. The majority of currently married women participate in making decisions on major household purchases (90 percent), visits to her relatives (89 percent), daily household purchases (88 percent), and her own health care (82 percent).

Younger women are least likely to have participated in all of the specified decisions as are women who are employed but do not earn cash, women with no children, women who reside in rural areas, those who reside in Mashonaland Central, women with no education, and women in the lowest wealth quintile.

Table 16.3.2 Women's participation in decisionmaking by background characteristics

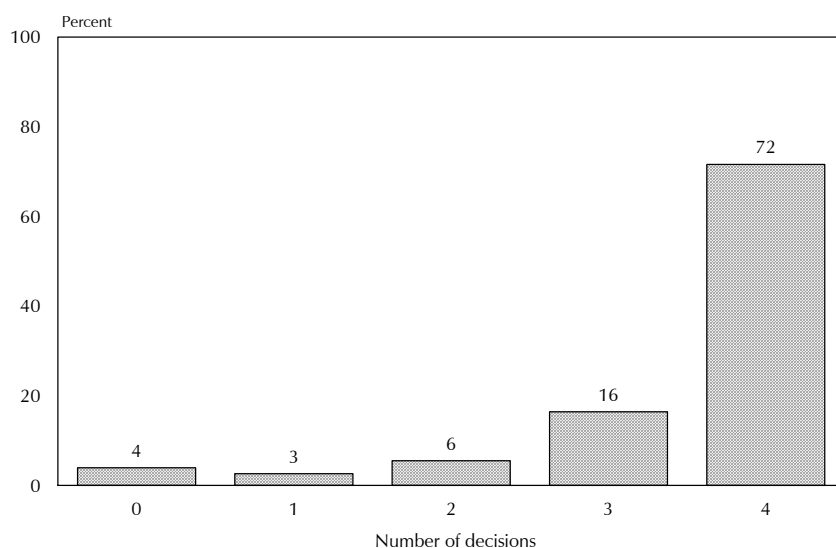
Percentage of currently married women who usually make decisions on four specific decisions either by themselves or jointly with their husband/partner, by background characteristics, Zimbabwe 2005-2006

Background characteristic	Own health care	Making major household purchases	Making daily household purchases	Deciding when to visit her family or relatives	Percentage who participate in all specified decisions	Percentage who participate in none of the specified decisions	Number of women
Age							
15-19	78.6	87.3	82.0	85.6	63.8	5.6	448
20-24	82.7	90.3	87.6	88.9	72.1	4.5	1,200
25-29	81.8	91.5	87.2	89.4	71.8	3.8	1,125
30-34	81.5	91.2	89.2	89.3	73.0	3.8	933
35-39	82.2	90.9	91.5	90.9	73.5	2.6	556
40-44	83.3	88.5	90.0	90.3	73.5	3.6	485
45-49	79.8	89.9	87.9	89.4	69.9	2.4	396
Employment (past 12 months)							
Not employed	81.8	88.9	87.6	87.7	71.3	5.2	2,841
Employed for cash	82.3	93.5	91.1	92.3	74.2	1.7	1,629
Employed not for cash	79.9	88.8	82.1	88.0	66.3	3.8	671
Number of living children							
0	79.0	87.7	83.8	86.2	67.0	4.5	463
1-2	82.8	91.8	88.3	89.8	72.4	3.4	2,422
3-4	81.6	89.8	88.4	89.3	71.8	4.6	1,363
5+	80.3	88.5	88.6	89.0	71.5	3.7	896
Residence							
Urban	84.2	92.8	92.3	92.5	76.2	2.6	1,742
Rural	80.5	89.1	85.7	87.5	69.2	4.5	3,401
Province							
Manicaland	91.3	94.7	90.7	94.0	81.3	1.3	599
Mashonaland Central	63.3	87.7	80.3	79.3	49.8	5.8	572
Mashonaland East	85.3	87.9	89.7	89.3	77.5	6.2	442
Mashonaland West	79.4	92.9	88.7	89.3	70.2	3.4	514
Matabeleland North	87.8	83.7	88.5	85.5	76.1	6.4	323
Matabeleland South	74.4	80.4	78.7	80.8	57.4	7.1	208
Midlands	77.1	89.0	86.3	89.8	69.7	5.7	728
Masvingo	88.2	93.6	88.9	93.4	77.2	0.8	697
Harare	81.1	91.6	90.3	91.7	71.9	3.1	760
Bulawayo	92.5	92.5	95.1	90.2	82.7	2.6	301
Education							
No education	79.6	86.6	85.8	85.3	67.7	5.0	276
Primary	78.5	89.4	86.3	87.5	68.3	4.2	1,910
Secondary	83.7	91.0	88.8	90.2	73.4	3.7	2,788
More than secondary	88.4	97.3	96.1	97.1	85.3	0.5	169
Wealth quintile							
Lowest	79.8	85.8	83.6	85.2	66.0	5.3	1,034
Second	79.1	90.0	86.3	87.6	68.9	4.6	998
Middle	82.4	89.9	85.4	87.6	71.1	4.1	906
Fourth	83.3	93.4	91.2	92.2	74.9	2.6	1,183
Highest	83.8	92.1	92.5	92.7	76.5	2.9	1,023
Total	81.7	90.3	88.0	89.2	71.6	3.9	5,143

Note: Total includes 3 cases that are missing employment information on earnings for the 12-month period prior to the survey.

Women may have a say in some but not other decisions. To assess a woman’s overall decisionmaking autonomy, the decisions in which she participates—that is, in which she alone has the final say or does so jointly with her husband or partner—are added together. The total number of decisions in which a woman participates is one simple measure of her status. The number of decisions in which a woman jointly with her husband or partner has the final say is assumed to be directly related to the woman’s status and reflects the degree of decisionmaking control the woman is able to exercise in areas that affect her life and environment. Figure 16.1 shows the distribution of currently married women according to the number of decisions in which they participate. Seventy-two percent of currently married women participate in all four household decisions, 16 percent participate in three decisions, and 6 percent participate in two decisions. Seven percent of women participate in one decision or no decision at all.

Figure 16.1 Number of Household Decisions in Which Currently Married Women Participate



ZDHS 2005-2006

16.4 ATTITUDE TOWARDS WIFE BEATING

The critical problems that women face are many and diverse. One of these, and among the most serious, is the issue of violence against women. It can be described as the most serious because it concerns the personal security of women, and right of personal security is fundamental to all other rights. If violence against women is tolerated and accepted in a society, its eradication is made more difficult.

To assess women’s and men’s attitudes towards wife beating, women and men were asked whether a husband is justified in hitting or beating his wife in each of the following five situations: if she burns the food; if she argues with him; if she goes out without telling him; if she neglects the children; and if she refuses to have sexual relations with him. A lower score on the “number of reasons wife beating is justified” indicates a woman’s greater sense of entitlement, self-esteem, and status, and, therefore, is associated with a higher sense of empowerment. The results are summarised in Tables 16.4.1 and 16.4.2.

Slightly less than half of women (48 percent) believe that a husband is justified in beating his wife for at least one of the specified reasons. Thirty-three percent of women believe that a husband is justified in beating his wife if she goes out without telling him, 30 percent for neglecting the children, 26 percent for arguing with him, 24 percent for refusing to have sexual intercourse with him, and 12 percent if she burns the food. Table 16.4.2 shows that men are less likely to report that they find violence against women justifiable compared with women. Overall, 37 percent of men age 15-49 agree with at least one of the reasons for why a man is justified in beating his wife. Men are most likely to justify beating a wife if she goes out without telling him (23 percent), neglects the children (22 percent), or argues with him (21 percent). Like women, men are least likely to say that burning food (7 percent) is grounds for wife beating.

Table 16.4.1 shows that the highest percentages of women who are most likely to agree with the statements about wife beating are among women who are in the 15-19 and 45-49 year age groups; women who are employed, but do not earn cash; married women; women with five or more children; women with no education, and women in the lowest wealth quintile

Table 16.4.2 shows that the percentage of men who agree with all the statements is highest among younger men, never married men, men with no children, men with no education, and men in the lowest wealth quintile. Women and men who are employed but do not get paid in cash are most likely to agree with the statements, except with regard to burning food.

Rural women and men are generally around twice as likely to agree with the statements compared with their counterparts who reside in urban areas. Considerable variation in attitudes about wife beating is also observed by province. Bulawayo has the lowest percentage of women agreeing that wife beating is justified in at least one of the circumstances mentioned in the ZDHS questionnaire and Masvingo has the highest percentage (14 percent and 71 percent, respectively). Among men, Bulawayo and Matabeleland South have the lowest proportions agreeing that a husband is justified in beating his wife for at least one of the specified reasons (21 percent each) and Mashonaland Central has the highest (54 percent).

Table 16.4.1 Attitude towards wife beating: women

Percentage of all women 15-49 who agree that a husband is justified in hitting or beating his wife for specific reasons, by background characteristics, Zimbabwe 2005-2006

Background characteristic	Husband is justified in hitting or beating his wife if she:					Percentage who agree with at least one specified reason	Number of women
	Burns the food	Argues with him	Goes out without telling him	Neglects the children	Refuses to have sexual intercourse with him		
Age							
15-19	14.1	28.4	38.0	34.6	21.3	54.5	2,152
20-24	11.5	25.5	33.7	30.8	25.1	47.9	1,952
25-29	11.5	25.8	30.9	28.1	23.9	45.1	1,466
30-34	10.6	22.5	27.9	26.5	23.0	42.8	1,216
35-39	10.3	24.2	28.5	25.4	23.9	41.9	834
40-44	12.8	24.8	32.1	27.7	29.0	44.3	699
45-49	14.8	30.0	36.1	34.2	32.2	50.3	589
Employment (past 12 months)							
Not employed	11.6	25.6	33.3	30.4	23.9	48.2	5,027
Employed for cash	11.7	24.4	29.7	27.6	23.4	44.1	2,888
Employed not for cash	16.9	32.1	41.4	36.6	29.8	55.6	981
Missing	*	*	*	*	*	*	11
Marital status							
Never married	11.4	22.1	28.9	28.2	15.4	44.5	2,404
Married or living together	12.5	28.0	35.0	31.4	27.9	49.5	5,143
Divorced/separated/widowed	12.4	25.1	32.7	29.1	26.5	46.5	1,360
Number of living children							
0	11.7	23.9	31.6	29.3	18.4	47.1	2,724
1-2	11.3	25.7	33.2	29.5	24.6	46.6	3,295
3-4	12.6	25.7	31.4	29.7	27.4	46.1	1,775
5+	15.5	32.2	38.4	35.0	33.3	54.6	1,113
Residence							
Urban	7.8	14.3	20.4	19.3	13.9	31.6	3,502
Rural	15.1	33.5	41.2	37.2	31.1	58.0	5,405
Province							
Manicaland	12.6	31.3	40.8	35.8	36.3	59.5	1,043
Mashonaland Central	18.5	37.4	47.3	42.3	32.9	62.8	825
Mashonaland East	14.2	22.6	34.3	26.2	25.8	45.3	714
Mashonaland West	16.9	28.1	32.3	29.3	23.9	42.5	829
Matabeleland North	12.7	39.1	29.1	45.6	31.8	55.6	536
Matabeleland South	7.3	29.1	27.0	34.0	8.5	49.2	439
Midlands	12.4	22.0	30.1	25.5	19.9	38.8	1,193
Masvingo	13.0	36.2	51.2	38.0	36.6	71.4	1,137
Harare	8.5	14.4	23.0	22.0	15.6	36.2	1,492
Bulawayo	5.8	7.9	7.7	10.9	5.9	14.4	697
Education							
No education	24.8	46.8	49.3	45.4	47.5	64.4	380
Primary	16.1	35.4	42.8	38.3	33.8	59.7	2,902
Secondary	9.7	20.4	27.9	25.8	18.5	41.8	5,355
More than secondary	2.2	4.7	6.6	6.9	5.2	9.9	270
Wealth quintile							
Lowest	17.9	39.1	44.5	42.3	36.6	64.2	1,552
Second	17.7	39.3	46.7	42.0	36.1	64.1	1,500
Middle	13.1	27.6	37.6	32.2	26.3	52.5	1,546
Fourth	8.9	20.6	28.8	26.4	18.6	42.1	2,006
Highest	7.1	11.9	17.0	16.2	12.2	27.4	2,304
Total	12.2	26.0	33.0	30.2	24.3	47.7	8,907

Note: An asterisk indicates that a figure is based on fewer than 25 unweighted cases and has been suppressed.

Table 16.4.2 Attitude towards wife beating: men

Percentage of all men 15-49 who agree that a husband is justified in hitting or beating his wife for specific reasons, by background characteristics, Zimbabwe 2005-2006

Background characteristic	Husband is justified in hitting or beating his wife if she:					Percentage who agree with at least one specified reason	Number of men
	Burns the food	Argues with him	Goes out without telling him	Neglects the children	Refuses to have sexual intercourse with him		
Age							
15-19	12.0	27.8	30.3	30.7	11.6	49.6	1,899
20-24	6.3	22.9	24.6	24.2	7.9	40.7	1,459
25-29	4.4	23.0	23.0	22.0	5.7	37.9	1,082
30-34	4.0	17.0	17.3	13.9	5.5	29.4	882
35-39	3.3	13.1	13.9	13.4	6.3	22.2	663
40-44	2.5	10.8	14.5	11.0	5.5	21.4	469
45-49	1.9	14.3	15.7	10.0	4.4	23.3	409
Employment (past 12 months)							
Not employed	8.6	21.4	24.6	24.1	8.6	39.6	2,070
Employed for cash	4.7	18.8	19.9	18.5	6.6	32.9	3,638
Employed not for cash	8.3	27.9	28.1	26.1	9.8	46.0	1,109
Missing	(6.1)	(40.9)	(28.9)	(28.9)	(7.9)	(50.0)	46
Marital status							
Never married	9.1	24.3	26.5	26.2	9.4	43.6	3,404
Married or living together	3.7	17.7	18.5	16.2	5.9	29.9	3,132
Divorced/separated/widowed	5.7	22.8	23.1	23.7	8.6	38.6	327
Number of living children							
0	8.7	24.2	25.9	26.2	9.1	43.2	3,685
1-2	4.4	18.8	19.7	18.1	6.2	32.2	1,675
3-4	2.7	16.1	17.5	13.6	5.0	27.9	944
5+	4.2	17.3	19.2	14.7	7.8	27.3	560
Residence							
Urban	2.5	12.4	14.2	15.2	4.9	25.5	2,767
Rural	9.1	27.2	28.5	25.8	9.7	45.0	4,096
Province							
Manicaland	8.9	22.4	23.8	24.1	10.8	41.1	793
Mashonaland Central	12.6	32.3	34.5	33.5	12.1	53.8	681
Mashonaland East	5.8	14.6	12.3	14.1	8.1	27.5	570
Mashonaland West	5.5	23.3	19.9	14.4	6.9	33.9	691
Matabeleland North	7.5	24.9	28.0	28.7	8.2	41.7	416
Matabeleland South	8.3	9.6	10.0	9.5	2.9	20.8	306
Midlands	5.7	26.3	26.5	22.3	8.7	41.2	956
Masvingo	8.4	30.4	37.9	32.8	6.8	53.4	771
Harare	2.6	11.1	15.7	17.5	6.3	26.8	1,219
Bulawayo	1.7	13.1	9.3	11.1	3.1	21.0	460
Education							
No education	12.9	32.6	27.4	26.9	11.7	45.7	88
Primary	11.0	31.7	31.0	26.8	11.7	48.3	1,782
Secondary	5.1	18.3	20.7	20.7	6.7	34.8	4,588
More than secondary	0.5	5.6	8.1	6.6	1.1	12.7	405
Wealth quintile							
Lowest	12.4	35.2	34.6	31.1	12.4	53.6	1,042
Second	8.8	28.6	29.7	27.6	9.6	47.1	1,137
Middle	9.2	23.6	26.7	23.7	10.0	43.4	1,194
Fourth	4.1	17.8	19.1	18.6	6.2	31.4	1,892
Highest	1.7	9.2	11.2	12.7	3.6	21.4	1,599
Total 15-49	6.5	21.2	22.7	21.5	7.7	37.1	6,863
Total 15-54	6.3	20.8	22.1	20.9	7.6	36.3	7,175

Note: Figures in parentheses are based on 25-49 unweighted cases.

16.5 ATTITUDE TOWARDS REFUSING SEX WITH HUSBAND

The extent of control women have over when and with whom they have sex has important implications for demographic and health outcomes such as transmission of HIV and other sexually transmitted infections (STIs). It is also an indicator of women's status because it measures women's level of acceptance of norms in certain societies that socialise them to believe that women do not have the right to refuse sexual intercourse with their husband for any reason. The number of reasons a wife can refuse to have sexual intercourse with her husband reflects perceptions of sexual roles and women's rights over their bodies, and relates positively to women's sense of self-empowerment.

To measure beliefs about sexual empowerment of women, the 2005-06 ZDHS included questions on whether the respondent thinks that a wife is justified in refusing to have sexual intercourse with her husband under three circumstances: she knows her husband has an STI; she knows her husband has sexual intercourse with other women; and when she is tired or not in the mood. These three circumstances have been chosen because they combine issues of women's rights and consequences for women's health. Tables 16.5.1 and 16.5.2 show the responses of all women and all men, respectively.

Overall, the majority of women and men agreed with each specified reason for refusing to have sex. More than half of women (54 percent) and men (51 percent) agreed that all of the above reasons are justification for a woman to refuse to have sexual relations with her husband. Women were almost three times more likely than men to disagree with all of the reasons for refusing intercourse with her husband; 13 percent of women and 5 percent of men did not agree with any of the specified reasons. The most accepted reason for refusing to have sex, among women (79 percent) and men (86 percent), was if the wife knows her husband has a sexually transmitted infection.

Women in the older age groups, those with no education, employed women who are not paid in cash, married women, those with more than five children, women in rural areas, and women in the lowest wealth quintile are least likely to agree with all of the reasons for refusing sex. Among men, those who are age 15-19, unemployed, employed but not paid in cash, never married, have no children, have no education, and are in the lowest wealth quintile are least likely to agree with all the reasons for a wife refusing sex from her husband.

Differences are notable by urban-rural residence. Sixty-two percent of urban women and 58 percent of urban men agree with all the specified reasons for a wife refusing sex with her husband, compared with 50 percent of rural women and 46 percent of rural men. Provincial results vary greatly, with women residing in Bulawayo being the most likely to agree with all of the specified reasons a wife is justified in refusing sex with her husband, and women from Masvingo being the least likely (83 percent and 39 percent, respectively). Men in Matabeleland South were the most likely to agree with all the reasons, while men in Manicaland were the least likely (75 percent and 39 percent, respectively).

Table 16.5.1 Attitude towards refusing sexual intercourse with husband: women

Percentage of all women 15-49 who believe that a wife is justified in refusing to have sexual intercourse with her husband in specific circumstances, by background characteristics, Zimbabwe 2005-2006

Background characteristic	Wife is justified in refusing intercourse with her husband if she:			Percentage who agree with all of the specified reasons	Percentage who agree with none of the specified reasons	Number of women
	Knows husband has a sexually transmitted infection	Knows husband has intercourse with other women	Is tired or not in the mood			
Age						
15-19	73.4	70.6	61.1	51.6	17.3	2,152
20-24	81.5	72.2	68.6	55.8	10.8	1,952
25-29	82.1	72.4	69.0	57.1	10.6	1,466
30-34	81.9	73.1	69.1	56.5	10.0	1,216
35-39	82.3	70.9	66.5	55.5	10.7	834
40-44	81.4	68.9	66.1	53.0	11.7	699
45-49	75.9	66.2	59.8	48.9	16.9	589
Employment (past 12 months)						
Not employed	78.9	70.9	65.3	54.9	13.8	5,027
Employed for cash	81.6	73.3	67.0	55.4	11.1	2,888
Employed not for cash	75.5	66.0	65.8	48.8	12.1	981
Missing	*	*	*	*	*	11
Marital status						
Never married	79.0	75.2	65.6	57.8	14.3	2,404
Married or living together	79.1	69.4	66.0	53.0	12.4	5,143
Divorced/separated/widowed	81.1	70.5	66.3	53.9	11.2	1,360
Number of living children						
0	77.4	72.8	63.4	55.0	15.1	2,724
1-2	81.0	72.2	68.5	55.7	10.9	3,295
3-4	80.3	69.7	67.2	53.9	11.4	1,775
5+	78.3	66.3	62.5	49.9	14.3	1,113
Residence						
Urban	84.1	78.8	70.2	61.6	9.5	3,502
Rural	76.4	66.3	63.2	49.7	14.8	5,405
Province						
Manicaland	77.7	57.5	56.9	45.1	17.1	1,043
Mashonaland Central	75.7	67.7	65.1	51.9	16.0	825
Mashonaland East	76.6	69.1	65.1	54.2	15.9	714
Mashonaland West	76.4	64.7	67.3	51.5	13.8	829
Matabeleland North	87.8	84.4	63.3	58.1	8.1	536
Matabeleland South	81.4	82.1	74.1	64.4	9.7	439
Midlands	86.5	73.1	72.7	61.0	7.7	1,193
Masvingo	67.1	60.0	57.3	39.0	18.0	1,137
Harare	79.4	76.2	63.7	53.1	11.5	1,492
Bulawayo	93.0	92.8	83.7	82.6	5.9	697
Education						
No education	68.7	55.1	52.1	39.1	23.2	380
Primary	72.4	62.3	61.5	45.8	16.9	2,902
Secondary	83.3	76.3	68.7	59.1	10.0	5,355
More than secondary	91.1	87.4	78.3	74.6	6.2	270
Wealth quintile						
Lowest	71.6	62.1	60.3	44.5	17.4	1,552
Second	75.8	64.6	61.1	48.7	16.6	1,500
Middle	78.5	67.8	65.2	51.7	12.9	1,546
Fourth	81.4	74.0	68.3	57.1	10.9	2,006
Highest	85.8	81.3	71.3	64.3	8.5	2,304
Total	79.4	71.2	65.9	54.4	12.7	8,907

Note: An asterisk indicates that a figure is based on fewer than 25 unweighted cases and has been suppressed.

Table 16.5.2 Attitude towards refusing sexual intercourse with husband: men

Percentage of all men 15-49 who believe that a wife is justified in refusing to have sexual intercourse with her husband in specific circumstances, by background characteristics, Zimbabwe 2005-2006

Background characteristic	Wife is justified in refusing intercourse with her husband if she:			Percentage who agree with all of the specified reasons	Percentage who agree with none of the specified reasons	Number of men
	Knows husband has a sexually transmitted infection	Knows husband has intercourse with other women	Is tired or not in the mood			
Age						
15-19	78.2	67.0	62.8	40.8	7.6	1,899
20-24	85.5	69.5	69.4	51.0	5.9	1,459
25-29	86.7	71.2	72.0	51.9	3.2	1,082
30-34	89.5	77.2	74.8	57.2	2.6	882
35-39	92.9	78.1	73.3	58.0	2.3	663
40-44	93.8	83.4	77.2	65.2	1.1	469
45-49	86.2	76.2	71.1	54.7	4.5	409
Employment (past 12 months)						
Not employed	83.2	71.8	68.9	48.2	5.2	2,070
Employed for cash	87.6	73.1	71.1	53.4	4.1	3,638
Employed not for cash	82.9	70.6	66.8	48.1	5.7	1,109
Missing	(85.5)	(64.0)	(63.3)	(46.9)	(9.1)	46
Marital status						
Never married	82.4	69.9	67.1	47.1	6.1	3,404
Married or living together	88.6	75.0	71.9	54.9	3.4	3,132
Divorced/separated/widowed	88.6	70.4	74.7	53.1	4.1	327
Number of living children						
0	82.7	69.5	67.4	47.5	6.1	3,685
1-2	89.1	74.2	72.2	55.0	3.4	1,675
3-4	88.9	76.9	71.2	54.0	2.6	944
5+	87.7	76.5	74.4	56.2	3.3	560
Residence						
Urban	92.9	78.1	72.4	57.9	2.0	2,767
Rural	80.5	68.3	67.8	46.2	6.6	4,096
Province						
Manicaland	79.2	63.4	61.0	38.9	8.3	793
Mashonaland Central	77.7	61.5	64.5	39.5	7.9	681
Mashonaland East	88.1	70.8	72.1	53.6	4.4	570
Mashonaland West	87.9	68.1	67.1	47.5	4.9	691
Matabeleland North	88.4	83.0	82.7	65.9	2.1	416
Matabeleland South	88.9	87.3	89.1	74.6	0.4	306
Midlands	80.4	67.2	71.1	47.0	6.8	956
Masvingo	82.4	69.8	64.3	43.5	4.8	771
Harare	92.8	80.1	67.1	56.0	2.4	1,219
Bulawayo	92.9	85.4	81.6	68.6	1.1	460
Education						
No education	74.0	66.4	72.7	40.9	5.6	88
Primary	75.7	66.2	63.4	41.6	9.5	1,782
Secondary	88.7	73.7	70.9	52.9	3.2	4,588
More than secondary	95.4	84.0	83.3	71.7	1.4	405
Wealth quintile						
Lowest	76.5	66.2	64.9	42.1	8.7	1,042
Second	80.0	68.9	67.5	46.5	6.1	1,137
Middle	79.5	65.8	65.4	42.4	7.2	1,194
Fourth	90.7	73.6	72.8	54.5	3.0	1,892
Highest	93.7	81.7	73.8	62.0	1.4	1,599
Total men 15-49	85.5	72.2	69.7	51.0	4.7	6,863
Total men 15-54	85.6	72.4	69.9	51.3	4.7	7,175

Note: Figures in parentheses are based on 25-49 unweighted cases.

To assess men's attitudes towards a husband's right to take specific actions when his wife refuses sexual intercourse, men were asked if the following behaviours were justified: getting angry and reprimanding her; refusing her financial support; using force to have sex; and having sex with another woman. Table 16.5.3 shows the percentage of men age 15-49 who consider that a husband has a right to certain behaviours when a woman refuses to have sex with him when he wants her to.

Table 16.5.3 Men's attitude towards a husband's rights when his wife refuses to have sexual intercourse

Percentage of men age 15-49 who consider that a husband has the right to certain behaviours when a woman refuses to have sex with him when he wants her to, by background characteristics, Zimbabwe 2005-2006

Background characteristic	When a woman refuses to have sex with her husband, he has the right to:				Percentage who agree with all of the specified behaviours	Percentage who agree with none of the specified behaviours	Number of men
	Get angry and reprimand her	Refuse her financial support	Use force to have sex	Have sex with another woman			
Age							
15-19	25.4	12.9	5.5	11.5	1.9	66.1	1,899
20-24	22.2	8.8	3.6	9.7	1.3	71.5	1,459
25-29	26.4	8.5	3.2	11.6	0.9	66.9	1,082
30-34	22.2	7.9	4.5	9.0	1.7	71.6	882
35-39	21.9	7.4	3.5	9.6	2.2	72.3	663
40-44	21.4	7.9	3.2	5.9	1.2	74.3	469
45-49	23.3	5.7	3.3	7.1	1.0	72.6	409
Employment (past 12 months)							
Not employed	21.4	10.2	3.9	10.1	1.4	71.0	2,070
Employed for cash	23.9	8.5	3.8	10.6	1.6	69.8	3,638
Employed not for cash	27.4	10.5	5.5	7.8	1.6	66.7	1,109
Missing	(23.3)	(17.2)	(11.0)	(7.1)	(0.0)	(63.7)	46
Marital status							
Never married	23.7	10.6	4.3	10.6	1.4	68.9	3,404
Married or living together	23.8	7.8	3.9	8.8	1.4	70.7	3,132
Divorced/separated/widowed	23.9	11.6	4.6	13.7	3.7	67.4	327
Number of living children							
0	23.7	10.8	4.5	10.6	1.6	68.9	3,685
1-2	23.7	7.9	3.7	10.1	1.3	69.8	1,675
3-4	23.6	7.1	3.5	8.3	1.1	70.1	944
5+	24.1	8.6	4.3	8.1	2.5	73.4	560
Residence							
Urban	20.9	6.8	2.1	9.3	1.0	72.9	2,767
Rural	25.6	11.1	5.5	10.4	1.9	67.5	4,096
Province							
Manicaland	33.7	11.7	6.5	10.4	2.7	60.0	793
Mashonaland Central	29.4	14.4	5.8	10.1	1.7	65.4	681
Mashonaland East	19.8	13.0	8.0	10.3	2.7	69.6	570
Mashonaland West	13.1	6.0	3.0	12.4	1.3	78.7	691
Matabeleland North	12.5	6.2	1.6	9.8	0.5	81.6	416
Matabeleland South	4.9	5.4	3.7	7.5	0.7	86.6	306
Midlands	24.5	7.8	3.9	8.7	1.4	69.8	956
Masvingo	34.4	10.8	4.7	10.2	1.4	60.3	771
Harare	27.6	9.2	2.4	12.0	1.3	64.8	1,219
Bulawayo	12.0	5.7	0.8	3.6	0.7	85.0	460
Education							
No education	26.7	11.2	5.7	9.2	1.4	68.5	88
Primary	27.5	12.2	5.7	10.4	1.8	65.8	1,782
Secondary	22.8	8.6	3.6	10.0	1.4	70.5	4,588
More than secondary	17.0	5.9	2.8	8.1	1.7	76.6	405
Wealth quintile							
Lowest	27.4	12.5	5.3	10.3	1.1	64.9	1,042
Second	25.3	12.1	5.4	10.0	2.7	68.5	1,137
Middle	28.1	11.0	5.8	11.3	2.0	65.2	1,194
Fourth	22.0	7.7	3.9	9.9	1.3	71.2	1,892
Highest	19.0	6.2	1.4	8.8	0.7	75.0	1,599
Total men 15-49	23.7	9.4	4.1	10.0	1.5	69.6	6,863
Total men 15-54	23.3	9.1	4.0	9.7	1.5	70.1	7,175

Note: Figures in parentheses are based on 25-49 unweighted cases.

Overall, 70 percent of men did not agree that a man was justified to react according to any of the specified behaviours, and only 2 percent of men agreed that all of the specified behaviours were justified. Twenty-four percent said that a husband had the right to get angry and reprimand his wife if she refuses sex, 10 percent said a husband had the right to have sex with another woman, 9 percent said a husband had the right to refuse her financial support, and 4 percent said that a husband had the right to use force to have sex. The percentage who agree with none of the specified behaviours exceeds 60 percent in all population subgroups. Men in Matabeleland South (87 percent) and Bulawayo (85 percent) are most likely to say that a man would not be justified in reacting with any of the specified behaviours to a wife's refusal to have sex.

16.6 CURRENT USE OF CONTRACEPTION BY WOMEN'S STATUS

A woman's desire and ability to control her fertility and her choice of contraceptive method are in part affected by her status in the household and her own sense of empowerment. A woman who feels that she is unable to control her life may be less likely to feel she can make and carry out decisions about her fertility. She may also feel the need to choose methods that are less obvious or do not depend on her husband's cooperation. Table 16.6 presents the distribution of currently married women by contraceptive method use, according to the three status indicators.

The data indicate that there is a positive relationship between women's status and use of contraception. Use of any contraceptive method and any modern method is highest among women who participate in three to four household decisions, who agree that a woman can refuse sexual intercourse with her partner for all three specified reasons, and who believe that wife beating is not justified for any of the five specified reasons.

Table 16.6 Current use of contraception by women's status

Percent distribution of currently married women by current contraceptive method, according to selected indicators of women's status, Zimbabwe 2005-2006

Empowerment indicator	Any method	Any modern method	Modern methods				Any traditional method	Not currently using	Total	Number of women
			Female sterilisation	Male sterilisation	Temporary female methods ¹	Male condom				
Number of decisions in which participate²										
0	51.8	49.7	1.6	0.0	48.1	0.0	2.2	48.2	100.0	199
1-2	48.3	46.0	0.7	0.0	42.7	2.6	2.3	51.7	100.0	419
3-4	61.7	60.0	2.2	0.1	56.4	1.4	1.7	38.3	100.0	4,526
Number of reasons given for refusing to have sexual intercourse with husband³										
0	52.4	50.4	0.9	0.0	48.5	0.9	2.1	47.6	100.0	635
1-2	58.1	56.3	1.7	0.0	52.4	2.2	1.9	41.9	100.0	1,785
3	63.4	61.7	2.5	0.1	58.1	1.1	1.7	36.6	100.0	2,723
Number of reasons for which wife beating is justified⁴										
0	64.2	62.6	2.6	0.1	58.1	1.8	1.6	35.8	100.0	2,599
1-2	56.7	55.2	1.5	0.0	52.4	1.3	1.5	43.3	100.0	1,232
3-4	55.6	53.8	1.2	0.0	51.8	0.8	1.9	44.4	100.0	942
5	55.6	51.9	2.0	0.0	48.7	1.2	3.7	44.4	100.0	369
Total	60.2	58.4	2.0	0.1	54.9	1.4	1.8	39.8	100.0	5,143

Note: If more than one method is used, only the most effective method is considered in this tabulation.

¹ Pill, IUD, injectables, implants, female condom, diaphragm, foam/jelly and lactational amenorrhoea method

² Restricted to currently married women. See Table 16.3.2 for the list of decisions.

³ See Table 16.5.1 for the list of reasons.

⁴ See Table 16.4.1 for the list of reasons.

16.7 WIDOWS DISPOSSESSED OF PROPERTY

Table 16.7 presents information on the percentage of women who have been widowed and the percentage of women who have been dispossessed of property, by background characteristics. Nine percent of women interviewed in the 2005-06 ZDHS were currently widowed or reported being widowed at some time. These women were asked questions about the disposal of their late husband's property after he died. Six in ten widowed women received their late husband's property (61 percent). If a widow did not receive her husband's property, it most often went to members of his family. Twenty-eight percent of widows reported that their husband's property went to his family, 7 percent to his children, 3 percent to other people, and 1 percent to another wife.

Background characteristics	Percentage of ever-widowed women	Number of women	Percentage of widows who were dispossessed of property ¹	Who received most of late husband's property				Number of ever-widowed women whose property was received by someone after husband's death
				Other wife	Spouse's children	Spouse's family	Other	
Age								
15-19	0.3	2,152	*	*	*	*	*	6
20-29	4.1	3,418	54.4	1.8	5.7	45.7	1.2	131
30-39	16.7	2,050	41.1	1.5	8.5	27.8	3.2	321
40-49	24.8	1,287	30.9	0.9	6.7	19.8	3.4	295
Marital status								
Married	2.5	5,143	70.4	3.0	12.0	51.1	4.2	114
Widowed	100.0	671	32.9	1.0	6.3	22.9	2.7	630
Age of youngest child								
No children	0.8	2,628	*	*	*	*	*	19
<18 years	12.2	6,097	39.4	1.4	7.9	27.0	3.2	695
18+ years	25.1	182	(36.7)	(1.2)	(0.0)	(35.5)	(0.0)	40
Residence								
Urban	8.3	3,502	25.9	0.2	5.8	19.0	0.9	289
Rural	9.5	5,405	47.4	2.0	8.2	33.0	4.1	465
Region								
Manicaland	12.3	1,043	51.3	0.8	9.4	36.8	4.3	116
Mashonaland Central	8.0	825	55.5	3.4	8.3	39.7	4.1	63
Mashonaland East	12.5	714	33.8	0.9	2.7	29.3	1.0	81
Mashonaland West	12.0	829	37.6	1.1	7.2	27.9	1.3	98
Matabeleland North	7.2	536	(21.3)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(17.8)	(3.5)	35
Matabeleland South	7.9	439	(34.3)	(1.4)	(0.0)	(27.1)	(5.8)	31
Midlands	6.8	1,193	32.0	2.7	6.1	21.4	1.7	79
Masvingo	9.2	1,137	54.2	2.1	16.6	28.5	7.1	88
Harare	7.9	1,492	33.2	0.0	7.9	23.8	1.4	115
Bulawayo	6.7	697	(14.6)	(1.4)	(1.6)	(11.6)	(0.0)	47
Education								
No education	22.5	380	48.2	0.8	13.9	29.4	4.2	62
Primary	12.1	2,902	41.4	1.3	7.5	29.1	3.6	330
Secondary	6.6	5,355	35.9	1.5	5.6	26.6	2.2	344
More than secondary	6.4	270	27.6	*	*	*	*	17
Wealth quintile								
Lowest	9.5	1,552	50.4	2.3	10.4	29.7	8.1	126
Second	8.6	1,500	51.8	3.8	7.1	36.1	4.7	114
Middle	10.2	1,546	47.2	0.6	7.8	37.5	1.3	149
Fourth	9.9	2,006	34.3	1.0	7.0	24.6	1.8	193
Highest	7.5	2,304	21.0	0.0	4.9	15.5	0.6	172
Total	9.1	8,907	39.1	1.3	7.3	27.6	2.9	753

Note: Table is based on de facto women, i.e., women who slept in household the night preceding the interview. Figures in parentheses are based on 25-49 unweighted cases. An asterisk indicates that a figure is based on fewer than 25 unweighted cases and has been suppressed.

¹ Dispossessed of property indicates that none of late husband's assets went to the respondent.

Women between the ages of 20 and 29 represent the age group with the highest proportion who have been dispossessed of their late husband's property. Rural women are almost twice as likely as urban women to be dispossessed of property (47 percent and 26 percent, respectively). More than half of widows in Mashonaland Central (56 percent), Masvingo (54 percent), and Manicaland (51 percent) did not receive their husband's property. Less than one-quarter of widows in Bulawayo and Matabeleland North were dispossessed of property (15 percent and 21 percent, respectively).