DSPACE

https://dspace.org/

"The experiences and working conditions of domestic workers in Lusaka Zambia".

Mwansa, Silvia Mumba Valerie

2013-11-05
http://hdl.handle.net/10539/13299

Downloaded from a DSpace repository. https://dspace.org/

University of the Witwatersrand

Department of Sociology

Global Labour University

"The Experiences and Working Conditions of Domestic Workers in Lusaka Zambia"

A research report submitted by

Mwansa Silvia M.V (697737)

In partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts (MA) in Economic Policy, Labour and Globalisation

Supervised by: Dr Sarah Mosoetsa

December, 2012

Declaration

I declare that except for reference to other people's work, which has been duly acknowledged, this research report is my own unaided work. It is submitted for the degree of Master of Arts (MA) in Economic Policy, Labour and Globalisation under the Global Labour University of the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination at any other University, nor has it been published by any other person or organisation.



Mwansa Silvia Mumba Valerie

7th Day of December 2012.

Table of Contents

Declaration……...2
Dedication……5
Acknowledgement……...6
List of tables and figures……7
List of acronyms……..8
Abstract……9

Chapter one: Introduction to the study…….....10
1.0. Introduction…… 10
1.1. Background to the study……13
1.2. Significance of the study……14
1.3. Problem Statement……..15
1.4. Research Objectives……15
1.5. Rationale of the study……16
1.5. Delimitation of the study……19
1.6. Format of the study……19
1.7. Conclusion……..20

Chapter two: Literature review……..…21
2.1. Introduction…….....21
2.2. Overview of domestic work……22
2.2.1. Definition and description of domestic work…….....23
2.3. Theoretical Framework……...27
2.3.1. The social reproduction of domestic work…….....28
2.3.2. Exploitation in domestic work……29
2.3.3. Emotional Labour and domestic service.....32
2.3.4. Power and counter power……36
2.3.5. Masculinity and domestic work……...41
2.3.6. Femininity and domestic work……42
2.3.7. Labour laws and regulation……..45
2.3.8. Labour law compliance……48
2.4. Conclusion……..50

Chapter three: Methodology……...…51
3.1. Introduction……51
3.2. Research design……..52
3.3. The research sites……53
3.4. Data collection method……...54
3.5. Sampling……60
3.6. The researcher and the researched……..63
3.7. Data Analysis……..66
3.8. Access……67
3.9. Limitations……..68
3.10. Ethical considerations…….....69
3.11. Conclusion……71

Chapter four: Profile of Domestic Workers……....72
4.1. Introduction……72
4.2. Profile of respondents……74
4.3. Domestic worker's occupations……..84
4.3.1. Employment information……85
4.4. Conclusion……100

Chapter five: Gendered experience of domestic work…….....102
5.1. Introduction……..102
5.1.1 Domestic workers age …….....107
5.1.2. Marital and family status ……. ……108
5.1.3. Multi- tasking ……...110
5.1.4. Other domestic worker's attributes…….. ……112
5.2. Conclusion……...…….128

Chapter six: Working conditions and challenges of domestic workers……131
6.1. Introduction……...131
6.2. Working experiences of domestic workers……...131
6.3. Domestic worker's challenges……..137
6.4. Minimum wage legislation……144
6.5. Labour inspections……154
6.6. Domestic worker's employment agencies……156
6.7. Trade union membership……..161
6.8. The impact of paid domestic labour……..164
6.9. Organising and social networks for domestic workers……170
6.10. Conclusion……..174

Chapter seven: Power and counter power: domestic worker's responses……...175
7.1. Introduction……...175
7.2. Employer – employee power relations……..179
7.2.1. Domestic work: a lived experience……181
7.2.2. The domestic worker as part of the family……183
7.2.3. Domestic workers: helpers or employees……..184
7.2.4. Intimate spaces: domestic workers and employers……186
7.3. Domestic workers responses to challenges……...193
7.4. Conclusion……200

Chapter eight: Conclusions and recommendations……203
8.1. Findings from the literature review……..204
8.2. Findings from the study……207
8.3. Conclusions……...212
8.3.1. Sociological profile of domestic workers……..213
8.3.2. Experiences and responses of domestic workers……...213
8.3.3. The role of stakeholders……215
8.3.4. The role and experiences of domestic worker's employers……...218
8.4. Recommendations……220

Bibliography……223

Dedication

This work is dedicated to my children, Mwewa, Mukuni and Chibobola and my husband Joseph for always loving me enough to allow me pursue my dreams; and also to my mother, Beatrice Moomba - my rock of all ages.

Acknowledgements

Sincere gratitude goes to my Supervisor Dr Sarah Mosoetsa for her time, commitment, patience and counsel that helped turn a once very vague idea into the successful reality of this report. I am equally indebted to the entire GLU steering committee at Wits and Prof. Jacklyn Cock especially for her time and contribution during the literature review phase of my work.

May I also thank the International Labour Organisation (ILO) for their sponsorship towards my study at Wits and lastly my heartfelt gratitude to Wage Indicator Foundation (WIF), FNV, ITUC and Union Network International (UNI) Africa Region for the moral support.

List of Figures and Tables

Figure 3.1: Summary of Interviews 58

Figure 4.1: Age of Respondents 74

Figure 4.2: Gender of Respondents 75

Figure 4.3: Marital Status of Respondents 77

Figure 4.4: Education Levels of Respondents 81

Table 4.1: Number of Dependants 79

Table 4.2: School Attendance – Dependants 80

Table 4.3: Employment Status – Dependants 83

Table 4.4: Length of Service 84

Table 4.5: Employment Mode 85

Table 4.6: Contracts of Work 87

Table 4.7: Salary Range 90

Table 4.8: Employment Status – Respondents 95

Table 4.9: Trade Union Membership 97

List of Acronyms

CSO	Central Statistics Office
FFTUZ	Federation of Free Trade Unions in Zambia
FNV	De Federatie Nederlandse Vakbeweging
ICU	Industrial and Commercial Workers Union
IDWN	International Domestic Workers Network
ILC	International Labour Conference
ILO	International Labour Organisation
ITUC	International Trade Union Confederation
IUF	International Union of Food, Agriculture, Hotel, Restaurant, Catering, Tobacco and Allied Workers
NAPSA	National Pension Scheme Authority
PACRA	Patents and Companies Registration Agency
PTA	Parents Teachers Association
UHDWUZ	United House and Domestic Workers Union of Zambia
UNI	Union Network International
WIF	Wage Indicator Foundation

Abstract

Domestic work in Zambia has its roots in the early colonial era as a source of cash incomes for the male workers. Females mostly stayed home to raise families and manage the households, eventually being incorporated into domestic labour as child minders, and later fully fledged domestic work as is the case currently. Like other domestic workers worldwide, these domestic workers provide critical services facilitating the operations of the labour market and the functioning of the economy. Through surplus domestic labour, the domestic worker is situated as an ideological function in the reproduction of the social relations of production which subsequently leads to their exploitation and abuse through increased precariousness.

The study aimed to explore the experiences and working conditions of domestic workers in Zambia focusing on Lusaka's Kalingalinga and Mtendere areas. The study further examined the role of stakeholders such as the Ministry of Labour, the United House and Domestic Workers Union of Zambia (UHDWUZ), Employment Agencies as well as the employers in the regulation of domestic workers conditions of service, in addition to the responses of domestic workers to their challenges. This was achieved through the use of qualitative interviews involving both structured and semi- structured questions to collect data between 18th June 2012 and 8th July 2012 with a purposive sample of 43 participants.

The study revealed that despite the recent introduction of legislation, domestic workers continue to suffer abuse and exploitation engendered by lack of access to information, low levels of education, massive unemployment as well as lack of organised representation.

CHAPTER ONE

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Unpaid domestic work worldwide enables the functioning of the labour market and the economy. As noted by Cock (1980:13), women's unpaid domestic labour is integral to the capitalist mode of production. Firstly, by maintaining the sexual division of labour, women are confined primarily in their households as vulnerable and unpaid labourers. Secondly, women are playing an important role in the reproduction of labour power within the family through the maintenance and reproduction of the working class, which is a necessary condition to the reproduction of labour.

In Zambia, like in most other parts of the world, the advent of paid domestic work is said to have initially developed out of mutuality between households and encompassed both domestic and farm work and later apprenticeship. Bujra (2000:37) for instance suggested that the introduction of paid domestic work over the years might be linked mainly to a response to class pressures and circumstances. Although the unit of production was still the home, servants were employed in the direct production of goods as well as services, thereby becoming aides to accumulation. Therefore, domestic workers through paid domestic labour contributed to the circuit of capitalist production through its produce of use value necessary for the production and reproduction of labour by the regulation of sexuality, the socialisation of children and day to day tasks such as shopping, cooking, cleaning, washing and caring.

Furthermore, as noted by Fox (1980:9), this domestic labour in its broad definition and including child care is basic to society, through its involvement in the reproduction of daily

life itself. Similarly, Blumenfeld and Mann (1980:267) equally advanced that the privatization of domestic labour is the fundamental basis for women's oppression under capitalism and that the primary role of domestic labour under capitalism is the production and reproduction of the commodity labour power. Thus, domestic labour constitutes a form of simple commodity production structurally linking the privatized household to the larger capitalist economy.

According to De Sousa (2010:1), domestic work is defined as primarily work that is performed in or for a household or households and may include tasks such as cleaning the house, cooking, laundry, gardening, taking care of children, elders or sick members of a family, guarding, driving or even taking care of household pets. The definition of domestic work as primarily work performed in households forms the genesis of the problem as these men and women and sometimes even children are rarely viewed as workers, just as the owners of these households seldom view themselves as employers which, in turn engenders the perceptible exploitative nature of domestic work.

Additionally, unlike this widely employed definition of domestic work, the new Zambian legislation, enacted in January 2011, carries a somewhat different version that limits a Domestic Worker to a person who takes care of a child, an aged person, a sick person, a frail person or a person with a disability, within a household; and a gardener. It further defines an employer as any person who has entered into a contract of service with a domestic worker. This porosity in the definition contained in the Zambian legislation entails that often the working conditions of domestic workers are left to the interpretation of the person wielding the authority.

The case of domestic workers in Zambia is additionally distinct in that despite common literature depicting domestic work as work mostly done by women, it is not uncommon for

men to perform domestic work. For instance, Hansen (1989:33-35) noted that during the colonial times, most men turned to domestic work to earn wages for payment of poll taxes and to avoid having to work on the farms or in the mines in South Africa. Most of these male domestic workers it is noted where initially trained by the missionaries in tasks such as cooking, cleaning and washing as per the white man's standards.

In addition, as the colonialists poured into the country, more men were recommended by their fellow domestic workers or the white man's colleagues and neighbours for recruitment on initial trial basis until one's abilities and capacity to adapt were satisfactory. It is noted however that most of these male domestic workers were migrant workers themselves from Nyasaland now Malawi.

Therefore in terms of the gendered nature of domestic work, the case for Zambia wherein both males and females engage in domestic work, the male domestic worker was not merely an idiosyncratic example of limited interest, but one demanding a reconsideration of the usual assumptions. It was therefore, within this context of paid domestic labour and the gendered nature of this work that formed the basis of this study.

Through this study, the researcher attempted to establish the intricacies surrounding the perceived exploitation as well as the gendered paradox of a sector that even though hidden away from the public's eye is eminently a critical resource in propelling labour and the economy. This was done through the in-depth interviews, observing the experiences and practices of domestic workers. Other stakeholders included the employers, the Ministry of Labour, the trade union and the employment agencies.

1.2 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Domestic work in Zambia has its roots in the early colonial era as noted by Hansen (1986:59), who observed the dominance of this sector on the social relations of production between Africans and Whites within then Northern Rhodesia. Additionally, male domestic workers were notably the most prominent during these formative years of domestic work, which work was seen as an important source from which Africans gained cash incomes. Females on the other hand were very rarely employed into this form of work and many stayed home to raise families and manage the households while the men either went off to work on the farms, in the mines or as domestic workers.

Also distinctive of this stage was that the employers constituted administrators, missionaries, fortune seekers and traders, the latter including some Asians. However, the national and professional background of these employers mattered little as their chief concern was the same: to mould the African environment to their own standards of comfort and well-being. For this, they all required servants to maintain their large houses and gardens.

This phenomenon of male domestic workers in Zambia contrasted most literature on the feminization of this form of work which has been depicted as an extension of the female's natural roles. Further, most literature on the subject of domestic work was not only bordered on females but also focused challenges and responses set around and voiced mostly by female domestic workers.

This study therefore sought to bring out the aspect of male domestic workers in Zambia as the pioneers of domestic work from the colonial period and examine the lingering presence of males in this now highly feminized sector.

1.3 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This study was significant on the basis that very little research had been conducted in this field since the period's pre and post the colonial era, therefore the results of this research are important in contributing in a small but significant way to contemporary literature regarding the evolution of domestic service in Zambia from the colonial period to date. Furthermore, the study's findings will be relevant in facilitating empirical information for the on- going process of improving existing legislation in addition to making recommendations for future areas of research.

Additionally, Cock (1980:70) noted that in Southern African society, domestic service was the least prestigious of all occupations and in order to appreciate what it constitutes, it required to be located within a cultural context as well as an economic system. It was therefore necessary to look at these two critical aspects and how the individually and jointly determined the lived experience of domestic workers particularly in Lusaka.

Furthermore, Parreñas (2001:163) observed that the employer – employee relationships in domestic work and the actual labour was an inherently oppressive occupation whether because of the feudal roots of domestic work, the social construction of employers as superior or the structure of exploitation implicit in employer – employee relations under capitalism; as such, domestic workers generally feel the lingering feeling of servitude.

It was therefore important to evaluate the basis of these assertions in order to advance the visibility and significance of domestic work as an important push factor in the reproduction of labour power and the effective operation of the economy through its social reproduction mechanism in the Zambian context.

1.4 PROBLEM STATEMENT

The high unemployment levels, low education status and general conditions of poverty that afflict many domestic workers in the compounds in turn subjected them to high levels of job insecurity and vulnerability, enabling the employers to easily exploit and abuse these workers. Additionally these domestic workers often lack meaningful representation later on recognition to be able to effectively challenge the power that employers wield over them. This power often viewed as emanating from the employer's superior class position is sometimes reinforced by issues of race, ethnicity, gender or other factors and simply casts the worker as a victim who understands the power structure or at times a class-conscious one opposed to the structures of inequality (Constable, 1997:9). The study purposed to identify some of these power sources and accordingly examined the response of domestic workers in this regard.

1.5 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The aim of the study was to explore the experiences and working conditions of domestic workers in Zambia. Specifically, the objectives of the study were to:

i. To understand the sociological profile of domestic workers (gender, class, biographical and employment history).

ii. To explore domestic workers' experiences, working conditions, relationship with employers and responses to the challenges they face.

In order to meet the above objectives, the study responded to four research questions namely:

i. What is the sociological profile of the domestic workers in contemporary Zambia

ii. How do the domestic workers respond to their experiences and working conditions

iii. What is the role played by other stakeholders such as government, employment agencies and the trade union in protecting the rights of domestic workers and lastly,

iv. What are the experiences of employers with regard to compliance to domestic workers legislation.

1.6 RATIONALE OF THE STUDY

The population of Zambia as per the preliminary results of the 2010 census stood at 13,046,508 as at October 2010, (ILO:2010), while as the formal work force stood at 5,4million, leaving 15% of the population unemployed and living predominantly in the urban areas as per the 2008 Labour Force Survey Report . Of this unemployed population, 90% were further reported to be in the informal sector which constituted an estimate of 51% males compared to 49% of females.

However, no exact estimates of this informal sector component was attributed to the domestic workers sector, largely due to the fact that it is predominantly unorganised and under-represented which in itself potentially poses further problems of organising for legislative compliance. Further, according to the 2011 Central Statistics Office (CSO) preliminary report on population and housing, Lusaka alone was estimated to have a total population of 2, 198, 196 as at 2010 of which males constituted 1,080,162 and females 1,118,844 respectively which entails that the population of females is relatively higher as compared to males. This could explain the higher prevalence of female domestic workers as opposed to male domestic workers as found in the study.

Further, as observed by Rao (2009:9), in comparison to other provinces, Lusaka is more densely populated, estimating 17 per cent of the total population. The province is also the hub

of economic activity dominated by mostly multi -national companies and thus a high influx of foreign nationals working and living there.

Notwithstanding, while the foreign nationals acquire permanent residency status and do businesses, their relations and friends often arrive in Zambia on temporary work permits to do other jobs adding not only to the population of the town but also to the unemployment among locals, and in turn tapping into the ever increasing need for support services from the locals at throwaway prices to do odd chores in their houses.

Domestic workers have however over time responded to their challenges through establishments of strong social networks necessary for both support and solidarity. Hondagneu-Sotelo (2001:68) observed that for most domestic workers, the reliance on these networks to gain employment and wage information is tremendous as most domestic servants are employed on the recommendation of fellow domestic workers already in employment themselves. In Zambia, this has been characteristic of the sector and even employers hire their domestic workers through word of mouth in most cases.

In this way, the conditions of service and job expectations are pre advised and therefore there was usually no negotiation on this with the employer, who also recognized that this information was, already communicated to the new employee by his/her colleagues.

It was also noted that during the colonial era, when domestic workers sought improvements to their working conditions, they joined forces with other workers in more organised sectors such as mining and carried out strike actions. These emphasised sociability and friendship patterns arising from outside their distinct work places that could promote a common solidarity and a sense of shared urban experience. Other common avenues were the ball room

dancing clubs which served as sources of interaction and help for various problems faced by the domestic workers (Hansen, 1986:67-69).

With regard to formal organising of domestic workers, The United House and Domestic Workers Union of Zambia (UHDWUZ) which was formed in 2000, is the only trade union that recruits and organises domestic workers in Zambia (UHDWUZ: 2010:6). However, the Union lamented that the precarious nature of domestic work made it difficult for it to effectively organize and recruit members from this sector, notwithstanding the numerous negative factors such as the lack of employment contracts; lack of clear job descriptions; long working hours; and poor wages. The Union further noted that the confinement of domestic workers to private households made it difficult to cost-effectively recruit and organise domestic workers adding that in some cases in Zambia, vicious dogs have been unleashed on union organizers as a deterrent measure by employers.

From the perspective of the UHDWUZ (2010), domestic workers in Zambia, like elsewhere were additionally often not able to be reached by conventional labour inspection services due to legal and administrative obstacles that exclude inspection of private premises. It stated that in fact, patronizing private premises may constitute criminal trespass in Zambia. Furthermore, because domestic work mirrored unpaid work traditionally performed by women without a wage, it was thus perceived as lacking in value and exogenous to the "productive" economy. According to an ILO Report IV (1) on *"Decent work for domestic workers"* (De Sousa, 2010) presented to the 99th Session of the International Labour Conference, this constitutes the reason why domestic workers commonly earn low wages, and are often either underpaid or not paid at regular intervals.

The study sought to examine this contextual background as well as investigate how the sociological profile of domestic workers has evolved in Zambia with the involvement of

women into the sector as the more dominant gender. The study also explored the social reproductive role of domestic workers and how their social networks have equally evolved with time from those of the colonial era.

Additionally, the study evaluated how the protection of domestic workers conditions of service in terms of legislative compliance has transformed with the formal recognition of domestic workers under the country's new labour legislation and also internationally through the ILO Domestic Workers Convention 189 both of which have significant meaning for the sector.

1.7 DELIMITATION OF THE STUDY

Generalizability of the research findings to the entire population may not be possible because of the purposive selection of the sample. Only domestic workers living in Kalingalinga and Mtendere compounds were included in this research.

1.8 FORMAT OF THE STUDY

The study is composed of eight chapters. While chapter one has explained the background to the study, motives of the study, research questions and limitations amongst others, chapter two presents literature review This chapter shows a review of the core literature relevant to the research problem of domestic workers.

The literature review gives a description and critical analysis of what other authors have written on domestic workers and further provides a context for the study. Chapter three explains the methodology used in answering the research questions, this chapter presents the overall approach evident in the research process from the theoretical foundation to the

strategies that are used in the collection and analysis of the data. It also shows the route the researcher used to collect data.

Chapter four through to chapter seven comprise a straight forward reporting of the findings of the study through verbal descriptions, implications thereof discussed, analysed and further linked to the literature review. Chapter eight provides the overall conclusions of the whole study and feasible action-based recommendations are made in this chapter.

1.9 CONCLUSION

The above chapter has outlined various aspects of the study with regard to the background of the problem as well as the experiences and working conditions of domestic workers in Lusaka Zambia. The significance of the study, research aims, objectives, problem statement, research questions and the format of study have also been discussed. However, the next chapter presents a detailed literature review, which provides a framework on which this study on domestic workers is based.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW CHAPTER

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Literature relevant to this study on the working conditions and experiences of domestic workers is presented in this chapter by logically, systematically and critically reviewing the body of knowledge in order to provide the background for the current research. This consists of literature from books, reports, publications, internet sources, electronic journals, and previous articles in academic and professional journals on the problem. An overview of the nature of domestic work is given followed by factors that influence the working conditions, experiences as well as challenges. Thereafter, effective ways of countering the challenges of the precariousness of domestic work are advanced as well as other probable strategies for policy review/ consideration.

While there has been vast literature written on domestic workers, the study recognizes that not all such literature may be applicable to the context of the study (Punch, 2000:44-45), based on the existence of male domestic workers in a sector that is largely recognized as a female domain. As such the selected literature primarily engaged with those aspects of domestic work that are not necessarily gender biased such as the definition of domestic work and how this inherently creates conduciveness for exploitation and the social reproduction encompassing the domestic labour debate and the extraction of surplus from domestic workers in a capitalistic dispensation. The literature review in examining the actual experiences of domestic workers in the study additionally explored the concepts of exploitation, emotional labour, power as well as aspects of legislation in shaping the experiences of these domestic workers.

Furthermore, the literature analyzed the facets of masculinity and femininity in relation to the empirical findings of the study and concludes with a look at how domestic workers organize through social networks and how these networks assist in mitigating some of the challenges faced.

2.2 OVERVIEW OF DOMESTIC WORK

The growing participation of women in the labour force, changes in the organization of work and the intensification of work, as well as the lack of policies reconciling work and family life, the decline of state provision of care services, the feminization of international migration and the ageing of societies have all increased the demand for care work in recent years. Domestic work is one of the oldest and most important occupations for many women in many countries. It is linked to the global history of slavery, colonialism and other forms of servitude. In its contemporary manifestations, domestic work is a global phenomenon that perpetuates hierarchies based on race, ethnicity, indigenous status, caste and nationality. Care work in the household is quite simply indispensable for the economy outside the household to function (ILO, 2007:1).

A full description and explanation of theories and concepts with regard to domestic work is presented in the subsequent paragraphs. The researcher begins by giving the definition and description of domestic work, types of domestic work and the mode of conditions of service availed to domestic workers.

2.2.1 Definition and description of domestic work

The new ILO Convention 189 (ILO, 2011:10) on domestic workers defined a domestic worker as any person engaged in domestic work within an employment relationship. A domestic worker may work on full-time or part-time basis; may be employed by a single household or by multiple employers; may be residing in the household of the employer (live-in worker) or may be living in his or her own residence (live-out). A domestic worker may also be working in a country of which she/he is not a national.

On the other hand, the Zambian domestic workers legislation, the Minimum Wage & Employment Act (Domestic Workers) Order (2011) defined a domestic worker as any person who takes care of a child, an aged person, a sick person, a frail person or a person with a disability within the household, or a gardener. Elsewhere, an ILO report (ILO, 2007:17-18), on child abuse and decent work for domestic workers defined domestic work as being "household tasks performed as an economic activity in the household of a third person by adults and children over the minimum working age (i.e. work that could be regarded as 'employment' whether or not covered by national labour law)". This usually excludes domestic chores carried out by members of the family. Further to this, the following are advanced to qualify the definition:

- The workplace is a private home.
- The work performed has to do with the service of a household.
- The work is carried out on behalf of the direct employer, the householder, and under his/her authority, direction and supervision.
- The work performed must be done on a regular basis and in a continuous manner (but this does not exclude part-time work).

- The employer does not derive any pecuniary gain from the activity done by the domestic worker.
- The work is performed in return for remuneration, in cash and/or in kind.
- The employee's place of residence does not affect the definition of the work.

In the Zambian colonial era, the definition of a domestic worker was not any different, according to Hansen (1986:60), the Masters and Servants Ordinance, first enforced in North-Western Rhodesia (Barotseland) in 1908 and extended over the amalgamated territory in 1912, amended 1913 and 1925, was modelled on similar legislation in Southern Rhodesia as in 17th-century England; the term servant meant anyone who worked for an employer for wages, except for skilled workmen.

The definition of domestic workers as contained especially in the Zambian legislation which has not evolved from the colonial era to incorporate the new or additional tasks now widely held as part of domestic work has been a subject of contention. For instance, the definition does not only encompass firstly, the actual duties performed by most domestic workers and secondly, the definition excludes other domestic services falling under this category such as drivers and guards employed in the household set-up.

Unlike the definition contained in the Zambian legislation, both past and present, the above definition would be most appropriate for the current dispensation in the domestic workers sector as these tasks now form the core functions of domestic workers.

Hansen (1986:59-60) equally noted that while in the colonial era the domestic workers were mainly tasked with maintaining the large households and gardens of their colonial masters in line with "keeping house as if in London", today's domestic workers have acquired much more responsibility. This is further reflective of the tasks assigned to domestic workers in

Lusaka that range from housework, child care, gardening and more commonly attending to duties in the home run businesses known as “tuntemba” or small scale home business – at no additional cost to the employer.

This contrast in the definition contained in the new Zambian legislation wherein it does not per se include any house work such as cleaning, laundry and cooking as being part of domestic work has the potential of leading employers to perceive these house work tasks of domestic workers as falling outside the scope of the legislation and hence not necessarily warranting remuneration but rather payment in kind through provision of food, water and sometimes bed space. This assertion can be qualified by the insistence from employers that domestic workers are not “busy enough” within households to warrant minimum wage salaries as they spend their time watching television and playing with the children when employers are at work.

This entails that the household chores of cooking, cleaning and washing are not per se considered as “work” in the real sense especially when the domestic worker was female but instead as mere extensions of their natural or expected disposition.

Hondagneu-Sotelo (2001:9-12) agreed with the above assertion, noting that the work performed by domestic workers as noted above were associated with women’s “natural” expressions of love for their families thereby making it difficult for this work to be recognized as employment. Further, the increasing absence of maternalism among female employers of private domestic workers has led to a sterility of employer-employee relations in paid domestic work as domestic workers become more aware of their rights and demand social recognition as well as appreciation for their labour.

Therefore, a distinction between paid domestic work and domestic labour is necessary in efforts to raise the employment standards of domestic workers who unlike housewives pitied with domestic labour are in fact women and sometimes men utilizing their skills to perform the tasks performed by housewives in other households other than their own, at a fee. As noted by Mohun and Himmelweit (1977:18-20), domestic labour can be defined as private labour which continues to exist alongside commodity production and which labour produces use-values which have not become commodities and consequently not performed under capitalist relations. In other instances, domestic labour is defined simply as the labour that directly maintains and reproduces labour – power. Both these definitions in essence depict the work performed as being of a private nature and thus not subject to legislative compliance, which is starkly distinct from modern day paid domestic work.

Hansen (1986:60) agreed that the above definitions not only indicates the evolution of roles for Zambian domestic workers post- independence but also reveals that domestic workers are often employed for dual purposes and not necessarily as distinguished by either the national legislation or ILO Convention 189 cited above which in itself is inherently exploitative.

2.3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework on domestic work borders mainly on the domestic labour debate that, according to Luxton (2006:4) began with the recognition that in a capitalist society, the working class no longer depended only on wages earned by the selling of labour. The domestic labour debate arose from the need of feminists wanting to correct the sex- blindness of the Marxist theory on the production of labour power and its market exchange. Cock (2011:4) additionally noted that central to the domestic labour debate and its contribution to the circuit of capitalist accumulation are Marx's observations that the most indispensible means of production is the worker and that the maintenance and reproduction of the working

class remains a necessary condition for the reproduction of capital; notwithstanding, the maintenance and reproduction undertaken largely by women was neglected.

The importance of paid domestic labour thus continues to be recognized as vital for the maintenance of both working class and non- working class even in Lusaka especially with the breakdown of extended families. This assertion is further backed by the observations of Bezanson and Luxton (2006:3) on how the domestic labour debate feminists argued that domestic labour, as socially necessary work, was essential to the capitalist mode of production, and was required to maintain working- class households and ensure the daily and generational reproduction of labour power.

A lot of households in Lusaka now heavily rely on domestic work with those having younger children employing up to two or more domestic workers. This trend can also be attributed to the growing onset of unstable and low job security as workers in employment are forced to work longer hours due to low employment levels which in turn has created increased demand for man hours.

Similarly, the residents in the informal sector running their own business equally rely on domestic labour to maintain their homes while they attend to their various business interests. Clearly therefore, having a domestic worker is no longer viewed as a privilege but a necessity.

2.3.1 The Social Reproduction of Domestic Work

Cock (1980:14) advanced that the role of the domestic worker in the reproduction of labour power and the relations of production suggest that the paid domestic worker is firstly, a wage labourer, and thus subject to discipline of the wage, with the corollary that the worker receives less than what she produces, with the surplus being appropriated by her employer.

Secondly she plays a critical part in the reproduction of both labour power and relations of production thus making her an important element in the indirect production of surplus value for capital.

The concept of social reproduction is helpful in explaining this further by Bakker, (2003:32) who defined this as the processes involved in maintaining and reproducing people, specifically the labouring population, and their labour power on a daily and generational basis. Additionally, this involves the provision of food, clothing, shelter, basic safety and health care, along with the development and transmission of knowledge, social values and cultural practices and the construction of individual and collective identities.

The role of many domestic workers especially the live-in encompasses this role more precisely as they are left to tend to the employers children and dependants often ending up with a much greater influence in the lives of these children than the parents that are often out at work for the greater part of the day.

Perceptions from the study support this notion as most employers when queried on the choice of gender preference for the domestic worker indicated that adult females with older children themselves were more preferred on the basis of their nurturing skills / ability towards the employers' children as opposed to single, younger or male domestic workers.

Bezanson and Luxton (2006:3) further argued that the concept of social reproduction builds on and deepens debates about domestic labour and women's economic roles in capitalist societies. Embedded in a feminist political economy framework, social reproduction thus offers a basis for understanding how various institutions – such as the state, the market, the family / household, and the third sector – interact and balance power so that the work involved in the daily and generational production and maintenance of people is completed.

2.3.2 Exploitation in Domestic Service

Regarding the aspect of exploitation of domestic workers, Chen (2011:168) argued that it is in the informal nature of domestic work that places it outside the realm of labour regulations and social protections that leads domestic workers to suffer significant decent work deficits. According to ILO (2006:7), this includes deficits in employment opportunities, legal rights, social protection, organisation and representation.

In the case of the domestic workers in Lusaka, these deficits as identified by ILO are starkly true; the high unemployment levels even in the informal sector has created a desperation among the domestic workers to accept any job at whatever pay so long it guarantees them some pay at the end of the month and the occasional meals while on duty.

The domestic workers Employment Agencies interviewed in the study indicated that at every opportunity they are faced with more domestic workers than they can place which has resulted in their inability to offer adequate training as was the case previously when very few citizens utilized domestic worker services in their homes. This rise in unemployment has in turn created a demand for jobs that cannot be met by supply of employment, which is attributed to the rise in exploitation. Further, Briskin (1980:136-137) noted that exploitation is rooted in economic reality and expressed in the class structure of capitalist society. Those who own only their ability to work are forced to sell their labour power for a wage, while those who own and control the means of production, the capitalist class, are able to appropriate the surplus that the working class produces.

On the other hand, Cock (1980:11-12) contended that it is the mode of production that establishes the division of the classes and in turn the form of exploitation. Additionally, in Marxist terms, the concept of exploitation was tied to the notion of surplus value in that the

worker in a capitalist system was exploited because he did not receive, in the form of wages, the whole of the value produced by his labour. In this sense, the exploitative nature of capitalism was inevitable.

Furthermore, Ally (2009:3), noted that paid domestic work is distinctive not in being the worst job of all but in being regarded as something other than employment. Domestic work is rarely recognized as employment because of its extension of women's seemingly natural roles coupled by its location in the private household which is an apparent continuation of kinship rather than contractual obligation, and in a site of leisure, not work, makes it seem all the more like something other than employment. This is evidenced in the domestic work sector in Lusaka whereby employers are often reluctant to enter into formal contracts of service with the domestic workers on the basis that the work performed is mostly "routine housework".

This absence of formal contracts of work for domestic workers in Lusaka was raised as concern by not only the domestic workers themselves but also the trade union and the Ministry of Labour as a source of much of the existing exploitation. Grossman (2011:136) confirmed this view, noting that the privatised, individualised employment contract is inherently oppressive. In a capitalist society with mass unemployment especially affecting women, the employer is always able to impose and dictate- sometimes expressed in the form of crude abuse or benign goodwill.

The power relations nonetheless remain weighted and heavily favouring the employer; further contained in and affected by historically and socially constructed context of alienated labour and commodification which diseases relations between human beings. For the Lusaka domestic workers, this can be easily related to the colonial period in which blacks were seen

as only good for domestic labour and even now the sector is still largely viewed as one for the lower class uneducated and poor citizens.

Furthermore, this notion of the kinship of domestic work has also resulted in those employers with no or older children to insist on paying lesser salaries to domestic workers which corresponds with the observation of Hansen (1986:70), who noted that from the colonial era because the work of servants was perceived to differ from house to house, it was in turn considered 'wrong' to have to use the same standard of payment, and thus servants were not paid for the amount of work done but on the basis of the employer's conception of what was sufficient.

This has no doubt led to exploitation of the domestic workers as despite some employers having no or older children, the size of their homes demanded a lot of energy and time to maintain on a daily basis.

However, as observed by King (2007:1), the fact that domestic service occurs behind closed doors further compounds this exploitation of domestic workers as the fear of censure is not so much an issue in this sphere as it is in the public sphere, since outsiders do not easily monitor actions. The domestic workers union (UHDWUZ) concurred with this statement, noting that it was not uncommon for domestic workers to be employed in multiple homes for the same salary, especially for non-Zambian residents living in enclosed communities. Such cases will usually get known at the point of separation when the domestic worker feels they are entitled to more than the single employer has paid based on their multiple functions whilst in employment.

Similarly, the Labour inspectors noted the difficulty in resolving such disputes in the absence of formal contracts stipulating the job descriptions of the domestic worker as employers

insisted most tasks claimed to have been performed by the domestic worker were also at the same time performed by the "madams" and other dependents were present.

2.3.3 Emotional Labour in Domestic Work

Domestic work by its personal nature can further be exploitative in terms of emotional labour, in that it does not necessarily recognize the explicit skills of the domestic worker as much as it does their ability to behave in a manner befitting a domestic worker. On the concept of emotional labour, Hochschild (1983) argued that emotional labour is the process that an individual intentionally undertakes in managing their emotions such that they align not only with societal norms around what should be felt and expressed within particular situations but also with the rules as defined and managed by the organizations that they work for.

According to Hochschild (2003:7), emotional labour is labour that requires one to induce or suppress feelings in order to sustain outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others.

Furthermore, emotional labour is performed in two ways, namely through "surface acting" and "deep acting". Surface acting occurs when a service worker attempts to align the actual emotions that they experience while delivering their service with the emotions that they are expected to feel by just *putting on* a display of the required emotion. Deep acting however, occurs when a service worker attempts to align the actual emotions that they experience while delivering their service with the emotions that they are expected to feel by intentionally working to feel the required emotion and as such express it authentically. Both this surface and deep acting are argued to over time have negative consequences on service workers (Hochschild, 1983: 35).

For domestic workers this aspect of emotional labour is often a basis for their competence in that employers usually expect the domestic worker to behave as if on the job even when they often do not consider their conditions of service as warranting that of an employee. Cock (1980:27) amplified this concept of emotional labour through the experiences of Mavis, a domestic worker who though having no job satisfaction in her job, and suffering humiliation by being teased over her weight by the employer, could still not leave the job as she felt "a great deal of compassion" for her employer who was elderly and had poor sight.

Therefore, trapped by emotions of pity, this domestic worker is bound to an employer that not only extracts labour from her, but purchases her emotions too at the same cost. Additionally, King (2007:38-39) observed that the context of emotional labour for domestic workers is very valid on the basis of Hochschild's three assumptions for salability. First, the face to face interaction between employee and the customer, second, the emotional state achieved in the receiver for instance gratitude and lastly, through the employer's control of the employee via training and supervision. Here, the employer, usually female, is the customer, who is able to monitor and demand personal "emotional labour" from the servant, who in turn would be predominantly female too.

This assertion corresponds with the nature of most domestic worker / employee relations as those domestic workers that toll the employer's line and show a lot of gratitude on the job are usually eventually taken in as "part of the family" and treated in much the same way as other dependents would be treated in the home. However, the danger with this kind of emotional labour has been that the domestic worker still retains their expectations as a paid employee and while they may not express dissatisfaction whilst in employment, this often comes out strongly at the time of separation when usually the employer feels they are not obliged to pay the domestic worker separation dues since she/he was treated as part of the family and

received food, sometimes clothes and other privileges as did other household dependents in addition to their monthly pay.

Further, in line with Hochschild's (2003:8) assertions on emotional labour being a commodity bought by an employer, the domestic worker too in this sense is often expected to feel and think as per the employers' requirements. The employer somewhat manages the domestic workers feelings through the alienation of the work from the person. The perceptions observed in the study likewise indicated that employers will perceive a "good" domestic worker to be the one who abides by their regulations and instructions and does not question their authority or directives as the person that pays them their salary.

Domestic workers, from the colonial era to date therefore continue to suffer exploitation in their conditions of service, as observed by Rollins (1993:336), on the basis of the confined nature of domestic service to the private home which allows for the extraction of surplus, as noted by Cock (1980:29), of not only labour but emotions as well. In this sense, a domestic workers personality and potential relationship with the employer is seen as overriding any other skills requirements for the job. In Lusaka this was especially true given that majority of the domestic workers interviewed had for instance never obtained any form of training in housework or other, but were "trained" to do their work by their employers- mainly the female- and thus often felt obliged to show a sense of loyalty in order to gain privileges such as time off to attend to funerals or sick relations as well as food whilst on the job among others.

Notwithstanding, the study equally revealed that some domestic workers actually enjoyed their work and found it very rewarding. This entailed that the aspect of emotional labour in this case did not hold true as these domestic workers voluntarily engaged in domestic work due to a natural inclination towards this type of work.

These sentiments are supported by Shuler (2000) who specifically contended that Hochschild (1983) had focussed so much on the negative consequences of emotional labour that the potential of there being any positive consequences was hard to envisage. Shuler (2000) further observed that there are positive consequences to emotional labour and that at times service workers pursued emotional labour because they find it rewarding.

2.3.4 Power and Counter Power

Cock (1980:15) noted that it is necessary to locate the domestic servant in a social context particularly in terms of constraints, as individuals are products of social relations and to some extent are trapped within them. Further, the macro structures which control the distribution of power and resources in society entail that domestic workers and their employers are not free and equal participants in interaction.

Further, Rollins (1993:335-343) advanced that it is through the ego and system supporting psychology function that drives employers to seek out personality traits in would be domestic workers that are of an inferior nature and able to afford them psychological dominance, both in terms of wages and authority. The researcher asserted that this concept of power and the unequal participation in interaction is very real for domestic workers in Lusaka. The study indicated that a preference for older domestic workers though ideal where young children were present in the home, proved to be difficult to supervise on account of the age aspect.

Culturally, it is considered impolite for a younger person to speak harshly, instruct, or raise their voice to an elder person and this often disadvantages elderly domestic workers from finding employment in middle income households that are mostly owned by young and middle-age residents. Additionally, the domestic worker in this sense is expected to be deferential by acknowledging the superiority of the female boss and conducting him/herself

as such around the home. Hansen (1989:29) further noted that domestic workers in colonial Zambia were viewed purely as workers in the home and were made to work under conditions that upheld their role as servants and helpers to the masters.

Equally in modern day Lusaka for instance, the female employer regardless of circumstance will be expected to be referred to as "madam" while it will be typically accepted to refer to the domestic worker as "kaboyi" a somewhat demeaning tag referring to a lower class paid servant. Furthermore, the domestic workers' relationship with the employer is one based on maternalism, as noted by Giddens (1983:53-59), as human social actors, both servants and employers bring intentionality to the workplace. They monitor their mutual interaction in an uneasy labor relationship whose ambiguous, personalized nature is mediated by a process of cooperation and conflict. The personalized nature of the work relationship in postcolonial domestic service is not the product of a paternalistic ethos based on a sense of reciprocity of obligation between employer and servant.

The domestic workers situation in Lusaka is in tune with the above statement in that the employer assumes some supremacy over the employee and confers maternal tendencies such as dictating the dress code, type of friends, personal grooming and care and so forth as part of the job description for the employee. It is therefore not uncommon that many domestic workers in Lusaka are for instance not allowed to wear make-up on duty, carry handbags or take a bath after knocking off prior to going home as these practices are frowned upon.

The supervisory relationship between the "madam" and the domestic workers is often simulated as the "madam" is usually viewed as the mean and tough employer while the male employer referred to as the "boss" is held as the better employer. The reaction to this stereotyping has caused most female employers to view female domestic workers especially

young unmarried ones as a potential threat to their marriages and hence the lower levels of employment for this category of young female domestic workers.

King (2007:34) additionally amplified this concept of the inequality of power that enables the construction of difference, as one which serves as an affirmation of self through subordination of the "other". Power as the hegemony of the dominant is expressed in either kindness or materialistic terms. Kindness is used as a mask for personalized power while the employer maintains control through emotional pressure, while materialistic power hides behind market forces excusing the employer from his/her obligations towards the worker on the basis of market conditions.

In Lusaka, this has seen a number of employers paying below the recommended minimum wages on the premise that they offer their domestic workers many incentives for which monetary value is not attached. These range from allowing the domestic worker to charge their phones, access to food, bathing provisions with their soap and water as well as beddings for the live-in domestic workers. In short, the view is that these other incentives must be appreciated by the domestic workers as acts of kindness on the part of the employers.

Archer (2011:67) further illustrated that the aspect of power is engendered in the domestic service relationship in that women employers struggle to relinquish domesticity as is affirms them as women, but they are happy to delegate this task so long as they retain control and thus maintain power through the tight control of food, which keeps them as the dominant woman. Food is thus seen as a particularly powerful site of the hierarchies of classification that define social distinction and is a crucial information code, expressive of the patterns of social relations within which they are embedded.

Furthermore, in terms of the role of food in power relations, Counihan (1999:12-13) asserted that food is both a means of differentiation and a channel of communication as well as a medium of exchange, connection and distinction within which these exchanges must be reciprocal in order to maintain equality. This reciprocity of giving and receiving, of cooking and eating makes for equality and its lack contributes to power imbalances, thus in many ways food establishes and reflects identities and relationships.

The above assertions were very true of the situation with some domestic workers in Lusaka who are not allowed to eat from their workplaces and even inside the home. Such employers provide stools outside the home where the domestic workers can eat their own food brought in by themselves as they report for work, or where the employer provides this, it is usually nothing close to that consumed by the employer and their families.

While these power relations are most prevalent with female domestic workers by virtue of their work stations being inside the home, the situation was different for the male domestic worker's mainly engaged as guards, drivers or gardeners. The study did not record any complaints of food from the male domestic workers who mostly indicated that they were either provided with food or prepared their own at the guard houses where these were applicable. The male domestic workers seemingly did not find this aspect of food a matter of contention.

Hansen (1989:48) rightly observed that in the case of male domestic workers, often the female employers actually welcomed male domestics as compared to females as this helped restore their power in that they could exercise dominance over the male – even though a mere servant- through their ability to hire and fire.

In this sense, female employers who felt threatened or challenged by fellow female domestic workers found male domestic workers very appealing. The above observations were especially true in the case of Lusaka domestic worker employers who assert that male domestic workers are easier to control even though they too could be a challenge in the event the female employer was not married.

In short, the male domestic workers were more respectful were a married couple was their employer as opposed to a single female. This was true also of female domestic workers which could be an indication that domestic workers although supervised by the female employers generally had more regard and respect for the male employer whom most viewed as being more level headed and fair.

However, despite these sometimes acrimonious power relations, domestic workers in Lusaka assert that there is no alternative as the female employer is the person that offers them employment and requires their services while the male employer often usually merely provides the salary. Therefore a conscious decision is often made to tolerate this situation as work was hard to find and as such one could not afford to get entangled in power relations with the female employer who according to the domestic workers had every right to be superior since the workplace was also her own home.

The study further revealed that unlike female domestic workers, male domestic workers were more cognizant of these power boundaries, asserting that the female employer was in fact the overall supervisor even in instances were as outside work such as gardening the male employer occasionally supervised – but when it came to hiring and firing, this was strictly the preserve of the female employer. It is therefore no coincidence that in Lusaka, the multitude of cases reported to the Department of Labour by domestic workers constituted mainly cases of power abuse by female employers.

On the other hand, the female employers interviewed noted that this was so because the nature of domestic work fell directly under their charge in the home, they as such were fully responsible for the hiring, supervising and firing. Hansen (1990:365) summed this up with the observation that whilst in the colonial period hierarchical relationship between servant and master were expressed mainly in racial terms, with these unequal relationship between the two parties accentuated, marked, and recreated in a discourse that made the two even more unlike one another; the inequalities inherent in the post- independence era between servant and employer are no longer necessarily rationalized in racial, but rather in class terms.

Domestic workers in Lusaka view themselves to a large extent as a socially different class of humans that cannot be equated to the classes of their employers in a sort of "us" and "them" stereotype which inhibits the ability for more effective industrial relations communication.

2.3.5 Masculinity and Domestic Work

Masculinity as advanced by Connell (1993:599) is primarily a psychological essence that is inherited or acquired and carried forward in life as a man's being. Further, masculinity is seen as being hegemonic in its context of the male sex being dominant and powerful especially in the patriarchal gender system. In most African countries notably, domestic work would thus be seen squarely as women's work and any man performing it would be in contradiction to this widely held belief.

In addition, Gaitskell, D., Kimble, J.,Maconachie, M., and Unterhalter, E., (1983:92) contend that even though men would opt to take up domestic work, this would be in contrast to societal norms as the nature of domestic work was viewed primarily as feminine, for instance, cooking, cleaning and taking care of children. Thus, the case of male domestic workers demonstrates that masculinity can be defined in the domestic mode, wherein men turn

housework into a man's job. Bujra (2000:176) in this sense argued that masculinity, though associated with power, as a taken for granted quality, takes second place when it comes to earning a living.

The same can be said about the male domestic workers in Zambia who according to Hansen (1986:59) turned to domestic work in order to earn wages not only to feed their families but also to pay the poll tax. The researcher asserts that the aspect of masculinity in domestic work though still prevalent especially with non- Zambian employers is slowly being eroded in Lusaka. The male domestic workers are now mainly engaged for outside the home tasks such as gardening, guarding and driving and less and less for tasks within the home. The exceptional cases were mainly with non-Zambian employers who showed a higher affinity for male domestic workers on the basis of their ability to multi task and cover up as shop attendants after working within their households and gaining their trust and confidence.

The advent of child sexual defilement cases in Lusaka in the recent past has also negatively impacted the employability of male domestic workers as many households have growingly become wary of having male domestic workers tending to their female children.

Additionally, despite this sector historically being male dominated, it is now evident that there are now more females in the sector than males and in most instances, females are replacing males in other domestic work such as gardening and guarding which could indicate an anticipated further decline in the numbers of males employed in domestic work in future.

2.3.6 Femininity and Domestic Work

The study of domestic workers in Lusaka revealed a higher affinity for female domestic workers as opposed to the male and this was backed by the concept of social reproduction of labour, as noted by Fakier and Cock (2009:353-354) that in the global South, as in the North,

social reproduction involves work that is mainly done in the household through the unpaid domestic labour of working class women.

It is noted however that in the South, this is often combined with paid labour or vulnerable and precarious work in the informal sector, which is also dominated by women. Here in the South, women are atomized both in the household and the informal sector as workers bearing a double load, which engenders a crisis on social reproduction.

From the study, the affinity for older female domestic workers with grown up children was an indication that employers are cognizant of the social reproductive function domestic workers play in their homes. This was in varied ways ranging from instilling of discipline, assisting with school work, child health care and so forth, tasks which are inherently the responsibility of the mothers within the homes.

The involvement of women in domestic service has however not always been prevalent in Zambia. As observed by Hansen (1990:370), female domestic workers though scantly present in the colonial era as nannies were not a common phenomenon as is the case in recent times. Furthermore, this aspect of female domestic workers was and still remains a challenge for both local employers and foreigners in that the young women mostly entering the sector are often viewed to be in pursuit of a better life and hence the chances or dangers of usurping the "madam" in the household in search of a better livelihood is a potential threat and hindrance.

This therefore, justified the preference of male domestic workers despite the nature of the work being of a traditionally feminine nature. Notwithstanding, the male domestic workers were not devoid of sexual scandals with the white madams either during the colonial era. These conceptions are still very alive in todays' domestic sector wherein marriages have been

reported to have been disrupted by domestic workers. The tendency is however not as straightforward as it appears.

The levels of sexual abuse in Lusaka are in fact higher and often passed off as domestic workers offences towards employers' marriages when in actual fact many of these domestic workers are actually victims of sexual abuse from male employers.

Despite this problem being viewed from the female domestic workers perspective, the study revealed that male domestic workers are also being sexually abused by fellow male employers and most of these cases remain unreported due to the shame and embarrassment attached to sodomy. On the other hand, most of the female domestic workers reported having been compelled to turn to domestic work due to low literacy levels that make any other form of employment a challenge. Additionally, the advent of poverty, in this case engendered by death of a spouse or divorce has left many women heading households and therefore finding survival through this type of work.

Bujra (2000:179) equally observed that in Tanzania like in Zambia, the creeping feminization of domestic wage labour is mainly on the basis of economic and social transformations engendered by capitalism. As is the case in Lusaka, a new generation of young women who view this type of work as a temporal sojourn leading either to improved chances of marriage, improved lifestyles or as a pass time is reported to be increasingly becoming common place in Tanzania.

In a sense therefore, the feminization of an occupation does not equate with increasing docility or malleability of the workforce as is evidenced by the resistance of these young women to succumb to the disciplines of domestic work as a life- time career which holds true of the situation in Lusaka at present whereby employment prospects for young female

domestic workers is dwindling on the assumption that they are often not fully prepared to commit to the job and often want to work for quick gains, often of material nature.

2.3.7 Labour Laws and Regulation

According to ILO (2007:22-23), labour laws are defined as any state recognized labour rights and standards that reflect the general goal of improving the quality of working life, and the relative bargaining power of people who are dependent upon their labour for a living, whether they are working or without work. It further states that labour laws will encompass any governmentally established procedure, term or condition of employment, or employer requirement that has as its purpose the protection of employees from treatment at the workplace that society considers unfair or unjust. The common element across all standards being that they are mandatory – they are governmentally imposed and enforced and failure to comply with standards brings legal sanctions on the employer.

The situation in Lusaka and in particular with the ministry in charge of enforcing this legislation is that they lack both the human and logistical resources to adequately carry out this task. Domestic workers alike despite having full knowledge of minimum wages for instance are reluctant to demand enforcement at the back drop of high unemployment levels that have created job scarcity and high instability for those with jobs. Hoffer (2011:105) concurred with the above statement noting that labour legislation therefore has the double function of (a) protecting workers against hazardous working conditions and the abuse of market power and (b) acting as an automatic stabilizer against the volatility and overshooting of under regulated labour markets.

Regulation on the other hand has been denoted by ILO(2007:24) to include, but not limited to, the use of legal rules and sanctions as a mechanism for setting and enforcing behavioural

norms. In other words, while setting rules remains essential, 'regulation' covers much more than this. Regulation covers both legal rules, *and* other means of inducing changes in behaviour to better comply with particular policy goals. While this includes inducing changes to comply with legal rules such as labour laws, it also encompasses other means of achieving the policy goals of those laws, noting that regulation by the state or coordinated by it is both necessary and desirable to ensure basic standards for workers.

However, whilst agreeing on the need for regulation, Chen, (2011:180-181) argued on the extent to which this is applicable for domestic workers given the nature of their work places, that is, private homes and that regulation can thus create a potential mismatch between domestic work and the laws, regulations, and institutions that govern labour markets. This mismatch is based on the question of whether private households should come under the jurisdiction of existing labour laws and regulations; as the home is widely seen as a private realm and a "safe haven" that should not—indeed, need not—be regulated. In Lusaka, most employers indeed were against the inspection of their homes viewing this as an invasion of their private spaces.

The Ministry itself equally admitted to its inability to conduct these inspections both as a logistical challenge – given the number of households employing domestic workers in Lusaka in addition to the security challenge it poses as most employers have been known to unleash vicious dogs on inspectors as well as being plain hostile and therefore making the exercise a futility. Hansen (1986:71) corresponded with this by narrating how the problem of regulation was equally highly debatable in the Zambian scenario based on the interpersonal relationships within the private household which made employers unwilling to concede to servants, the union rights granted to many other segments of the working class.

It was this same unwillingness that caused legislators to deny the extension of minimum wage legislation to servants in the late 1950s arguing that such an inclusion would involve domiciliary inspection, which would require that somebody went into their houses, questioned their servants or checked if they were paying the right wages stating that this was an objectionable thing if inspectors were to be allowed to enter their houses.

However, Chen (2011:180), nonetheless conceded that, there is growing evidence that the home is neither a fair nor a safe working environment for domestic workers and that labour laws and regulations should be enforced in the private setting based on the arguments of legal scholars that households that allow outsiders, indeed strangers to work in their homes should not be immune from regulation. Some households in Lusaka especially those of non-Zambian employers have been subjected to forced inspections following reported cases of gross abuse and exploitation of domestic workers such as locking up workers while the employers go off to work or in adverse cases, for weekends away. Such cases have required the involvement of law enforcement agencies as well as human rights activists.

Interestingly enough such cases though prevalent have not served to deter domestic workers from continuing such employment or taking heed to report such vices which are mostly reported only by concerned neighbours or relatives to the domestic workers. The Department of Labour furthermore attributes the low levels of legislative knowledge to the rising cases of exploitation as the Law though still requiring revision to align with the ILO Convention is very useful in protecting the rights of domestic workers even in its current form.

2.3.8 Labour Law Compliance

Pires (2008:3) observed that the concept of compliance could be explained in two ways; firstly, as a deterrence model, were by compliance with regulation is the result of a cost-benefit analysis in which employers give up violating the law when the probability of being caught (surveillance) and the cost of punishment (fines) are higher than the benefits of non-compliance. Thus, under this model, inspectors are expected to find all possible sorts of irregularity and impose the prescribed penalty for each of them when they inspect workplaces.

The second, the compliance model, emerged in the 1980s as a criticism of, and response to, the negative impacts of the first model. Proponents of the compliance model and its variations argue that stringent enforcement practices based on adversarial and punitive relationships between regulators and regulated (deterrence model) lead to "unreasonableness" and create disincentives for compliance. Instead of deploying sanctions, inspectors taking this approach are expected to understand the spirit of the law and seek to attain its objectives by adapting legal requirements to different types of firms, prioritizing persuasion and advice over adversarial and punitive means of law enforcement.

Expounding on the role of employment agencies in enforcing labour compliance, Tsikata (2011:17), noted that in Ghana for instance, the entry of licensed employment agencies has introduced a more formal regime between employers and domestic workers through seeking to standardize domestic work and its terms, despite being hampered by the absence of labour regulations tailored to the particular conditions of domestic work. Further, by registering and placing domestic workers, giving them limited training, negotiating placements backed by

formal, though voluntary, agreements between employers and domestic workers, agencies are establishing new modalities and contributing to a new customary law of domestic work that institutionalizes informality.

The researcher asserted that there is still a lot of work to do in order to formalize the domestic workers sector as one of the ways to ensure that domestic work is recognised as real work. The current advent of verbal contracts has led to a lot of exploitation and under valuing of domestic work. The Employment Agencies in Lusaka like those presented in the case of Ghana above are in fact making strides to formalise the sector through the provision of formal placement contracts.

These contracts in fact usually offered better conditions of service to the domestic workers than those contained in the legislation although the downside to this is that most employers shun these Centres in preference for self- negotiated verbal contracts made possible by the large pool of available domestic workers.

Additionally, while most employers in Lusaka were seemingly aware of the legislative requirements regarding the employment of domestic workers, there was weariness in compliance based on the excess supply of available domestic workers which had created a decline for demand and therefore impacting on the payment of higher wages.

2.4 CONCLUSION

The above chapter has covered the literature relevant on the topic of domestic work. An overview of the topic is given in addition to the definition and description of domestic work, as well as some concepts that explain the nature of domestic work. The challenges of domestic work are equally discussed alongside some of the contributing factors and possible solutions. Furthermore, literature reviewed has been linked to the current research.

The next chapter covers the research methodology that the researcher undertook in order to answer the research questions and achieve the research objectives.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY CHAPTER

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter outlines the research methodology that was undertaken by the researcher to conduct the study and collect data in order to answer the research question(s) and meet the research objectives. The rationale for the research design and the methodology are given followed by the target population. Afterwards, the sampling, research process, research instrument, data analysis, access, limitations of the study and ethical considerations are discussed in the following paragraphs.

The qualitative approach was employed in the process of collecting empirical data for the study on the premise that it allows for the studying of things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them. Furthermore an interpretive approach whose assumption is that social action is meaningful action was utilised in the hope of getting a better understanding of the subject matter at hand (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). In this regard, the primary aim of this study was to explore the experiences and working conditions of domestic workers by establishing these constructs directly from the domestic workers as well as stakeholders engaged in the daily operations of the sector as their focal point of work.

Lastly, the study's data collection was additionally premised on the extended case method which emphasises reflexivity and therefore takes into account issues of intervention, process, structuration and reconstruction.

As noted by Burawoy (1998:29-30), the choice of reflexivity is dependent on the problem being studied, so while as positive methods are more suited to enduring systemic properties, reflexive methods are better suited to studying everyday social interaction. Which in this case was most appropriate as the study was focused on the perceptions and experiences of domestic workers within their social context. Furthermore, this reflexive science was best suited for the study on the assumption that reality is shaped by social, political and cultural factors, and that people shape their destiny, but not always under conditions of their choice (Khunou, 2006:57).

3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

The study used a qualitative research method. A qualitative design allows the researcher to interpret patterns of data into reasoned explanation of the phenomena. Through qualitative research design, the researcher was able to identify and understand from the perspective of the respondents the factors that influence domestic workers working conditions, experiences and challenges. According to Saunders, Lewis, and Thornhill (2003:42), this methodology also enables the researcher to explore the subjective meanings motivating people's actions in a situation.

The researcher used both structured and semi – structured interviews to gain an understanding of the underlying reasons and motivations for peoples' attitudes, preferences and behaviours towards domestic work. With this approach, the emphasis was more on generating hypotheses from the data collection rather than testing a hypothesis. Babbie & Mouton (2001:270) explain that qualitative research's primary goal is to describe and understand rather than explain human behaviour. Furthermore, qualitative research concerns itself with describing actions of the research participants in detail and then attempting to understand these actions in terms of the actor's own beliefs, history and context.

In this particular study, the researcher sought to understand the working conditions, experiences and challenges of domestic workers, the responses to these and how this is affected by labour laws specifically minimum wages. Additionally, the study aimed to bring to the fore the gender dimension of domestic work in as far as males are also engaged in domestic work and thus interviewed both males and females within the context of the study.

In this sense, the qualitative research technique proved useful as according to Babbie and Mouton (2001:309), its chief strength lay in the depth of understanding and flexibility which allowed modification of the research plan at any time as well as adaption of the methodology, time frame and other aspects to suit the object of the study which in turn served to increase the validity of the findings, at the same time allowed for control and freedom in the research process.

3.3 THE RESEARCH SITES

The chosen area for the study was Lusaka city, the capital of Zambia. In particular, Kalingalinga and Mtendere compounds were selected as the main research sites while Bauleni was also visited for informal interviews with random domestic workers. In terms of selection, the two compounds Kalingalinga and Mtendere were selected on the basis of availability of domestic workers to participate in the study as well as the compounds strategic location in proximity to low density residential areas and high suburbs were the most demand for domestic work was present.

Mtendere which translates as “peace” in the local language was established in 1967 as a site and service resettlement scheme and is still viewed by its residents as one of the nicest compounds in Lusaka (Hansen, 1997:60). Similarly, Kalingalinga which means a person with

no fixed abode, that is, one moving from one place to another, was gazetted as a legal settlement by the Lusaka City Council in the early 1970s (Simatele, 2010: 10-11).

The two compounds are adjacent to each other and situated on the far east of Lusaka city with a deeply entrenched colonial background; having been previous white colonial farms and eventually turned into black settlement areas.

As earlier alluded to, the proximity of the two compounds to the low density areas which tap into the massive reserve army of labour available in these compounds was beneficial to the researcher as it provided easy logistical access for the field work as domestic workers could easily be interviewed after work, on the weekends (Sundays) all within short distance of each other. The researcher observed from the visits to the two compounds the critical shortage of water supply, access roads and decent housing structures. However, the domestic workers interviewed were mostly welcoming and did not appear unnerved about their surroundings or allowing the researcher into their one or two roomed houses during the course of the field work.

3.4 DATA COLLECTION METHOD

The study employed the qualitative research approach in both collecting and analyzing data using both primary and secondary data. In terms of secondary data, as noted by Babbie (1986:25), this technique uses secondary data or archival information which consists of documents, reports, statistics, manuscripts and other written oral or visual materials. In this case, the Researcher's secondary data involved content analysis of relevant documentation such as trade union documents which included the Memorandum of Understanding entered into with Domestic Workers Agencies, the Code of Conduct for Domestic Workers, and newspaper clippings on the revised minimum wage pronouncement as well as legislative

instruments such as the Minimum Wage Act (Domestic Workers) Order – 2011. Others included Ministry of Labour Inspection Reports, Government publications on informal sector employment and ILO reports on domestic workers and minimum wages.

Primary data on the other hand was obtained using the qualitative approach. This data was collected from the field between 18th June 2012 and 8th July 2012. A qualitative interview according to Babbie and Mouton (2001:289) is essentially a conversation in which the interviewer establishes a general direction for the conversation and pursues specific topics raised by the respondent. Ideally, the respondent does most of the talking. These interviews were conducted with the identified research participants, i.e. domestic workers, trade union, employment agencies, employers and the Ministry of Labour.

The Qualitative method proved extremely useful for the researcher as it allowed the gathering of very vital information aside from the interview guides as the respondents were free to express themselves, their perceptions and opinions on the research topic without constraint. The researcher deliberately did not produce the printed interview guide during interviews with the domestic workers as the first set of respondents had appeared unsettled by the question and answer session. In subsequent interviews, the researcher merely introduced the themes of the interview guide and allowed the respondents to engage the researcher in a free flowing conversation about their experiences, current situations, their aspirations and sometimes their fears.

The interviews were conducted in the following manner:

a. In-depth Interviews

A set of structured questions were used for face to face interviews with 28 domestic workers, of these, 18 female and 10 male for the purposes of capturing a sociological profile of the domestic workers. This profile among others included biographical details, employment history, and household profiles.

Furthermore, the researcher used semi structured questions during the said interviews to gain a deeper insight on the experiences and challenges of domestic workers and their working conditions. The domestic workers were not comfortable with the researcher's use of the tape recorder during the interviews and thus it was not used during these sessions. Instead, the researcher wrote down the responses in a field work journal.

Due to the nature of the working hours of the domestic workers, the interviews were randomly conducted in the communities (Mtendere and Kalingalinga) from where the domestic workers resided as opposed to their workplaces. The researcher was also fortunate to interview live-in domestic workers who were available on two public holidays that fell within the field work period. The researcher spent entire days in the two compounds during the duration of the field work as the respondents did not often stick with agreed meeting times. The researcher utilised the in between moments to digest the full extent of the nature of livelihoods in the two compounds by randomly speaking to either dependants at a respondents home or their neighbours.

b. Key Informant Interviews

Face to face interviews using semi-structured questions were used to interview the Trade Union officials, Government – Labour Department officials and Employment Agencies. These interviews were vital in order to understand their work both in protecting the domestic workers and their perceptions of the domestic workers sector in general.

Additionally, the researcher obtained the views of the domestic worker employers on their experiences with domestic workers and compliance with the minimum wage legislation.

These interviews were conducted at the places of work of the respective respondents as this proved both cost effective and convenient for the respondents who met the researcher mostly during their lunch breaks. The researcher had ready access to the trade union officials having been a member of the trade union to which the trade union was affiliated and also based on past work conducted involving the domestic workers and consequently the trade union. As such the researcher was welcomed as an insider and was able to obtain key insights beyond the scope of the interview guide.

Lastly, at the Ministry of Labour's Department of Labour where the 3 interviews with the Ministry officials were conducted, the researcher was availed an opportunity to sit in as an observer during some cases of complaints brought in by domestic workers in order to gain a first- hand insight into how the Department dealt with Domestic Workers disputes. This experience proved extremely useful for the study as it availed the researcher an empirical illustration of the nature of disputes reported to the Department and also how the domestic workers and employers related to each other in addition to the reception accorded to both by the Ministry Officials in the process of aiding the resolution of the disputes.

The figure (3.1) below indicates the summary of interviews conducted for the study.

FIGURE 3.1: SUMMARY OF INTERVIEWS

Respondent	**Total**	**Interview Type**
1. Domestic Workers	28	Structured, and In-depth
2. Stakeholders - Government - Trade Union - Employment Agencies	 3 2 3	Semi – Structured, Key Informant
3. Employers	7	Semi –Structured, Key Informant.

A total of forty three (43) interviews were conducted during the data collection phase as summarized in figure 1 above. Given the limited experience of the Researcher in note taking and time considerations, a tape recorder was sometimes used to record some of the key informant interviews for instance with the trade union officials and at the Labour Department. In addition, the Researcher wrote down the rest of the interviews in instances where the respondents did not wish to be recorded. In particular, the domestic workers requested not to be recorded as a measure of anonymity on their part. A field work diary was additionally maintained during this phase in which the Researcher noted daily reflections as well as other observed events / indicators to enrich the data collection process.

The Qualitative interviews in the form of both structured and semi structured questions took into account issues of enculturation as noted by Babbie and Mouton (2001:288); where the focus was on respondents possessing sufficient knowledge of the subject matter.

To this end, only respondents that were either working as domestic workers or direct employers were considered. Further, the stakeholders from the trade union and the labour department included officials directly involved in matters concerning domestic work as part of their normal daily routine. Additionally, only the managers conducting the actual placements of the domestic workers were interviewed in the study from the domestic worker Agencies sampled.

Furthermore, the choice of both structured and semi structured questions enriched the research process by making provisions to collect valuable in depth information by allowing the respondents to express and share important information with the Researcher. The respondents were not restricted in terms of the extent to which they could respond to questions or share particular information as long as it was within the context of the research topic and the researcher reflected on this information at each days end ensuring that the relevant bits were properly noted.

Lastly, the current involvement of participants was considered and hence as stated above, only those participants actively involved in the issues concerning the study were interviewed. The aspect of adequate time was also a contributing factor in the selection of participants as the nature of the data collected required a collection of as much information as could be availed by the right respondents.

3.5 SAMPLING

Sampling involves the selection of that population that will form the group of people about whom we want to draw conclusions. Because we cannot make an observation of everyone in a given population, we thus select a sample that will be as representative as possible of such a population through the use of non-probability or non-random sampling.

According to Punch (2000:54-55) qualitative sample sizes tend to be small with no statistical grounds for guidance and is usually a function of the purpose of the study and takes into account sampling frames and practical constraints. Further, in a qualitative study such as this, the primary goal as observed by Weiss (1994:195), is to get a representative sample, or a small collection of units or cases from the a much larger collection or population, such that the researcher can study the smaller group and produce accurate generalizations about the larger group.

The sampling technique used in the study was non probability sampling or nonrandom samples which rarely requires the pre determining of a sample size and the researcher may have limited knowledge about the larger group or population from which the sample is taken. Furthermore, for the purpose of the study, purposive sampling was employed because the researcher worked with a small sample that was particularly informative and very difficult to reach (Neuman, 2000:196-198). This approach was effective for the study on the basis that respondents were selected based on their relevance to the research topic rather than their representativeness.

This sampling method was further used on the basis of its appropriateness in the selection of unique cases that are especially informative and also for a difficult to reach population (Weiss, 1994:198).

Saunders et al. (2003:175) go on to state that this approach enables the researcher to use his/her judgement to select cases that enable the researcher to answer the research question(s) and to meet the objective(s) of the study. Thus purposive sampling was used for the key informants, that is, the Ministry of Labour, Trade Union, Employment Agencies and the Employers on the basis that these formed part of the hard to get population.

The purposive sampling method was thus useful in getting the respondents that fitted into the desired criteria and where sufficiently knowledgeable in the area of domestic work either as experts in the sector or by virtue of their involvement in the sector. In turn the officials from the labour department comprised one senior labour officer who overlooks the work of the department, a labour inspector handling matters of legislative compliance and an assistant labour officer whose daily task involves receiving and assisting in the amicable resolution of disputes between employers and domestic workers. In terms of the trade union, the two respondents sampled held very key positions in the union of president and general secretary respectively bringing to the study a wealth of knowledge on the nature, context and challenges of domestic work in Zambia and Lusaka in particular.

Furthermore, the employers were carefully selected to involve both male and female employers, Zambian and non-Zambian employers as well as those having children / families and those without. A deliberate option was made to additionally select employers encompassing low, medium and high density residential areas, private sector and public sector workers and both young and elderly in age in order to assess if these factors would influence perceptions.

Thus, although the researcher did not have the objective of generalizing the findings to the population from which this sample was selected based on the criteria used to select the sample not being random; the findings of this study may thus not be representative of the entire population as observed by Saunders et al. (2003:152), but nonetheless this does not rule out possibilities of the results being applicable to similar situations.

In addition, snowball sampling was employed in the case of the domestic workers. A sampling procedure may be defined as snowball sampling when the researcher accesses informants through contact information that is provided by other informants. This process is, by necessity, repetitive: informants refer the researcher to other informants, who are contacted by the researcher and then refer her or him to yet other informants, and so on. Hence the evolving 'snowball' effect, captured in a metaphor that touches on the central quality of this sampling procedure: its accumulative (diachronic and dynamic) dimension (Chaim, 2008:5).

The researcher relied heavily on the usefulness of this referral, chain or network selection process to reach the domestic workers who were difficult to trace but well connected to each other as will be explained further on in the chapter. The snow ball sampling technique further enabled the researcher to interview the preferred selection of both female and male respondents by relying on the domestic workers to make the necessary connections to their fellow male/female domestic workers within the same locations.

3.6 THE RESEARCHER AND THE RESEARCHED

Although the researcher was a seasoned Lusaka resident, the challenges of entering and spending entire days in the two compounds Kalingalinga and Mtendere was initially overwhelming. Concepts of being an insider and in turn of positionality and reflexivity as observed by Chacko (2004) became very real experiences for the researcher during the field work. Initial attempts to gain the trust of domestic workers proved more challenging than had been anticipated as they were very skeptical and did not care to comprehend the purpose of the study, wanting to know instead how their giving information would improve their situations.

The researcher was however able to overcome this obstacle and successfully conduct these in-depth interviews owing to the kind assistance of two of the domestic workers who participated in the study, Judith Chilabi from Mtendere and Agnes Mpanza from Kalingalinga who became contact persons for their respective compounds and sometimes even offered their homes for the various interviews.

The two women were prior known to the researcher during previous work conducted between 2010 and 2011; involving young women in Lusaka with a special component on young women involved in domestic service under the auspices of the International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC).

It was this rapport that allowed the researcher access especially the male domestic workers who were very hard to reach and often interested in monetary reward as a condition for participating in the study. However the two women were able to endear their fellow domestic workers into trusting the researcher with their information and often acted as interpreters

were the researcher and the respondent were unable to comprehend each other due to translation / language dynamics.

In terms of the actual interviews with the domestic workers, the researcher found that despite having the interview guide, a number of the domestic workers especially the elderly women would insist on telling their entire story on their experiences through the years as domestic workers with constant reference to the researcher as "you young working people" in reference to the female employers they had worked for or were working for at the time of the interviews.

For most of the women in the two compounds, life was not easy as many were widowed and looking after large numbers of children and dependents left behind by departed relatives. Many of them took a lot of time explaining their domestic conditions to the researcher prior to engaging in the study interview and it required a lot of tact on the part of the researcher to re-direct and limit the information to the issues at hand.

As observed by Peil (1993:37), characteristics such as the social position, marital status, sex, age and religion of the researcher mat affect the fieldwork and further, that language has been said to be important because "subjects base their opinion of researchers on how they speak and behave", the researcher was thus faced with these issues during the field work process. For instance, the researcher was constantly found on the receiving end of the domestic workers attack on their "madams", being viewed as a "madam" herself.

The apparent tension between madams and the domestic workers was very stark throughout the interviews with the domestic workers and it was helpful that the researcher was able to speak to the domestic workers in the three dialects commonly spoken in the two areas as well as the fact that a chitenge – the traditional wrap worn by women in Zambia was adorned by

the researcher as she visited and conducted the interviews greatly aided in gaining the acceptance, trust and openness of the domestic workers.

Additionally, the male domestic workers were often resistant to open up to the researcher until the interjections or assistance by the two contact persons, Anne Mpanza and Judith Chilabi who would respectively encourage them to speak to the researcher. In a sense, the researcher felt that the male domestic workers would be judged by the researcher as men doing what is typically women's work and this was reflected in the initial defensiveness at the start of each interview.

In terms of the remaining sets of interviews, the researcher was mostly at ease with the respective respondents and the interviews were conducted in a relaxed manner without the researcher assuming that information was being withheld especially from the labour department officials who were magnanimous enough to extend an invitation to the researcher to observe their work randomly at the researchers own time.

It was however not easy for the researcher to obtain information from the domestic workers agencies as most of the one's approached were not willing to participate in the study for fear of being exposed as they were unregistered and thus operating illegally. The researcher found that even with the agencies that eventually consented to participate in the study, the information offered was very caged and sometimes inconsistent. This researcher attributed to this to the inability of these agencies to fulfil their actual intended services such as training of domestic workers prior to placements which was a growing concern among both employers and domestic workers themselves.

3.7 DATA ANALYSIS

Qualitative data are based on meanings expressed through words, collection of results in non-standardised data requiring classification into categories, and analysis is conducted through the use of conceptualization (Dey, 1993:28)**.** Therefore the study analysed the obtained data through thematic analysis, which is a method of identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data.

Thematic analysis is further used to minimally organize and describe the data in rich detail. According to Clarke and Braun (2006:6), thematic analysis can sometimes go further and interpret various aspects of the research topic. Clarke and Braun (2006:16-23) offer six main stages in the process of thematic data analysis which have been utilised in the study as follows:

- Familiarizing with the data by reading and re-reading the data while noting down the initial ideas
- Generating initial codes for interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across the entire data set and collating data relevant to each code
- Searching for themes by collating codes into potential themes and gathering all data relevant to each potential theme
- Reviewing themes by checking if the themes work in relation to the coded extracts and the entire data set while generating a thematic map of analysis
- Defining and naming themes by on-going analysis to refine the specifics of each theme and the overall story told by the analysis and generating clear definitions and names for each theme.

- Producing the report which is preceded by a final opportunity for analysis, selection of vivid, compelling extract examples, final analysis of selected extras, relating back on the analysis to the research question and literature.

The thematic data analysis method was best suited for the study as it is credited for its flexibility, accessibility to researchers with little or no experience and usefulness as a method for working within participatory research paradigm. Further, it was useful in summarizing key features of a large body of data and / or offering a thick description of the data set, generation of unanticipated insights and allowed for social as well as psychological interpretations of data (Clarke and Braun, 2006:28).

This further allowed for similarities and differences across data sets and was additionally useful for producing qualitative analyses suited to informing policy development.

3.8 ACCESS

The nature of the study required that formal access in terms of obtained consent be sought from the respondents to be included in the research, these encompassed the Ministry of Labour, Employment Agencies, Employers and the Trade Union. This was adequately done prior to the commencement of the research process by means of telephone calls and email. In addition, given the sensitive nature of domestic work, common courtesy and strict ethical standards were strictly adhered to. As noted by Bell (1993:53-58), a researcher can never assume that all will be alright when undertaking research hence the need to have prior ensured that official channels were cleared as soon as the proposal was adopted in addition to ensuring that due care was taken to consult, establish guidelines and the avoidance of making promises that cannot be fulfilled.

The study further took note of Chacko's (2004:54) caution on the complexities that may arise with an insider researcher wherein an in between position may ultimately emerge, that allows the researcher to ably separate intellectual and emotional considerations and resist dominant ways of acquiring information and regulating the production of knowledge. The researcher continuously had to remind the domestic workers of her position as a researcher and not a "madam" as they constantly got side-tracked directing their emotions at the researcher when describing some of the difficulties they experienced in the course of their work.

Despite such instances and the researchers own overwhelming feelings of empathy at not only the conditions some of the domestic workers endured added to the state of their homes, many consisting of one or maximum two rooms with no ventilation, no toilets in sight and the nearest water supply said to be nearly a kilometre away; the researcher was still able to ably to remain neutral and objective though once in a while showing empathy in order to encourage the respondents to go on sharing.

Furthermore, the aspect of access was additionally assisted by the researcher's position as a local / native able to converse in the same languages as the respondents. As such, all the interviews with the domestic workers were conducted in the common local dialects namely Chi Nyanja and Chi Bemba with two interviews further being conducted in Lenje.

3.9 LIMITATIONS

The topic of the study was focused on a sector that is largely unorganised, that is, domestic workers are widely scattered geographically which therefore posed challenges of accessibility in terms of costs. The researcher was commuting to and from and in between the two compounds on a daily basis and occasionally had to purchase sweets and biscuits to offer the children at the homes of the domestic workers as a culturally expected manner when visiting

a home where children were present. This gesture was equally necessary in gaining the acceptance and trust of the respondents. This however did not limit the representativeness of the results. Additionally, the time frame allocated for the entire research was somewhat restrictive.

In terms of the conceptual and methodological shortcomings identified by the researcher as those that could not be overcome due to limitation of time and general resource, included the following:

i. Generalizability of the research findings to the entire population may not be possible because of the purposive selection of the sample.
ii. The use of qualitative interviews may not be easy to test for validity and reliability.
iii. The key informants are quite busy people and to get time to interview them (from their busy work schedule) was not an easy task.
iv. Some employers and domestic workers declined to participate in the study and this minimally affected the sample size.

3.10 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

In terms of ethical considerations, Wassenaar (2006:61) notes that although the essential purpose of research ethics is to protect the welfare of research participants, it also extends into areas such as scientific misconduct and plagiarism. Babbie and Mouton (2001:520) further noted that ethical issues will arise out of the interaction with other people especially where there is a potential for conflict.

Further, according to Punch (2000:59) some of these ethical requirements include voluntary participation, ensuring no harm to the participants, ensuring anonymity and confidentiality, rejecting plagiarism and so forth. This research therefore, ensured that these ethical standards were maintained throughout the research.

3.10.1 Ensuring participants have given informed consent.

To ensure voluntary participation, the researcher made available the interview schedules to the key informant participants, that is, the Ministry of Labour, the Trade Union, the Employers and the Employment Agencies earlier which contained the request for participation so as to enable the participants make an informed decision to participate in the research. Participants who did not wish to be directly quoted were further assured of utmost confidentiality while as some expressly requested to be identified.

In the case of the domestic workers, the precarious nature of their work and the generally low literacy levels required the researcher firstly to assure their confidentiality and also develop mutual trust; based on the advice of Chacko (2004:61) wherein she emphasised the critical need to build interpersonal relationships by learning from those whose expertise is derived from experiencing life in an area where the researcher may be a sojourner, and acting on a deeper understanding of the role of emotions, societal structures and communities in knowing and knowledge production.

As such, the interviews were conducted over a number of days to allow for familiarization with the research objectives and also to develop required levels of trust that could enable the respondents open up voluntarily.

3.10.2 Ensuring no harm to participants

Taking cognizance of the sensitivity of the sector in which the study was located, the Researcher sought to ensure that no harm came to the participants for the information given. This was taken care of through the formalization of informed consent earlier alluded to as well as strict handling of responses obtained.

3.10.3 Ensuring confidentiality

In order to safeguard the aspect of confidentiality, the Researcher endeavoured to scrap off from respondent documents, all personal contact details and names of the domestic workers and employers that were interviewed as a means to assure the participants' confidentiality were requested.

3.10.4 Rejection of plagiarism

The researcher has strictly duly acknowledged all sources consulted either directly or indirectly that have made a significant contribution to this study.

3.11 CONCLUSION

The above chapter discussed the research methodology that was undertaken by the Researcher. The research methodology incorporated the rationale for the methodology, the research design, limitations of the study and the research process, that is, the nature of the actual data collection as well as the researchers experience doing the field work. The ensuing chapter is a descriptive chapter chronicling the sociological profile of domestic workers who participated in the study, their work history, relationships with their employers, challenges faced in the course of their work as well as some of their responses to these challenges.

CHAPTER FOUR

SOCIOLOGICAL PROFILE OF DOMESTIC WORKERS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The researcher presents in this chapter the findings from the study on the working conditions and experiences of domestic workers in Lusaka. The findings comprise the sociological features of the domestic workers in summary form. These are later analyzed, discussed and their implications made. In assessing the experiences and working conditions of domestic workers, that is, the nature of domestic work, it is necessary to recognize as Briskin (1980:135) notes that the laws governing the production and reproduction of value do not apply to the household, and that conceptual categories relevant to understanding capitalist commodity production do not, therefore apply to domestic labour.

As such, in as much as the private home forms the workstation of domestic workers, there is still a void in so far as the extent to which worker's rights are able to be extended to these homes in order to recognize domestic work as valuable work and not just "house help".

Furthermore, domestic workers are additionally burdened with dual roles of looking after their employers homes at the neglect of their own homes in the process, as observed by Cock (1980:52-54) while cheap domestic labour was an instrument through which the employers, especially females escaped the constraints of their domestic roles, this was done at a considerable cost to the domestic worker particularly mothers. As such domestic workers naturally inherently felt exploited on this score as their own children and households often went uncared for and consequently family life was disrupted.

As one domestic worker, Mailesi Banda lamented:

> "*I leave my home before 5.30am while my own kids are still asleep so I can rush to make sure I wake up my employers kids and prepare them for school, drop them off and then come to do the housework and cook so that when they all return at the end of the day their house is nice and clean and food is waiting for them. Meanwhile back at my home, my kids fend for themselves often relying on my kind neighbor to give them some food when I could not afford to leave any for them; no one cares if they do not go to school and when I get back after 6pm, am too tired to check what has been going on and just want to eat and rest in readiness for the next morning.*
>
> *My thoughts are about my morning routine and I find myself snapping and screaming at my own kids as they tend to irritate me in my tired state so they now know to behave and leave me alone*" (Interview, 26 June 2012).

The researcher thus asserted that it is within this deprivation of family life coupled by the poor salaries and working conditions that engender the feelings of frustration evidenced in most domestic workers towards their circumstances. Furthermore, the lack of adequate literacy levels to enable them seek alternative employment was revealed as a factor that influenced their accommodatory reaction as observed by Constable (1997:12-13), wherein domestic workers accept that because they are not per se forced to engage in this type of work, however because they need these jobs to sustain their livelihood, it consequently becomes part of their fate.

4.2 PROFILE OF RESPONDENTS

The research respondents consisted of domestic workers working in Lusaka and for this study the areas of research included Kalingalinga, Mtendere and parts of Bauleni townships. This qualitative study targeted 30 domestic worker respondents and out of this number, 28 willingly gave consent and were interviewed whilst 2 declined to participate in the study. The researcher presents data which indicates the sociological profile of the domestic workers indicating gender, class, biographical and employment history.

FIGURE 4.1: AGE

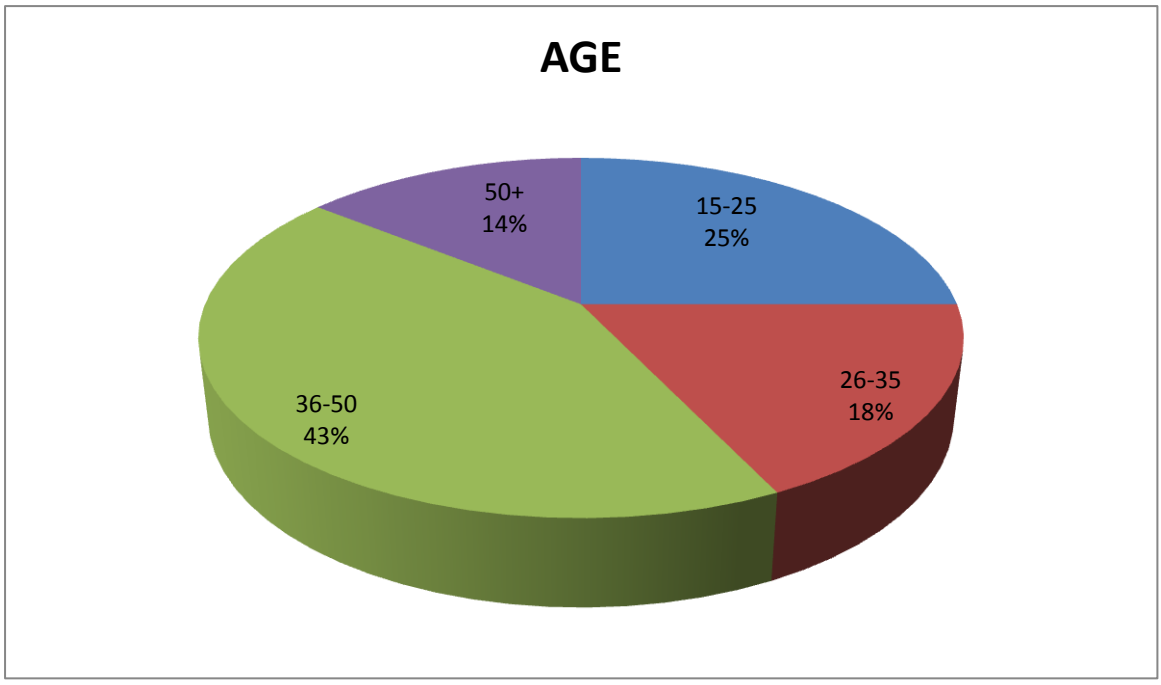

Figure 4.1 indicates the age groups of the domestic workers that participated in the research.

The majority respondents at 43% constituted those aged between 36 -50 years, with those aged between 15-25 at 25% and 26-35 years at 18% respectively. Additionally, the age group 50 and beyond constituted 14% of the total sample.

The young domestic workers are the most difficult to place as employers often shun them on account of lack of experience and the fact that most of them want to work temporarily until they can get enough cash to go back to school or buy cell phones and clothes then they quit leaving the employer stranded (Interview, Stella Zulu, 5 July 2012).

The age distribution was indicative that more domestic workers in the age group of 36-50 were in employment which further confirms that there is a preference for older domestic workers as opposed to the younger domestic workers as was further illustrated in the above interview.

FIGURE 4.2: GENDER

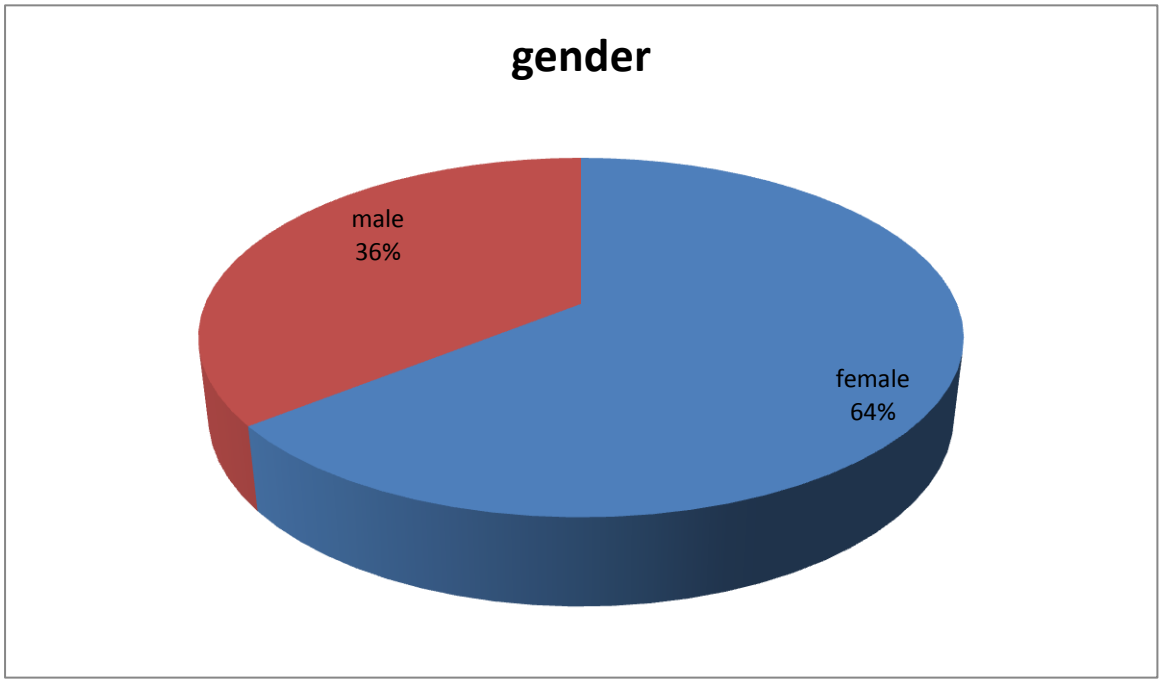

Figure 4.2 reveals that 64% of the respondents were female while 36% were male.

This confirmed the statistics for Lusaka Province which indicate that there are more females as compared to males in the city. The statistics were also reflective of the fact that there are

more female domestic workers than males working in Lusaka due to the prevailing economic situation which has seen many residents struggling for decent housing and therefore, unable to have gardens where males are commonly employed as gardeners. Additionally, the high cost of utility bills such as water have led many to abandon watering of gardens leading to less male domestic workers being employed.

> *It is easier to employ a female domestic worker because I have small children and a female domestic worker has that nurturing ability to properly care for my kids, also I don't have to worry about accommodating her as she can share a room with my children. A male domestic worker on the other hand would be a challenge as I only have female children in my home (Interview, Mrs Chibesa, 23 June 2012).*

The research further indicated that with the high prevalence of child sexual abuse / defilement cases, many employers had resolved to maintain only female domestic workers even in instances where they prior had male domestic workers working for them.

Others indicated the challenge of employing male domestic workers as being that of accommodating them where a live-in arrangement was ideal. In the absence of one time servant's quarters – now turned into rented homes – the female domestic workers were more preferred as they could easily be made to sleep with the employers children within the homes.

While as popular literature does depict domestic work as largely an extension of women's work within the household (Cock, 1980; Gaitskell et al, 1983; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2001; Rollins, 1993) and therefore tilted to be female dominated, the historical background of domestic work in Zambia was that of predominantly male domestic workers as chronicled by Hansen (1986) and it is primarily owing to recent developments such as the economic downturn that has brought accommodation challenges for live-in domestic workers for

instance and the rise in child defilement cases as well as sexual abuse that are impacting on the perceived changes in terms of gender components of domestic work in the current dispensation.

FIGURE 4.3: MARITAL STATUS

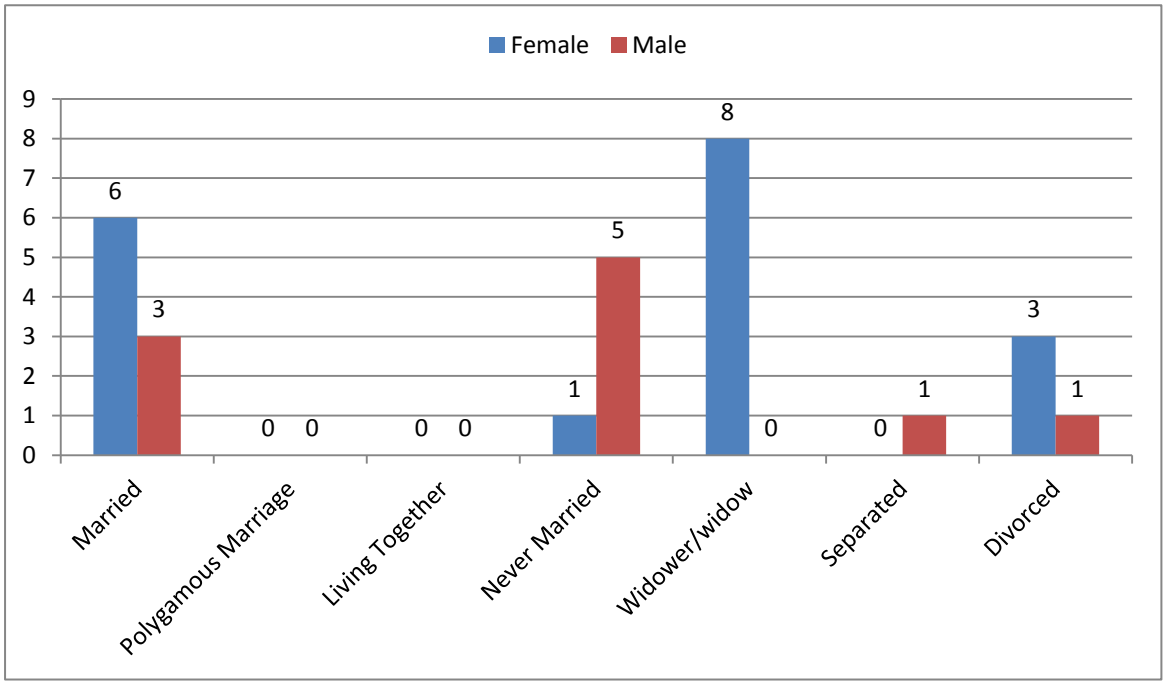

Figure 4.3 indicates that from the study majority of the female domestic workers were widowed and similarly more females than males were married. On the male respondents, majority had never married. This information was in tandem with the findings of the research which indicated that a lot of female domestic workers were at the same time in the bracket of female headed households; mostly attributed to the HIV/AIDS disease burden.

As noted by one of the domestic workers, Maggie Phiri from Kalingalinga:

> "*Many of us are widows in this compound with a lot of orphans and children of our own to look after. Like myself, my 2 girls went and got pregnant and they are also*

living with me along with their 3 children. I have no choice but to go out and work 'ku ma yard" (in the suburbs) so we can survive" (Interview, 28 June 2012).

On the other hand, the higher rate of male domestic workers indicated as never married was equally indicative of the current trends of employing young energetic males for garden work, drivers etc. as opposed to older less energetic men- even though these are preferred by foreigners especially on the basis of loyalty and the drive to fend for their families which gives them an apparent added sense of responsibility.

Even though I would prefer to work in the big shops at the mall like my other friends I have no choice for now but to do this work. It doesn't matter if am a man, work is work as long as it feeds you and soon I will be able to marry my girlfriend. It is expensive to marry these days madam so most of us have to do any job that comes along in order to raise the bride price "lobola" (Interview, Masautso Sakala, 22 June 2012).

The unmarried male domestic workers interviewed mainly gave the desire to be able to marry as motivation for doing their work.

TABLE 4.1: NUMBER OF DEPENDANTS

Number of Dependents	Female	Male	**TOTAL**
Husband/wife/partner			
Son/daughter	33	11	44
Adopted son/daughter	8	0	8
Brother/Sister	17	3	20
Parent(mother/father)	2	0	2
Parent in law	0	0	0
Grand/great grandchild	4	0	4
Son/daughter in law	0	1	1
Brother/sister in law	0	0	0
Grandmother/father	1	0	1
TOTAL	**65**	**15**	**80**

The female respondents revealed a very high rate of responsibility for dependants especially children, which corresponded with the higher rate of married females and widows. Similarly,

it was mostly the female respondents that were in charge of younger siblings such as brothers / sisters as opposed to the male respondents, majority of whom were not only young themselves but also dependants to aunties/uncles/grandparents and occasionally an elder sibling.

Table 4.1 therefore, indicated a high dependency ratio among the respondents, more notably the female domestic workers.

TABLE 4.2: SCHOOL ATTENDANCE – DEPENDANTS

	Female	Male	**TOTAL**
YES	6	5	11
NO	10	4	14
No Response	2	1	3
TOTAL	**18**	**10**	**28**

The Research revealed that majority of the respondents notably the females were unable to send their dependants to school. This was mainly attributed to the low salaries they obtained. When prodded on the availability of free primary education, the respondents indicated that they still required to purchase uniforms, bags, books and shoes in addition to daily school food which most were unable to sustain.

There was clearly a keen interest to educate their children from many of the respondents, who themselves had barely completed primary level education; however the cost of expenses was allegedly not sustainable given the other priorities such as rentals and utility bills.

Notably these expenses were aside from the school fees following the government's free primary education policy. But for domestic workers such as Eunice Banda this has not really helped matters, as she notes:

> "*I have tried to send my children to school and promised the teachers I would find money for the watering bucket and ream of paper they demanded when my employer advances me the cash as from my salary alone this is impossible because my rentals are K100 000 per month since the landlord connected electricity now and we also have to pay K50 000 per month at the community borehole for our water that leaves me with K200 000 for food for the whole month (a family of 7) so how can they expect me to buy these things? They chased my two kids away last term and they haven't gone back yet"* (Interview, 28 June 2012).

FIGURE 4.4: EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

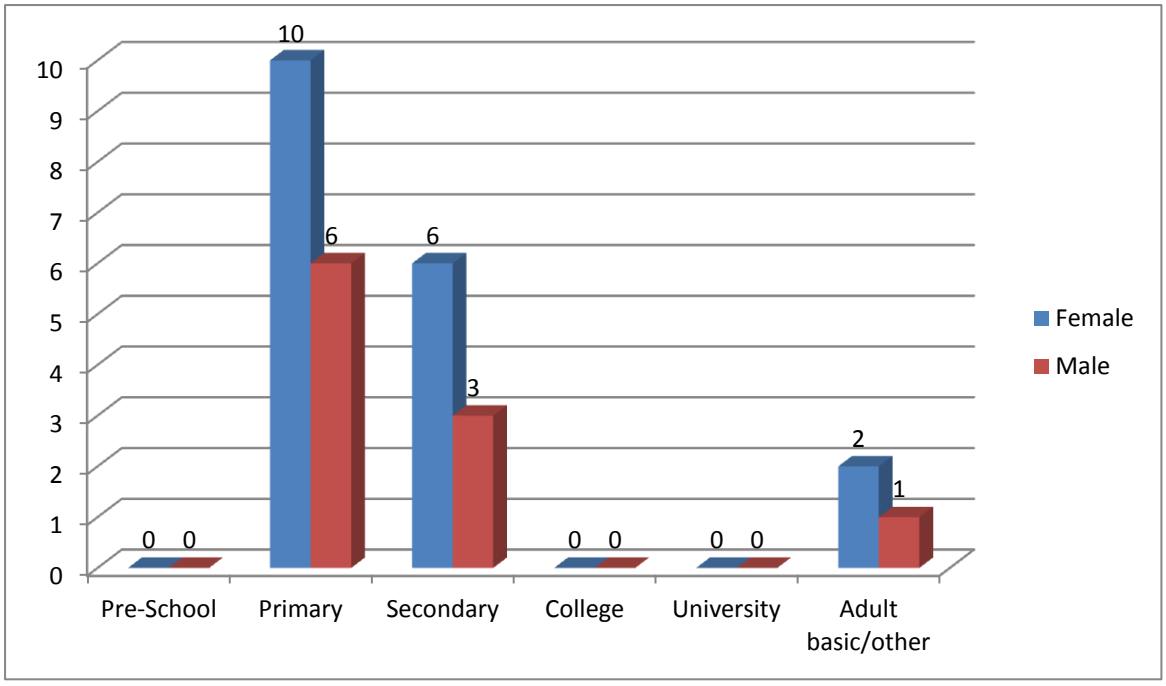

Figure 4.4 reveals an overall low level education attainment for domestic workers with the majority only having attained primary level education. Of the respondents that had reached secondary school level, none had completed the first level exam – grade nine. The low level of education according to the research findings were as a result of hardships and poverty that made it expensive to purse education.

Many of the younger domestic workers both male and female indicated that they had to quit school upon the death of either one parent or both; which was commonplace in the compounds.

Despite there being no direct correlation between these low levels of education and their working conditions, it was evident from the research findings that those domestic workers that had at least attained secondary school or adult evening classes were relatively more advantaged in that they were more likely to get better paying jobs with foreigners who preferred the use of English as a mode of communication.

Mildred Mwanza, a manager from one of the Agencies informed the researcher that "usually non-Zambian employers who come to us want domestic workers who can speak English and this is when we have a chance to make placements for the younger females who mostly at least have been to school and are able to converse in Basic English. The older domestic workers though more experienced are shunned for this reason" (Interview, 5 July 2012).

> *I had to stop school in grade seven as my aunty could not afford to pay for my examination fees and tuition fees. I then had to look for work so that I could help out with food as my aunty was not married either. Most of the guys in this place madam don't finish school because when parents die no one can pay for your education, but for some of my friends they were just not serious with school and failed then opted to find work instead. There is a lot of distraction in the compounds to allow one study properly, you can even hear the loud music from the bars at this time (09h45) and it goes on all night too, maybe if one goes to boarding school…maybe (Interview, Mabvuto Zulu, 4 July 2012).*

Although none of the domestic workers expressed interest in furthering their education, many did indicate their desire to have their own children educated mainly in the hope that they would not end up as domestic workers themselves due to the alleged rampant exploitation in the sector.

TABLE 4.3: EMPLOYMENT STATUS – DEPENDANTS

	Female	Male	**TOTAL**
YES	7	2	12
NO	10	7	14
No Response	1	1	2
TOTAL	**18**	**10**	**28**

The female respondents who from the study had a higher number of children also had the highest number of dependants in employment. This employment encompassed domestic work, shop assistants and salon assistants. However, for most of the respondents, the study indicated that these were unemployed /seeking employment or working at odd jobs in the markets such as cleaning stalls or collecting litter in exchange for a meal or a minimal token.

4.3 DOMESTIC WORKER'S OCCUPATIONS

The main occupations of the domestic worker's respondents that participated in the study consisted of Gardeners and Maids. These further included both live in and commuting maids, and of the four live-in domestic workers interviewed, all shared an inside room with either children or dependants of their employers. Additionally, all the non- live-in respondents indicated a common commuting time of between 30minutes to 1hour.

Due to the non –payment of transport and over time allowances, it was revealed in the study that domestic workers sourced for work in the nearest low density areas to their localities to enable them walk to and from work.

4.3.1 Employment Information

TABLE 4.4: LENGTH OF SERVICE

No. of years	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**
1-3 years	6	5	11
4-6 years	5	3	8
7-10 years	4	1	5
10+ years	3	1	4
Total	**18**	**10**	**28**

Majority of the respondents interviewed had only been in employment for between 1-3 years, followed by 4-6 years and the least being those between 7-10 years and 10 years plus respectively. This trend was characteristic of the precarious nature of domestic work which did not often offer long term sustained employment. Most of the domestic workers indicated having worked in part time work such as washing clothes and ironing from one place to another before chancing more semi -permanent employment ; that of a domestic worker.

Further, the declining economic situation during the last decade engendered by the adoption of neo-liberal policies, which brought in its wake adjustments such as privatisation of formerly parastatal institution, placed a cost burden on most citizens who were unable to afford domestic workers services as they themselves were out of work.

Although this did not necessarily reduce the demand for domestic work, it can be attributed to the exacerbated informalization of the sector in that it became more commonplace for employers to hire domestic workers on relief basis for taxing chores such as fetching water

and laundry on agreed daily allowances/old used clothes and shoes or food whichever the case.

The shortened years of service can additionally be attributed to the precarious nature of domestic work wherein the domestic worker in fact has limited control of their ability to last on a job. As observed by Cock (1980:80), the employer's ability to dismiss a domestic worker with immediate effect greatly impacts the length of service with a particular employer. This in turn leads many domestic workers to be caught up in the cycle of poverty coupled by lack of education and employment opportunities which are continuously perpetuated.

TABLE 4.5: HOW DID YOU FIND OUT ABOUT YOUR PRESENT JOB?

Source	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**
Friend	10	7	17
Relative	1	1	2
Advert	1	0	1
Agency	6	2	8
Total	**18**	**10**	**28**

Table 4.5 reveals the importance of domestic workers social networks which are very rife in the high density areas. The referral system is heavily relied upon by employers who have a preference to employ a domestic worker "known" by a fellow domestic worker working for either their friends/relatives or colleagues.

The study revealed that this referral system was very useful and the most reliable manner to acquire knowledge of existing vacancies, obtaining conditions of service and placements. This observation is supported by Hondagneu- Sotelo (2001: 67-68) that employers often prefer personal references which are supplemented by direct observation when seeking to hire a domestic worker and this was regardless of whether they could or could not afford to hire through the agencies more especially when child care was involved.

Anne Mpanza a domestic worker vouches for this referral system also when she states

> "*It is almost impossible to get employed in the affluent homes without a good reference from one of us already working in these areas. These people don't use the Agencies because they are often afraid of being robbed like in the past were domestic workers were accused of organising thieves to come and steal while the owner were at work. So they usually ask us to find domestic workers for them from the compounds instead because they rely on the fact that we know each other personally and if anything goes wrong, even when a domestic workers falls sick on duty they can easily contact you to inform the family. Madam these people don't usually even bother to know our full names or where we come from as long as you report for work so we have to look out for each other*" (Interview, 22 June 2012).

Additionally, the social networks functioned as a form of "bargaining council" were-in domestic workers agreed amongst themselves what conditions to expect and accept in a given area or location if one were to be employed there.

The Employment / Recruitment Agencies were equally popular with placements as some employers preferred to employ through such centres on the basis that the domestic workers were expected to be trained and screened for security purposes.

In addition to this, the domestic workers recruited from Agencies or Centres could be tailored down to employers' specifications in terms of level of education, tribe, preferred age, religion, marital status and so on. The study revealed that this form of placement, which was previously the preserve of large companies and foreign entities employing foreigners such as Non -Governmental Organisations, has now become common place resulting into the mushrooming of high numbers of Centres , mostly unregistered and run within private homes by former domestic workers themselves.

TABLE 4.6: DID YOU GET A WRITTEN CONTRACT WHEN YOU STARTED WORK

Contract	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**
Yes	0	0	0
No	18	10	28
Total	**18**	**10**	**28**

The question sought to find out the type of duties performed by domestic workers as well as those given to them by the employers on the background of the duties enlisted in the domestic workers legislation.

Accordingly, the study revealed that domestic workers were not given any formal contracts of employment and that conditions of service including the salary were verbally communicated. This was no different with those employed through the Agencies as only the employer and the Agency would sign a contract; to which the Domestic Workers also appended her/his signature even though a copy was not availed.

The Agencies interviewed in the study justified there action stating that "most of these domestic workers cannot read or write so it would be a waste of stationery to print extra copies of the contracts for them. This verbal arrangement is better for them because they are able to remember the terms" (Interview, Milika Mungezi, 2 July 2012).

However, domestic workers expressed dissatisfaction with this trend as it tended to be exploitative in that employers were allegedly in the habit of altering verbally agreed terms without notice to suit their circumstances. Some respondents revealed that salaries would be paid in half during certain months on the basis that the employers business did not perform well, or the common tendency to increase the workload from the verbal job description prior agreed to once the domestic worker was in employment.

The lack of contracts of employment and subsequently formal job descriptions was therefore noted as a major source of concern for the domestic workers in addition to playing a key role in the perpetuation of exploitation of the domestic workers by the employers.

Furthermore, the study revealed that the work of the Domestic workers mainly involved cooking, cleaning, laundry even though these were not expressly included as part of the definition contained in the Zambian law. Other tasks included child care and gardening and in some cases taking care of elderly/sick persons were involved. The latter form part of the duties enlisted in the Law.

In the absence of job descriptions however, domestic workers often find themselves with additional tasks such as purchasing groceries, ferrying children to and from school, driving (which is silent in the Law though considered domestic work), selling merchandise, for those whose employers run small businesses known as "kantemba" within their yards as well as

guards for those with fences/gates. The domestic workers themselves expressed the following concerns regarding their informal job descriptions:

> *"Lack of specific job descriptions means that the madam gives us any work she feels like even that which we didn't agree I would be doing. We need contracts and job descriptions to lessen on abuse through excessive workloads".* (Interview, Chongo Milika, 26 June 2012).

The concern for lack of formal job descriptions and contracts of service was sighted in the study as one of the causes of exploitation by the respondents in the study. The tendency for employers to arbitrary vary conditions of service according to their pertaining economic situation as well as the inability to adhere to verbally agreed tasks for which the domestic worker was hired was noted as a major source of conflict.

However, due to the scarcity of paid domestic work, most respondents from the domestic workers interviewed admitted that they would rather go along with the wishes of an inconsistent employer as opposed to risking being fired for insubordination. The nature of relations observed in the study between employers and the domestic workers is described by Herriot (2001:42-45) in what he refers to as psychological contracts, which contain the perceptions of both parties to the employment relationship regarding what their mutual obligations are to each other. Such psychological contracts however are subject to gross misunderstandings leading to contract violations as employers often altered the terms without regard to the employee which left the employee feeling betrayed and disillusioned.

Herriot (2001) further observed that this violation impacted both parties in different ways as trust waned in addition to the fact that power relations in psychological contracts was pertinent as the employer wielded a higher degree of labour market power which ensured their ability to dictate the terms.

Tamala Nakulela from the Labour Department equally observed that the absence of a formal written contract was a subject of concern as the employer was often able to vary the terms of agreement to the disadvantage of the domestic worker and this led to disputes which later became cumbersome to resolve due to lack of formal evidence, an aspect also noted by Herriot (2001:45) that often emotional responses backed by feelings of betrayal, anger and grief take precedence in resolving such disputes.

TABLE 4.7: SALARY RANGE

Range	Female	Male	**TOTAL**
Less than K352,000	7	7	14
More than K352,000	11	3	14
TOTAL	**18**	**10**	**28**

The salary ranges for the respondents indicated that an equal proportion of employers were paying both below and above the stipulated minimum wage rate.

However, the study revealed that salaries in Lusaka were generally higher or equivalent to the minimum wage as most of the domestic workers prior agreed amongst each other through their social networks to demand at least the minimum wage amount upon employment. This

finding was equally confirmed by Oscar Cheupe, the trade union general secretary who observed that:

> "*while some of the domestic workers recruited through the agencies were getting salaries above the minimum wage, we still have a lot of domestic workers getting below even the K250 000 and hence we were advocating to have this amount raised to at least K450 000 so that even the lowly paid domestic workers have a marginal increase, even if this is still far short of the requisite amount for a family to survive going by the food basket needs"* (Interview, 18 June 2012).

The question was posed in reference to the minimum wage, to which many respondents admitted that Lusaka based employers actually paid more than the stipulated amount of K250 000 per month as the Recruitment Centres for instance had specific minimum salaries payable of K400 000-K600 000 after completion of probation. It was therefore felt that it would be better to have the minimum wage segmented into provinces or towns as those such as Lusaka that already had higher wages would be influenced to negotiate lower to the tune of the revised statutory minimum wage.

Further, the salary ranges for the respondents indicated that an equal proportion of employers were paying both below and above the stipulated minimum wage rate. However, the study revealed that salaries in Lusaka were generally higher or equivalent to the minimum wage as most of the domestic workers prior agreed amongst each other through their social networks to demand at least the minimum wage amount upon employment.

Additionally, the majority of domestic workers were either married or widowed with heavy household responsibilities which led most employers to be sympathetic and offer salaries above the minimum wage. The domestic workers employed through Agencies were even

better advantaged as their starting salaries were pegged by the Agency currently in the ranges of K400 000 – K500 000 which were not supposed to be further negotiated. However, it was revealed in the study that upon completion of the stated probation period after which the employer was by contract expected to revise the salary upwards, the employers would in most cases negotiate to reduce or maintain this rate further implying that the domestic worker would retain this rate of pay for the duration of their service.

However, the recently announced revision of the minimum wage gave hope to those earning below the previous rate that they would perhaps now get a much needed and awaited raise. Some of the other responses indicated concerns on poor salaries, as noted by Sam Njovu "most employers have a tendency of reducing salaries of us gardeners during the rainy season claiming that there isn't a lot of work to do, it's very unfair because the cost of living doesn't reduce following the seasons of the year" (Interview, 2 July 2012). Another respondent, Pamela Lungu observed that "domestic workers are never awarded any salary increments and most of us have worked on the same starting salaries for many years; this is despite the fact that bus fares, school fees and food costs rise every year but we are expected to survive on the same income through- out" (Interview, 28 June 2012).

The employers interviewed paid above the minimum wage as most had recruited their domestic workers through the Agencies except for one respondent who stated that she pays her two domestic workers the exact minimum wage as this was what she could ably afford.

> *I already pay my workers above the minimum wage and so am not really bothered by the upcoming revision. My workers are very hard working and if someone works hard they deserve a better salary. In fact, I even have insurance policies for them"* (Interview, Elizabeth Malimba, 4 July 2012).

> *I pay my two workers the minimum wage as this is affordable for me. As a mother of twins I have to have two workers and am worried about the impending increment as it may make it costly for me to continue to maintain them both"* (Interview, Aggie Chileshe, 4 July 2012).

On the other hand, the Department of Labour revealed that major complaints brought to their attention were around salaries and working hours, for instance lack of payment of overtime and transport for working late for commuting domestic workers while as the Live-in domestic workers often work up to 01am and these hours were not accounted for. Additionally, salaries were sometimes accumulated on the basis that the employer had no money in that particular month. The Department of Labour further noted that underpayment of salaries was common once the domestic worker had worked the first full month already. This was apparently worsened by lack of formal contracts and reliance on word of mouth making it difficult to resolve as a dispute as the employers often claimed the domestic worker did not comprehend the agreement.

It was also the view of the Labour Department officials that calls from domestic workers to match their wages to the food basket which currently stood at an estimated K2.6million for the basic needs of a family of six in Lusaka, would be unattainable as most employers were barely coping with the minimum wage and were in fact apprehensive of the forthcoming revision. As observed by Mary Gumbo a Labour Inspector:

> "*This amount would be quite high for most employers who themselves do not even get this salary. The hiring of domestic help is often optional as most employers have a tendency of using their dependents to fill in this gap and this of course puts domestic workers out of work so there is a need to carefully bargain for these conditions of service so as to have a win-win situation"* (Interview 23 June 2012).

The Trade Union Officials views on the salaries currently payable to domestic workers in Lusaka were that the current minimum wage of K250 000 fell far short of the food basket average and this had in turn left many members destitute. The Union President Kevin Liywali observed that "they have rentals, utility bills and food etc. to meet within this amount which is impractical given the rise of the extended family engendered by the HIV/AIDS crises and this has caused many to enter into prostitution to supplement" (Interview, 19 June 2012).

However the Union was quick to admit that the real challenge with increasing the minimum wage was that most employers themselves were failing to meet the food basket needs even though they still required the services of domestic workers. This was echoed by the Union General Secretary, Oscar Cheupe who stated that "our proposal was to increase the rate from K250 000 to K450 000 as a moderate increase considering majority Lusaka residents especially and those recruiting from Agencies are already affording this" (Interview, 18 June 2012).

The above responses indicated that there was sufficient knowledge on the existence of the minimum wage owing to the spate of discussions in the media arising from the on -going debates /discussions concerning the revision of the minimum wage.

Further, most domestic workers and employers alike expressed concern that increasing or insisting on the minimum wage would lead to employers either reducing salaries for those already above this wage or possible job losses as the work performed by domestic workers differed and so did the ability of respective employers to pay.

> *"If these people were concerned about our welfare they should have asked us to tell them what we want. Salaries in Lusaka are above even what they are saying they will increase this same minimum wage to, what we want is health care, funeral assistance,*

payment of allowances and leave to attend to our children when they are sick also the same way the madam stays home when her child is home" (Interview, Monde Mavis, 28 July 2012).

The government in response to the threats of job loses owing to the imminent adjustment to the minimum wage had made it clear and mandatory for all employers to pay this minimum wage or better, or face the consequences of the Law, with domestic workers being encouraged to report erring employers.

Therefore, according to the government, threats of employers terminating employment of domestic workers on account of the minimum wage would not be tolerated except in the event that a formal hearing between the Ministry of Labour and the respective employer and employee was held and mutual consent to do so was granted based on the validity of the employer's concern (The Post, 2012/07/17:4).

As observed by Hartley (1992:147), pay for employees is meaningful as it reflects the products and services that the worker can afford to purchase, as well as mirroring the easiness with which this is done. The views expressed on the aspect of salaries indicated that despite the wages obtaining, there was still general dissatisfaction with the levels of the salaries paid considering the high cost living obtaining in Lusaka.

TABLE 4.8: EMPLOYMENT STATUS

Status	Female	Male	Total
Commuter	14	10	24
Live-In	4	0	4
Total	**18**	**10**	**28**

The study indicated that the male domestic workers were not employed as live – in domestic workers mainly due to challenges of accommodation prior alluded to and also by the nature of their work which mostly involved gardening.

On the other hand, the female respondents indicated a general dislike for live-in type of work on the basis of higher instances of abuse from employers ranging from poor sleeping conditions (made to sleep on the floor), verbal or mental abuse and sexual abuse in some cases.

The trade union was in support of these assertions, as observed by the union president Kevin Liywali "live-in domestic workers are the most vulnerable and generate the most complaints and cases of abuse and exploitation.

There is urgent need for the government to consider stipulating separate or distinct clauses in the legislation to protect these type of workers as covering them under the same conditions as commuting domestic workers greatly disadvantages them" (Interview, 19 June 2012). Similarly, the Labour Department officials also shared the same views. Tamala Nakulela the senior labour officer noted that majority of the cases dealt with at the department were from live-in domestic workers who often complained of unpaid over- time hours worked beyond

17h00 by nature of their work they were forced to be on duty until such a time the employer retired to bed. She further noted that other complaints had to do with sleeping arrangements as most were made to sleep on the floors, problems of food provision and in some instances cases of sexual abuse were also reported.

The high rate of married domestic workers also made commuting work more preferable as this allowed the domestic workers co-manage their homes after work and during off days.

> *As much as we need these jobs to feed our families, it is very strenuous on our own families. We spend the whole day taking care of our employer's children and their homes while we ourselves leave no one to take care of our homes. I have to fetch water, cook and clean when I get back home every day as all my children are too young and I have to leave them in Mtendere at my young sister's place each morning and collect them after work. One of my friends who is married even used to get beaten by her husband for making him eat supper late and not cleaning their bedroom consistently.*
>
> *These jobs put our homes and marriages at risk even if they insist on paying us so little (*Interview, Mutinta Mulenga, 28 June 2012).

Hondagneu-Sotelo (2001:36) precisely describes the perceptions revealed in the study on the pitfalls of live-in work and why it is increasingly being shunned by domestic workers noting that this type of work once experienced is repelled by women on the basis of lack of privacy, mandated separation from family and friends, round the clock hours, food issues, low pay and the constant loneliness.

TABLE 4.9: TRADE UNION MEMBERSHIP

Membership	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**
Yes	2	0	2
No	16	10	26
Total	**18**	**10**	**28**

Majority of the domestic workers were aware of the existence of the trade union and what they do even though they were not members. A lot of interest was expressed in joining the union except they had no idea how this was supposed to be done.

> *"I would not stop my domestic worker from joining the trade union if he wanted. In fact I think it would be beneficial as maybe they can teach these people some skills such as communication, etiquette and personal grooming. It would also be nice if they educate both employers and domestic workers on things such as this new law"* (Interview, Diana Mukusekwa, 5 July 2012)

A fairly small number of respondents were completely unaware of the existence of the union- primarily the male respondents.

One female respondent who is a member of the union indicated that she was fired from her last job upon the employer learning of her membership. Anne Mpanza who is still a member of the union informed the researcher that one of her previous employers discovered that she had attended a union workshop after seeing a picture from her bag (the employer used to search her bag upon knocking off) and immediately fired her without any concrete reason.

According to Mpanza "I reported the madam to the union and they helped me claim my compensation because she had even refused to pay me my leave days and the month was almost ending when she fired me so they made her pay me the full month's salary. These people really help a lot; my current employers don't mind that I belong to the union which is a relief" (Interview, 21 June 2012).

A more detailed discussion on domestic workers and trade union participation follows in the next chapter.

4.4 CONCLUSION

The above chapter presented a sociological profile of the domestic workers in Lusaka giving an indication of the age range of domestic workers employed in Lusaka as well as the gender component which was indicative of the existence of male domestic workers in the sector. Other sociological features captured in the study and presented above included the levels of education of the domestic workers and the nature of the dependants under the responsibility of the domestic workers in order to give insight into the extended nature of their responsibilities aside from caring for the employers households.

Furthermore, the chapter gave an overview of the domestic workers employment information such as salary range, mode of employment, nature of employment as well as trade union membership and the perceptions from both domestic workers and employers regarding consequences of domestic workers joining trade unions.

CHAPTER FIVE:

THE GENDERED EXPERIENCE OF WORK – MASCULINITY vs. FEMININITY

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The study had additionally sought to establish the gendered experience of domestic work in so far as both females and males are involved in this work. To this end, 18 female domestic workers and 10 male domestic workers were officially interviewed. The researcher also informally spoke to a mix of other female and male domestic workers outside the research sample size in order to enrich the information obtained for the study.

The case for Zambia is a peculiar one in this regard as domestic work was historically deemed men's work (Hansen, 1986) even though in recent times it has come to be dominated mainly by females. Of the domestic workers interviewed in Lusaka, it was found that while males were still involved in domestic work, this was now more restricted to outside the home tasks such as gardening, guarding and driving with very few, notably in households of non-Zambian's, performing actual housework , that is, cooking, cleaning, laundry, child care and so forth.

From the interviews with the male domestic workers, it was however evident that despite them being engaged in a now typically female sector, the male domestic workers still retained a sense of masculinity about themselves. This observation was in conformity with the assertions of Cornell (1993:599) that masculinity was mainly a psychological essence or an inner core to the individual that was either inherited or acquired in early life and later upheld as the essence of being a man.

As stated by one male domestic worker Misheck Tembo, "even though my work involves cooking and cleaning, I cannot be expected to do the same at home after work as this work is for the woman within the home as per my tradition. Here am working, at home I am the man and cannot be expected to cook or clean" (Interview, 3 July 2012).

Accordingly, the findings of the study revealed that while the females viewed domestic work as full time employment to which they were resigned to for their entire working lives, the male domestic workers on the other hand perceived domestic work as a filling- in -the gap type of work until they could find alternative employment. This was further evidenced by the responses advanced as to why they opted to engage in domestic work; while as majority of the female domestic workers stated their reason for doing domestic work mainly as a result of poverty and lack of education. The male domestic workers on the hand gave varying reasons such as the desire to get married, lack of alternative employment and a means of escape from the boredom of compound life.

Thus the context of gender in domestic work, from the assertions above, can therefore be conceptualised in the sociology of domestic work as was developed in the context of Marxist and functionalist explanations of work (productive or occupational work) and family in which the sexual division of labour is conceptualised as "natural" (and 'domestic") and contrasted with a "cultural" division of labour in the "public" sphere. As advanced by Talcott Parsons, the fundamental opinion of allocation of roles between biological sexes lies in the fact that bearing and early nursing of children establish a strong presumptive primacy of the relation of mother to the small child and this in turn establishes a presumption that the man, who is exempted from these biological functions, should specialize in the alternative instrumental direction (VanEvery, 1997:416).

Cornell (2005) further contends that this aspect of males reinforcing their status as "the man" and distinguishing themselves from females, even when they are engaged in the same type of work as in this case, domestic work, can be attributed to the concept of hegemonic and subordinated masculinities whereby hegemonic masculinity primarily enforces the status of being honoured as a man unlike the subordinated masculinity where men do not enact a strong version of their masculinity in relation to heterosexual groups.

Therefore, while as males are presumably supposed to stay away from feminine work such as domestic work, the challenges to their hegemony are pressing, for instance unemployment, thus forcing them to make adjustments as can be observed by the male domestic workers in the study.

The above assertion of Cornell (2005) was therefore in tandem with the findings of the study as regards the gendered nature of domestic work, that the involvement of males in the sector was primarily a case of response to challenges to their masculinity engendered by high unemployment and poverty. On the other hand, the females did in fact perceive their work as extensions of their domestic roles (Fox, 1980:9-10). This could be deduced from the perceptions of the female domestic workers type of work (cooking, cleaning, washing, ironing and so forth) which they performed often without any job description or instructions from their employers- on the mutual understanding that these were "usual or routine tasks".

In fact some domestic workers such as one Cecilia Banda asserted that " I find it annoying when the madam insists on issuing instructions to me about how and where to clean on weekends when she is home and yet I do the same tasks ably myself the entire week while she is busy at work:" (Interview, 28 June 2012). This was indicative that female domestic workers conducted their work on the full assumption that it was ordinary work already known by them naturally as females.

Furthermore, it was observed during the study that while females now dominated the domestic workers sector, males were still preferred in certain instances not only for the more physically demanding work of say gardening, but also by unmarried male employers, childless couples and non- Zambian employers who found the flexibility of engaging the male domestic workers for other tasks such as city guides and errand boys an added benefit.

During the course of the field work, it was additionally revealed that a higher affinity for female domestic workers as was observed by Constable (1997) was prevalent among the employers with extended families and young children. Reasons advanced for this was mainly the nurturing ability females apparently had towards child care in addition to the fact that the females could easily be employed as live-in domestic workers as opposed to the males.

Furthermore, it was apparent during the study that although males previously dominated the sector during the colonial times, many of these were soon later reassigned to other tasks such as shop attendants especially those working for non -Zambians of Asian origin as more women began to enter the sector. This in turn explained why the current males engaged in the sector perceive their work as not real work as do the women.

Cornell (1993:678) however observed that as a result of a significant proportion of the working class being faced with long term structural unemployment, traditional working class masculinity is being deconstructed by impersonal forces, whether the men concerned like it or not. Therefore, it can be safe to assume that the males engaging in domestic work are doing so out of desperation for jobs and hence lack of alternative employment unlike the females who mostly expressed a liking for their work.

"I was trained in gardening at my last work place before it shut down so am using my skills and I earn good money from my employer who allows me to landscape for his friends also. I managed to take my kids back to school as a result of this job". (Interview, Masautso Sakala, 22 June 2012).

"After the demise of both parents I was forced to do domestic work in order to survive, I do enjoy my work when I find kind employers especially foreigners who appreciate my work, am very good with children. You see because we are not educated, this is the only decent job we can do rather than engage in prostitution, there is AIDS these days!"(Interview, Anne Mpanza, 26 June 2012).

Additionally, the above views concured with the observations of Cock (1980:7-8) that domestic workers are widely differential, if not trapped workers masking their own real feelings and forced to accept their subordination as a result of lack of educational opportunities and employment alternatives.

It was also a matter of noting that the recent spate of child defilement cases experienced in the country and especially in Lusaka had an impact on presence of male domestic workers in the sector. According to the Zambia Daily Mail (2012/7/26:6), Lusaka had a country record high of 383 cases against a national total of 615; these were sexual crimes against children under the age of sixteen. Considering that these are statistics of reported cases and does not encompass the many other unreported cases, the employers especially those with girl children in the home were no doubt wary about leaving their children in the care of male domestic workers. As such, the fear of child sexual abuse/defilement was also a very real fear for employers in opting for female domestic workers.

Interestingly enough, these fears were not only shared by female employers but male employers too. As one male employer, Fred Kaunda stated "I only have female children at home and I cannot entrust them in the care of male domestic workers so I have female domestic workers for both the inside and the gardening and so far am happy with both their diligence" (Interview, 28 June 2012). Notwithstanding, other employers spoken to indicated a lack of preference between either gender and were more concerned with other factors such as level of education, marital status and so forth. Although gender was not a top priority for some employers in the study, certain attributes were of common consensus as factors that influence the choice of a domestic worker, these included:

5.1.1 Domestic Worker's Age

Employers revealed that the level of maturity in a domestic worker was very important as this would entail that instructions would be properly adhered to and instances of disciplining or scolding the domestic worker for poor performance were greatly reduced. The level of maturity was linked to the number of years a domestic worker had been in the sector as employers felt this was a good measure of how much resolve and appreciation for the job had been gained. One employer, Daisy Mwila stated " I prefer to have a domestic worker who has worked before for some time as they don't require constant training and they are serious with their work as they know what it is like not to have the job" (Interview, 20 June 2012).

In the same vein, a number of employers noted that this level of maturity was tied to their ability to offer a domestic worker a higher or lower salary depending on the levels exhibited. However, the trade union was not entirely agreeable to this measure of tying remuneration to one's level of experience in terms of number of years worked noting that the law was very clear that as long as one was able to perform the given tasks the salary was not to be varied, unless for purposes of adjusting it upwards.

The Agencies equally noted that this trend had worked against a lot of young women wanting to enter the sector as they did not possess the desired years of experience sought by most employers.

5.1.2 Marital and family status

As earlier alluded to in this chapter, employers, especially those with families expressed more interest in employing female domestic workers for the purpose of their ability to nurture their children through provision of experienced child care, on the basis that they too have nurtured their own children before.

As observed by one employer Aggie Chileshe who employs two domestic workers to look after her set of twin babies, "my biggest concern is the ability of the maid to be able to properly take care of my babies while am at work, they should be able to follow my instructions and even if they do not clean or cook properly so long my babies are taken care of I usually come to do the rest myself after work" (Interview, 4 July 2012). Another employer also observed that despite her domestic worker being "very lazy" she kept her on the basis that her child was familiar with her and was able to stay late in the even she needed to work late.

On the other side, the employers interviewed in the study indicated that in terms of male domestic workers, it was more preferable to employ younger, unmarried men as these did not have as much responsibilities from their homes and therefore made less demands for salary advances or increments. It was revealed that majority of the male domestic workers interviewed and spoken to during the field work were not only unmarried but were dependents in either their parents or siblings' homes and the salaries they obtained from such work were mostly for their personal care and use.

It was further revealed that even in the case were a male domestic worker was preferred, the aspect of remuneration demands played a major factor in that women generally were more easily inclined to negotiate and re-negotiate salaries in during the course of employment were the employers' financial position was apparently affected. This was different with the male domestic workers who were reported to even become aggressive when salaries were delayed by employers. This particular observation was backed by Cock (1989: 255-256) in the notion of sex bars were the system of sexual domination operates against women, limiting both the nature of the work women can do and the rewards they receive for it. These structures of dominance are further generated and determined by the specific capitalist system of production and class structures of which they are part.

This analysis therefore served to explain in part why female domestic workers were additionally said to be less interested in actively pursuing their right to belong to the trade union, as observed by the Union president, Kevin Liywali, "domestic workers especially women are even more difficult to recruit into the union as they have greater job insecurity and fear of employers, it's not as easy for them to find alternative means to make ends meet when they lose employment" (Interview, 19 June 2012).

It was apparent also that employers were aware of the seeming vulnerability of their domestic workers notably the widowed domestic workers having a large family to take care of, and therefore kept the verbal contractual terms tilted in their favour.

One such illustration was noted from an employer who insisted that they did not pay the domestic worker her full salary during the school term period as their child was away at school most of the day and as such the domestic worker stayed home loafing, eating their food and watching their television only.

5.1.3 Multi-tasking

The study revealed that previous instances of employers employing a maid and a gardener respectively were slowly being done away with in Lusaka. Most households it was revealed had taken to employing one domestic worker to fill in for both tasks, in the house and outside the house. The reasons advanced for this change from the employer perspective was mainly the increasing high cost of living at the back drop of stagnant incomes that had increased the financial pressures leading to inability to maintain two domestic workers.

It was further not uncommon to find that domestic workers were performing tasks other than the ones they were originally employed for and similarly beyond the stipulated tasks in the legislation covering domestic work. According to the domestic workers interviewed in Lusaka, many employers had taken to either operating of small businesses within their premises, raring and selling of dressed chickens, quails or vegetables and would thus require their domestic workers to additionally assist in the running of these small scale businesses but within the same salary negotiated for the provision of domestic service.

Although the employers when prodded on this revelation all denied engaging the services of domestic workers in any other form of work other than domestic work, both the trade union and the Labour Department officials confirmed this growing trend in Lusaka especially among male domestic workers.

However, as observed by Chigunta (2001:9) the declining job opportunities in the formal sector engendered by the adoption of neoliberal economic policies as a tool for adjustment, had resulted in the widespread emergence of the phenomenon of the self-reliant coping modes in the informal sector which have been adopted by large sections of Zambian society in order to survive the devastation wrought by the crisis, especially from the mid- 1980s, and in the wake of intense economic restructuring in the 1990s.

To this end many residents unable to survive on formal wages or indeed unemployed have resolved to the operating of small scale home run businesses, trading mainly in either groceries or vegetables as a way of supplementing their incomes. These businesses locally referred to as 'kantemba' is a makeshift stall usually made of wood, carton segments, tarpaulin and a host of other materials. This structure is used to display the merchandise during business hours.

Domestic workers in this case are increasingly being utilised to operate such home run businesses within the households as employers feel they don't do enough work within the households to warrant the salaries and therefore this is a way of justifying their salaries. According to the labour department and the trade union, this trend was increasingly common among the male domestic workers, who would be engaged for either gardening or guarding tasks and thus combine these tasks with manning the "kantemba" both of which were outside the household and therefore deemed to be falling within the work space of the domestic worker.

The domestic workers themselves however indicated their dissatisfaction with this trend even though most admitted they were unable to refuse their employers for fear of losing their jobs. "Am also made to clean at the shop within the premises at no extra pay which makes me knock off late" lamented one male domestic worker (Interview, Mbao Tembo, 2 July 2012).

While another male domestic worker hinted to the researcher that he in fact preferred to work at the kantemba as opposed to tending to his employers garden as he was able to socialize and meet different people as they visited the make shift stand.

5.1.4 Other domestic worker's attributes

Employers noted other varied attributes of domestic workers such as personal hygiene, trustworthiness and basic training in cleaning and cooking. It was of interest in the study that issues of religion, ethnicity and tribe did not appear to be a factor in the selection of a domestic worker.

This emphasised an important aspect of the cosmopolitan nature of Lusaka and also possibly the dying down of the once popularly held notion that domestic work was the preserve of the easterners owing to their servitude nature which had its genesis deeply embedded in the colonial era. Hansen (1986:59) narrates this aspect in the colonial times of the "nyasa" boys and their white masters who preferred these male domestic workers from the eastern province on the basis of their hard work and loyalty.

It was noted during the field work that in fact many of the remaining male domestic workers actually hailed from Eastern Province, their fathers usually worked as domestic workers especially for the Indian community and later sought employment for them upon retirement or when they were "promoted" to work at the retail shops of their employers.

One young male employee working as a cook and cleaner in one of the Indian communities noted "My father made me start this job so I could take over from him and continue to help the family when he left for the village at retirement" (Interview, Banda Shadreck, 2 July 2012). Such sentiments were not uncommon among the male domestic workers spoken to during the field work.

The majority of employers were not expressly interested on this notion of Easterners making better domestic workers citing individual capability and character as more reliant. However a few observed that domestic workers particularly those hailing from the Northern part of the country tended to be arrogant and stubborn especially the younger in age they were.

Furthermore, in terms of the perceptions of the domestic workers towards these attributes sought after by the employers, majority of the interviewed domestic workers agreed and confirmed that this was the normal routine especially if employment was sourced through the employment agencies.

The study therefore clearly revealed that in terms of the gendered experience of domestic work, although women were now the more dominant sex in the sector, the male domestic workers still held an upper hand in terms of work and pay flexibility. In terms of placements from the Agencies too, it was revealed male domestic workers were more likely to find and keep a job at a much faster rate than the female domestic workers.

Further, the male domestic workers were more likely to decline renegotiating the agreed salaries and even demanding and obtaining increments unlike their female counter parts. Tamala Nakulela from the Labour Department furthermore observed that more cases of employer / employee dispute were more likely to be reported by male domestic workers as opposed to the female domestic workers. This fact was observed first hand by the researcher on the two day physical observation at the labour department. On the first day, out of a total of 15 cases attended to during the time of the observation, only two were made by female domestic workers while as on the second day, seven cases were observed during the morning session and none were from female domestic workers.

Another distinguishing factor between the male domestic workers and female domestic workers was the type of tasks assigned to them in the event that employment involved house chores within the house. This relates to the sex roles that society holds as what is socially acceptable work for men and women as observed by Cornell (2005) The domestic workers spoken to informed the researcher that most employers would not allow male domestic workers to clean their bedrooms as they were seen as likely to steal small items such as phones, belts or even cash.

On the other hand, while the female domestic workers were allowed to clean these bedrooms on the basis that they were less likely to steal, they were in turn faced with the ordeal of picking up and cleaning up after both employers all their mess from the previous day / evening. As Annie Mpanza a domestic worker lamented "sometimes these employers even leave dirty under garments, sanitary towels and even condoms lying around and you have no choice but to clean up after them" (Interview, 21 June 2012). The implication in this distinction could be assumed to be the level of trust the employers seemingly place on female domestic workers to retain confidentiality on the happenings in the home as opposed to their male counterparts.

Another interesting outcome from the study was the revelation that both male and female domestic workers are usually victims of sexual abuse in the vicinity of the households which serve as their work- places. This was shared by not only the domestic workers themselves but was also confirmed by both the labour department and the trade union officials. For the female domestic workers, this form of sexual abuse was mostly brought on by the male employers in the absence of their wives especially were the domestic worker was a live in.

As one of the domestic workers put it:

> "*There is a lot of abuse going on in these homes especially for live in maids which has led to high HIV/AIDS cases in the compounds. That's why we are now refusing this type of work because neither the police nor maid centres can help you even if you complain as they side with employers"* (Interview, Pamela Lungu, 2 July 2012).

These sentiments were echoed by a number of other female domestic workers throughout the field work. However, some domestic workers admitted that it was not in all instances where the male employer was the only one making advances as some young female domestic workers would set out to deliberately entice such husbands.

The researcher was fortunate to interview one such domestic worker (Interview, Stella Manda, 28 June 2012) who had been involved in a sexual relationship with her former male employer. The young lady who appeared well kept apart from her other colleagues participating in the interviews bluntly informed the researcher, "It's true that some maids end up taking over the husbands sometimes. Some say it's because the madam was too lazy while others say they fell in love".

When asked to further explain this perception, the young lady added "for me it was love, the boss liked me and he ended up chasing his wife. It wasn't my fault that she couldn't bear him children and I have given him two now". The researcher learnt later during the field work that the said lady had since been rented a one bedroomed house within the compound by this former employer who had however recalled his wife back to the matrimonial home.

Apparently, such cases were not isolated in the community and while the elderly domestic workers were scornful of such young women, some fellow young domestic workers were said to be envious of the ability to have one's own rented house, a good phone and cash to spend on make-up, hair and clothes.

An elderly lady, a domestic worker herself, observed:

> "*Relationships with male bosses are rife due to low salaries and these young maids who do not humble themselves on the job". She further blamed the female employers for this scourge saying "you working women concentrate more on your fancy jobs during the week, at weekends you have endless social functions such as kitchen parties sometimes even on Sundays and make the domestic worker work overtime to allow such lifestyles at the expense of taking care of your homes and husbands*" (Interview, Mrs Cecilia Banda 28 June 2012).

The researcher was left with the view that while domestic workers condemned such relationships between male employers and the young domestic workers, there appeared to be general agreement that the female employers were more to blame for this trend as they spent less and less time managing their homes and entrusting the entire responsibility in the hands of the maids. The Agencies however blamed the young female domestic workers for this trend that had in turn affected their business as most employers seeking domestic work services were mainly the women employers who were expressly insisting they didn't want young females below the age of 30 and especially if they were unmarried.

According to two Agencies who commented on this matter, business had become stifled as most of the available workers were below age 30 and unmarried but were not preferred by employers especially those seeking live in domestic workers.

Notwithstanding, the male domestic workers were not without their own issues regarding sexual harassment / relationships in the course of their work. The study revealed that cases of sodomy involving male domestic workers were on the rise especially from non-Zambian employers of a named origin who were in the habit of offering the male domestic workers huge sums of money to buy their silence.

According to the labour department, most such cases were never reported by the affected domestic workers themselves but usually by concerned relatives or fellow workers of such victims. The researcher witnessed first- hand a reported case of sodomy involving a Zambian couple. The female employer was verbally abusive to this male domestic worker even in the presence of the labour officials insisting that he was wasting their time with his flimsy case of seeking compensation when he had been fired for incompetency.

It was later shocking to the female employer when the domestic worker revealed the real grounds for his unlawful termination by the madam whom he claimed was being used by her husband. The matter erupted into a verbal / physical encounter and the Police officers who are situated just within the vicinity of the labour department offices were called in to take over the case as it was regarded a criminal offence and not a labour dispute per se.

According to Nakulela from the Labour Department, such cases were on the increase and many male domestic workers were coming to report such matters to the department even though the cases should ideally be reported to the Police but apparently most victims felt the police shielded such foreigners and employers who often had the money to buy their freedom. Liywali, the Union President also confirmed the instances of sexual abuse for both female and male domestic workers in Lusaka, noting that there was a need to enhance awareness on such matters especially among the employers as often it was the wives that rushed to protect their husbands and in the process the domestic workers who were in a

weaker position especially financially ended up dropping such cases and just quitting work without any compensation.

Furthermore, another official, James Kangwa from the labour department observed:

> "*It is not uncommon also for male domestic workers to get sexually abused by female employers. Often such employers withhold the domestic workers salary if they refuse these sexual advances". He further adds "some foreigners from a named origin have been reported several times for forcing their domestic workers to engage in pornography with dogs and other women in exchange for cash. Such cases often end up at the Police or the courts as they are beyond the Departments scope of work"* (Interview, 23 June 2012).

When the domestic workers participating in the study were asked on this matter, majority confirmed to the researcher having heard of such occurrences while some claimed to even know of their colleagues that have been through this ordeal. It was further revealed that most domestic workers were now aware of this practice by the said foreigners and avoided employment offers despite the salaries paid being much higher compared to what other employers were paying. In trying to establish the factors that differentiate domestic workers experiences based on gender, the study also found that a lot of employers in Lusaka were not keen to employ young female domestic workers who were of child bearing age on the basis that the Law now required that such domestic workers be accorded maternity leave.

According to the Minimum Wage legislation a female domestic worker was entitled to one hundred and twenty calendar days as maternity leave on production of a medical certificate signed by a registered medical doctor if the domestic worker has completed two years of

continuous service from the date of first engagement or since the last maternity leave was taken.

The Law further stressed that no domestic workers shall be disadvantaged or have a penalty imposed upon them for reasons concerning the pregnancy, and that the salary would not be paid during this period of leave. (Domestic Workers Order, 2011:4-5). The domestic workers spoken to in the study expressed their dissatisfaction with this provision claiming that it would not only affect their private homes as most would now be wary of having any more children. As one domestic worker put it "children come from God and as women our worth in the marriage is determined by the number of children you are able to give your husband. Now what this law says is that when you're pregnant you have no salary, which employer will keep a job for you with the way jobs are scarce these days?" Another domestic worker added:

> "*this law is being unfair to us as some employers were willing before to keep you on half pay for at least a month after you delivered as long as you sent someone to fill in for you, but now it will be difficult for us as how can you stay home with a new baby for four months with no salary what will you, the baby and the other children feed on*?" (Interview, Mutinta Mulenga, 28 June 2012).

The employers too were of the view that it would be difficult to retain a domestic worker's job as in the four months another would have to be recruited and by then they may prove even better than the old domestic worker making it difficult to terminate their employment in order to bring back the old domestic worker. Aggie Chileshe an employer from Lusaka observed:

> "*this provision has just brought confusion firstly us in the formal sector are only entitled to 3 month leave how can domestic workers be given 4 months instead?*
>
> *Also in four months the children will have gotten familiar with the replacement maid and making another change will just disturb them so for me I don't think it can work*" (Interview, 4 July 2012).

Chileshe's sentiments were echoed by Diana Mukusekwa who also noted that "it now means we should just employ domestic workers who are no longer having babies as in the end one can bring a thief in your home if you have to hire a temporal for four months; it is too risky" (Interview, 5 July 2012).

The trade union was equally of the view that the clause was more discriminatory than helpful for the domestic workers. Kevin Liywali the union president observed that the provision "is against the ILO Convention on maternity protection to which Zambia is a signatory. All maternity leave should have the guarantee of a salary otherwise it ends up being a double challenge for the women" (Interview, 19 June 2012) he further noted that not many employers would be willing to keep a job for the domestic workers for that period and that in the end this would impact not only unemployment levels but the family structure as well.

According to ILO Convention (183) on maternity protection (ILO, 2000), a total of 14 weeks of maternity benefits must be awarded in addition to a cash benefit which will ensure that the woman can maintain themselves and their child in proper conditions of health and with a suitable standard of living and which shall be no less than two-thirds of her previous earnings or a comparable amount.

The convention further stipulates the need for such women to be protected from discrimination and stressful or harmful work whilst nursing and prohibits the termination of employment based on the pregnancy or the absence due to maternity leave. Additionally, a daily break must be granted to allow for breastfeeding or a daily reduction of hours of work to breastfeed the child.

It was the researchers view that this clause required immediate attention by the state as it had the potential to discriminate and disadvantage women in pursuit of employment in the domestic work sector on the basis of the factors raised in the contributions from the different respondents in the study. A sense of apprehension was clearly detected especially among the young female domestic workers who were looking forward to starting families but would, until this was amended, have to put their plans on hold.

The researcher learnt that in the compounds, it was expected that a new bride be able to conceive and bear children within a year of marriage at the most lest the spouse, relatives and the community at large would begin to question her fertility of the woman in question and sometimes if the years passed on it would be expected that such a woman's husband either have a concubine with whom he could bear children, take a second wife or even seek divorce. Additionally, given the precarious nature of domestic work, very few domestic workers were able to stay with the same employer for a period longer than two years as the researcher found during the field work.

Many domestic workers were apparently forced to move from one employer to the next in search for better pay and better conditions of service as most employers were allegedly not in the habit of offering any salary increments despite the cost of living rising constantly.

Clearly, the maternity leave provision was one that had not received sufficient care in its formulation as the domestic workers for whom it was intended were not happy with it and neither were the employers on the basis of the envisaged disturbance and inconvenience such maternity leave would pose for their households. Further, in a country that is grappling with high youth unemployment, such a clause would discriminate young women from accessing employment in the event they were unable to put off starting families, which in turn would have longer term effects on the social reproduction cycle of the country.

According to the Zambia Labour Force Survey (2008:90-92), Zambia's youth unemployment rate stood at 28percent with Lusaka province having the second highest rate at 52percent of which, 54percent were males as compared to 66percent females for Lusaka Urban alone. The above statistics are a confirmation that there is need to encourage employment for females even if it entails such employment be found in the informal sector such as domestic service. However the Agencies spoken to during the course of the study revealed that employment was generally more readily available for male domestic workers than female domestic workers as the male domestic workers did not frequently absent from work on grounds such as sick children, spouses, funerals or maternity leave. These stereotype factors it was learnt have further worsened the employment levels of especially youth females wishing to join domestic work given the challenges of finding formal employment especially were one lacked formal qualifications needed in the formal sector.

Nonetheless, given the population rate for Lusaka which comprised 1,118,844 females as compared to 1,080,152 males (Zambia Census, 2010:6), more females were accordingly found to be involved in domestic work as opposed to the males.

According to the domestic workers union, UHUDWUZ, while Lusaka had a fairly equal proportion of both female and male domestic workers, the females tended to be slightly more especially among local employers. Further the Union noted that employers in Lusaka were more likely to discriminate domestic workers on the basis of literacy levels and religion than gender even though salaries generally varied between females and males, with males often earning more on the basis that they were deemed to put in more committed hours of work with less absenteeism as compared to the females.

Therefore, while as sex roles are a significant social factor in gender and occupations, Williams (1989:2-4) rightly argues that occupations foster gender differences among workers in a variety of ways with one of the most perverse being based on "internal stratification" that is, men and women in the same occupation often perform different tasks and functions. This was further explained in the case of the study wherein males were more likely to be engaged for outside the house tasks such as gardening presumably on their masculine qualities, while as females were engaged in routine housework and child care tasks again presumably on the basis of their feminine qualities of nurturing and domesticity. These specialities in turn help to preserve gender differences in conformity to societal dictates.

Misheck Tembo's Story

Twenty-six year old Misheck Ganizani Tembo dropped out of secondary school at the age of seventeen when his father, the breadwinner passed on. His mother, unable to cope with the expenses of raising him and his six other siblings opted to relocate back to their home village in the outskirts of Chipata in the Eastern Province of Zambia. Misheck however remained behind in Kalingalinga with his elder sister who had been fortunate to get married and had a two roomed house with her husband. Misheck has worked as a domestic worker in one of the non-Zambian residential communities in Lusaka for a family of nine (9) for the last five years. His duties involve cooking for the family, cleaning the house and the outside yard as well as doing the laundry for the entire family.

Misheck says of his job "am very lucky to have this job, my father used to work for my employers' father back in Chipata and when their family moved to Lusaka, my father moved with them and that is how we settled in Kalingalinga.

However, when my father passed away life became very hard for us and I had no one to pay for my school fees so I quit school in order to do odd jobs at the shopping malls in order to help my mother.

I was fortunate one day while washing cars, the customer asked for my name before paying me and when I told him, he said his father used to have a worker by the same name! I explained my origins and this man was happy that he had found his father's old servants son and immediately offered me the job I now have". It was pure luck for Misheck, who is called "Gani" by his colleagues and family.

For Misheck, getting this job meant a change of lifestyle as he was now able to supplement his sister's income and help out with bills. However, for most of his colleagues, Misheck's job was mocked as being a female's job and he was laughed at and sometimes ridiculed.

He says "when people in the compound found out that this was the job I was doing, they would laugh at me and say I wasn't being a man by succumbing to do a woman's job. But this did not affect me at all as my own father had done this job since the colonial days and raised his family through the same job. Nowadays however things have changed and it is looked at as a woman's job especially in Zambian homes. Even my female friends tease me and say I should leave the job for them".

Although Misheck was not entirely satisfied with all his conditions of service and had no idea of the existence of the domestic workers trade union, he was quick to add that it was better than loafing in the compound and drinking chibuku – a locally brewed beer sold cheaply in the taverns in the compounds.

He also added that he was able to buy himself clothes, a phone and was even saving for lobola (bride price) so he could one day marry his girlfriend who worked in one of the retail shops in Lusaka's second class trading area- Kamwala, as a cashier. Misheck further added "in this community where I work it is very common for males to do domestic work as this has been happening since the colonial days, it is only the Zambians that laugh at us but for me it doesn't bother me and my girlfriend is okay with my job even though she doesn't expect that when we get married I will be cooking for her and cleaning after her as that is a job of a wife".

When asked to elaborate this further, Misheck confidently responds "house work in a home is for the wife, as a husband I cannot be expected to do housework. Even at my sisters place they don't make me cook and clean because that is not a man's work in the home.

But here this is work, am being paid to do this work and just like my own father, I will support my family through this work. It is very different.

This is serious work, am working here, at home am the man and the women cook and clean - "mwambo ni mwambo" (that is culture). Misheck was also quick to point out that he does not adorn an apron while working opting for his overall- suit (work suit) as the apron is "for females" (Interview, 3 July 2012).

The gender divide with regard to domestic work was, from the aspect of the study, found to be not clearly defined. Perhaps given the nature of the history of domestic work in Zambia wherein it was predominantly a male oriented form of work, with women only entering the sphere in recent years post- independence, it would serve to explain why both the male and the female domestic workers were not able to make a gender divide in terms of which gender should rightly be doing domestic work.

Additionally, as noted by Maccoby (1987:227-231), the issue of masculinity or indeed femininity was one that merely served to distinguish the particular characteristics prescribed by the male and female sex roles which could be a social position or status for which certain behaviour is socially expected or required. Also, it is noted that makes unlike females often have more social pressure for gender conformity unlike females. This can be related to the fact that while most employers in the study would readily employ a female to perform housework, child care and outside tasks such as gardening, not as many were willing to employ males for child care in addition to the other domestic work tasks.

Gershuny and Man (2010:153) supported the above assertion on the basis that the gender divide in the case of domestic division of labour was more rigid in the case of routine house work such as cleaning, cooking and washing the dishes against others such as gardening and grocery shopping – or indeed fetching water in the case of Lusaka; with social mechanisms explaining the gender gap in the distinction of these two types of domestic work. Further, it is held that research has shown that the routine domestic work was associated with women's feminine identities while as men were more likely to undertake less feminine work such as gardening. This gendered division of labour can be explained in neoclassical economic theory through the comparative economic advantage of women and men in domestic work.

The above thus confirmed that despite the clear distinction, society still held somewhat prejudiced notions or beliefs about what constitutes male domestic work and female domestic work based on sex stereotyping. However, in terms of the differences in experiences, the domestic workers interviewed in the study did not feel that they were treated in anyway different from either sex. From the researchers perspective interacting with both employers and domestic workers during the course of the field work, it was evident that there was a generally uniform set up for conditions of service according to the location of the employer that is, low, medium or high cost as well as the family set up – whether the employer had children requiring the domestic workers attention or had none.

These pieces of information were strategically passed on through domestic workers networks within the compounds and any domestic worker accepting lesser terms was castigated and frowned upon. There was also more division on the basis of whether one was employed through and agency or by word of mouth. It was generally expected that those employed through agencies received better conditions in terms of salaries as opposed to their counter

parts and this in part served to explain the rapid mushrooming of the agencies in almost every street corner in both Kalingalinga and Mtendere.

In a few instances, female domestic workers made to perform both housework and gardening by their employers complained more on the need for extra remuneration than on the basis that this perceived as masculine work. Similarly, male domestic workers performing housework like the case of Misheck Tembo did not have any reservations except on the part of wearing the kitchen apron which was firmly referred to as being "for women".

From the aspect of the employers interviewed in the study, reservations were expressed based on the difficulty of employing male domestic workers as live-in employees as many households did not have the servant's quarter structures which existed in the colonial days. The remaining households with these structures have since turned them into rented properties to supplement household income, a practice that has been engendered by the high accommodation shortage in Lusaka. Employers therefore accommodated the live in domestic workers within their homes through provision of a bed or mattress alone in one of their children's bedrooms. In this sense female domestic workers were found to be more flexible as opposed to the males for this type of live in arrangements.

5.2 CONCLUSION

In the Chapter, the researcher sought to analyse the aspect of the gendered experience of domestic work between the male and female domestic workers that participated in the study. From the views expressed in the interviews from the field work, domestic workers themselves did not see their work as gender segregated, that is, the gender divide in the domestic division of labour was largely absent with both sexes viewing the work as homogenous.

This was evidenced in the manner that male domestic workers opted to view their domestic service work as purely "employment" and totally unrelated to their male-hood. Thus the sex roles of males and females in this case were paled as these male domestic workers did not see their work within the households of their employers as being either female or male work but purely as jobs which earned them an income. In the case of the females, their work involved what research has largely classified as care giver work (Elson, 2007:9) involving gendered work such as house work which relied on their role as home makers. This was apparent in the study from the insistence on employers to employer female domestic workers who themselves had children or were married especially in the case of employers with families. This presented a case of reliance on the maternal and home maker abilities of the domestic worker even where no formal training to this effect had been obtained by the domestic worker as was mostly common in Lusaka.

In a similar manner, male domestic workers were preferred were the employer required them to perform other outside the home tasks such as being city guides for the non-Zambian employers coming to Lusaka for the first time, also for their use in the home-run businesses, Kantemba's which involved handling finances as well as late hours of work due to the nature of the business which relied on the local community to purchase often last minute necessities after hours when the markets were closed or far from the residences.

In was the researchers' considered view based on the sample interviews as well as other views obtained from random discussions within Kalingalinga, Mtendere and occasionally in Bauleni, that male domestic workers were increasingly being restricted to outside the home tasks such as gardening, guarding and driving as the new generation of young men mostly did not find housework appealing as work to be performed by a man.

These findings were therefore in tandem with the assertion of Morrell (2006:14) who contended that masculinity was neither biologically determined nor automatic rather it is socially constructed, can take many forms and can change over time. There are many culturally sanctioned ways of being a man and masculinity is acted or performed, hence boys and men choose how to behave and this choice is made from a number of available repertoires differing from context to context in addition to the resources from which the masculinity is constructed being unevenly distributed.

In the case of the male domestic workers in Lusaka, this choice was evidently attributed to a resource need of which the males are willing to forfeit their "man hood" for the hours within which they engage in domestic work by choosing to distinguish this role as strictly work and separate from their masculinity outside this space. Nonetheless, the influx of women in the sector, given that Lusaka has a higher proportion of females compared to males and the already growing trend of employers engaging women for both housework and gardening, entailed that in coming years domestic work particularly that involving routine housework and child care will likely become the preserve of females.

CHAPTER SIX

WORKING CONDITIONS & CHALLENGES OF DOMESTIC WORKERS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The chapter extends from the findings on the sociological profile of the domestic workers in Lusaka and gives an overview of the nature of their conditions of work. Qualitative data collected on the working conditions of domestic workers were classified into the following categories; salaries, working conditions, job descriptions, trade union membership, challenges faced by domestic workers, Minimum Wage legislation, labour inspections, and the role of domestic workers employment agencies.

Questions which were asked under each category and responses realised from the research participants are indicated below:

6.2 WORKING EXPERIENCES OF DOMESTIC WORKERS

The question sought to investigate the type of conditions under which domestic workers were employed in Lusaka in terms of other provisions aside from the salary. The following responses were given by the domestic workers:

6.2.1 Non-payment of Allowances

Domestic workers interviewed in the study narrated how majority of employers declined to pay allowances such as overtime and transport for working late even when the domestic workers often worked beyond the legislated working hours.

"No overtime is paid even when I work very late, for instance my work starts between 6.30am and 7.00am ending between 5pm and 7pm while on public holidays and Sundays there is no work. Saturday I work half day mostly unless the madam has a kitchen party then she asks me to stay until she returns" (Interview, Mwaba Helen, 20 June 2012).

6.2.2 Provision of protective clothing and leave

Despite the law stipulating that employers provide domestic workers with the necessary tools to perform their tasks as well as making provision for various leave such as maternity and annual leave; the study revealed that these provisions were absent from the domestic workers conditions of service except in the case of those employed in embassies or foreign mission residences.

"I was given a uniform when I started but it was never replaced 3 years later and I do not wear it anymore as it is small.

They just buy me garden tools, this makes it difficult for me as I go home with dirty clothes every day and my wife fumes at me but I have no choice, I cannot request for a new uniform as the madam is always complaining about money even when I ask for garden tools or pesticides". (Interview, Peter Nkandu, 28 June 2012).

As regards provision of leave, a domestic worker had this to say:

"I am given compassionate leave of only one day to attend burial unless you're hosting the funeral then you can be given more days. I was once given 4 days but discovered these days were deducted from my pay. Even when you fall ill they want a sick note but sometimes one cannot even afford to go to the clinic and the nurses often

refuse to write these notes for us. It would help if we had medical assistance, even in form of advances."(Interview, Misheck Tembo, 28 June 2012).

6.2.3 Provision of meals whilst on duty

Majority of the domestic workers interviewed indicated that their employers neither provided food for them during the course of their work nor did they allow them to eat from within the employer's kitchen areas.

"We are not allowed to eat employers' food and must bring our own food. When you cannot afford to it's to work on an empty stomach that day. My employer only allows me hot water I must provide my own sugar and tea bags. Also I cannot eat in the main kitchen I have to go to the gardener's quarters to have my meals. It's as if I can contaminate their food and yet I do the cooking for them so I sometimes wonder". (Interview, Maiwase Phiri, 23 June 2012).

"Lack of food while on the job if you're unable to bring your own is a serious problem. Most times we leave our homes without food and maybe you slept hungry and then you have to work a whole day on an empty stomach hoping they will leave some left-overs on the table"(Interview, Mbao Tembo, 2 July 2012).

6.2.4 Lack of Dignity in Domestic Work

Domestic workers expressed concern at the lack of appreciation and respect accorded to them as workers that were engaged to assist their respective employers effectively manage their homes.

'I end up doing a lot of personal errands for my employer at the expense of my normal work then later she complains that am too slow. Also I have to send replacement (relative/friend) when I am off sick to secure my job otherwise they hire someone else. There are so many domestic workers that go round door to door looking for work every day so one has to be very careful."(Interview, Pamela, Lungu 21 June 2012).

"We are subjected to body searches and constant suspicions of theft especially where older/teenage children present. Some employers like the ones I worked for at the embassy force us to join their religion e.g. Islam, Pentecostal in order to keep the job". (Interview, Judith Chilabi, 19 June 2012).

"Some employers have very disrespectful children / dependants and sometimes it is the employer. We are verbally abused and called all sorts of names. My last employer used to shove me each time I did something wrong. Some employers have even beaten workers and such cases even when reported to the police as assault don't go anywhere". (Interview, Anne Mpanza, 21 June 2012).

"Jobs are too scarce in Lusaka that one cannot afford to complain. The employer will just ask you to leave and before dark they have employed someone in your place. I just have to keep working until a new job comes up and quit despite the poor conditions. I have a family to feed and this job helps a bit". (Interview, Banda Shadreck, 30 June 2012).

"We need full time jobs not part time work as this causes a lot of uncertainty and makes us open for more abuse since we become more desperate for jobs. I work full time only in the dry season and when the rains come I am asked to just come in at the

weekend to weed and clean the yard, am not paid a full salary for this rainy season which is very unfair" (Interview, Phiri Moses, 30 June 2012).

The employers interviewed however had the following to say as regards the conditions of service of domestic workers:

"My workers are off on public holidays & Sundays and work half day on Saturday. I also pay my worker overtime and transport when necessary. Sometimes these maids work too slowly hoping it gets late so you can pay them transport". (Interview, Daisy Mwila, 20 June 2012).

"The company deals with the conditions of service together with the Agency. The workers are allowed to be off sick and given 2 days for funerals of close relative. The tendency is to attend all funerals in the neighbourhood and if granted they would never be on duty". (Interview Peter Edwards, 20 June 2012).

"I have taken out Life Assurance policy for my domestic worker of over 10years. I would encourage other employers to do so in order to secure their workers lives, especially if the worker is hard working like mine".(Interview, Elizabeth Malimba, 4 July 2012).

From the above responses, it was evident that a similar pattern in terms of conditions of service was prevalent. This could be attributed to the intense domestic worker networks which allowed the domestic workers to discuss and pass on information about prevailing conditions of service amongst themselves and which the employers too relied on, hence the systematic pattern. This assertion was supported by Ally (2010:109-110) who noted that the existence of these networks was more relied upon for effective transmission and sharing of

experiences and challenges by the domestic workers, as opposed to conventional means such as trade unions which might endanger their employment.

The Labour Department officials on the other hand noted that lack of proper set guidelines on the conditions of service as opposed to the verbal contracts would make their work easier in regard to dispute resolutions. Senior Labour Inspector at the Department, Mrs Tamala Nakulela stated that such conditions of service verbally agreed often get distorted along the way and makes dispute resolution difficult as we rely on word of mouth". She further observed that in most cases, the domestic worker "performed many other tasks which the employer did not account for especially for live-in maids" and that domestic workers on the other hand often expected such services to be remunerated as well (Interview, 23 June 2012).

These according to the Assistant Labour Officer spoken to, included such work as that performed at the home run small scale businesses commonly known as "tuntemba".

Nakulela on the other hand additionally noted that live in domestic workers unlike their commuting counter parts were more likely to be exploited in terms of conditions of service, noting that "while it is expected and necessary that conditions of service for live-in DW differ from those of commuting domestic workers, the law does not make this distinction which gives rise to a lot of exploitation for live-in domestic workers". She further observed that live in domestic workers often worked extra hours daily by nature of them living within the home and often did not utilize the non- working weekend or public holidays. She noted that "most cases of abuse and exploitation are particularly from this set of workers" (Interview, 23 June 2006).

The above sentiments were backed by the International Labour Organisation (ILO, 2007) in their observation that live in domestic workers often suffered double exploitation as compared to the commuting domestic workers by nature of the close proximity to the employer within the household setup.

According to ILO (2007:12) it was observed that live in domestic workers generally have to work much longer hours than envisaged in the national legislation and are tasked with all and any work owing to lack of formal job descriptions.

6.3 CHALLENGES FACED BY DOMESTIC WORKERS

The general lack of appreciation for domestic work as real work can be attributed to the sequence of challenges that most domestic workers face in their employment. As noted by Oakley (1974:46-50), domestic work which is also known as house work is often equated to manual work and conjures up images of leisurely done work, repeatedly and in a monotonous manner with very little constructivism involved. Typically done by women, this house work often involves six core tasks of cleaning, shopping, cooking, washing up, washing and ironing which are all encompassed in a social denigration of housework.

Oakley (1974) argued against calling all these tasks under one name as this disguises their difference and reduces them to a common denominator and yet the varying tasks form a collection of heterogeneous tasks which demand a variety of skills and kinds of action.

The above illustration of the low significance attached to domestic work therefore results into employers viewing domestic workers with a sense of casualness which was evidenced from the responses in the study such as “the maid doesn’t do anything all day and just eats and watches DSTV”(Interview, Diana Mukusekwa, 5 July 2012).

This lack of appreciation for the work done by domestic workers resulted in some of the challenges highlighted by the domestic workers below.

"The employer does not give any food while on the job if you're unable to bring your own". (Interview, Mwanza Edward, 27 June 2012) Most domestic workers employers in Lusaka apparently do not provide food on the job based on the numbers that echoed the sentiments expressed by Mwanza above. The study further revealed that the few that did often insisted that the domestic worker eats from outside the house and not the same food as was consumed by the rest of the family members.

Others still it was revealed only provided hot water for tea and the domestic worker was required to provide their own sugar and bread. Additionally, Judith Chilabi also shared with the researcher how one employer subjected her to body searches every time she was knocking off from work in an alleged bid to ensure she didn't steal anything from the house. Judith further noted "my employer was very strict and would not allow us to carry any handbags or be seen eating in the kitchen. The worst of it all was when they threatened us with dismissal if we did not convert to Islam- That was when I quit the job" (Interview, 19 June 2012). Such stories ran through most of the challenges expressed by domestic workers and the matter of religion was especially prevalent. As observed by one manager at a Domestic Workers Agency, employers often insisted on employing a domestic worker who either belonged to their religion or was willing to convert.

Other challenges noted from the study included the lack of provision for medical and funeral assistance. This was noted as a major concern considering the high disease burden prevailing in the city and that a number of domestic workers either were on anti-retroviral treatment or had relatives requiring this medication and other supplementary drugs.

The provision of funeral assistance was seen as one which required government intervention as most domestic workers expressed serious challenges in dealing with bereavements were they were the only breadwinners in the household. This was in addition to lack of compassionate leave as employers apparently deducted any days taken towards attending to funerals. The domestic workers further noted the following as other challenges they encountered in the course of their work:

> *"We are not clearly instructed on what to do and the employer assumes just because we have work experience then we know what they want, but homes differ and preferences also differ. It would be better to state what the employer expects and not just complain when they are unsatisfied"* (Interview, Monica Muleta, 26 June 2012)

> *"Often the employers do not teach their children and dependents to treat us with respect and these children can be very rude to us. They do not even consider you as older than them it's very sad. What is worse is when the employer is also disrespectful to you- the children will also assume they can do the same. My employer's kids can't even pick up their own clothes from the floor imagine madam*" (Interview, Thoko Milanzi, 20 June 2012)

> *"I have worked with my current employer for three years now. When I started they didn't have children now she has twin girls who are two years old and I do all the housework as well as look after the babies but my employer has never given me a raise. Last year I asked my madam about it and she just snapped at me telling me how she is struggling to provide for the babies and asked me to resign if I wasn't happy. Of course I could not quit because I have a room to myself and food plus my small salary which is better than going back to my sister's place and sharing one small room with her kids and my other sisters"* (Interview, Mavis Monde, 25 June 2012).

6.3.1 Sexual Abuse among Domestic Workers

The study revealed a growing trend of sexual abuse among domestic workers, notably the live-in domestic workers. It was further revealed that many domestic workers now shunned this type of employment and the trade union was equally aware of this concern, attributing the high levels of HIV/AIDS infections among domestic workers to these cases of sexual abuse.

> *"I know some friends who have been sexually abused by their male bosses while working as live in maids. The problem is that you women always rush to protect your husband's when such things happen. This woman was even physically assaulted when the madam found out she had told her friends about this ordeal so the woman was even afraid to report the matter. Madam these things are common especially with live-in maids that's why when you check women are now refusing this type of work afteral the salaries are just the same but for more work"* (Interview, Masautso Sakala, 22 June 2012).

> *"It is not just women who get sexually abused in these homes am telling you. Even the men are abused. It is very common, that is why you see some domestic workers can even afford some luxuries like pay TV from the money they are given to keep quiet about such things. I even know of some guys who were paid to do movies and yet they were employed as gardeners, it is shameful. These employers are wealthy people who can buy their way out of anything so why bother to report, it's just to get your payment and leave"* (Interview, Enala Banda, 22 June 2012)

In response to the challenges identified, majority domestic workers noted that the scarcity of jobs entailed that they would rather continue to endure until a new job opening was available.

Others sought the help of the trade union in resolving salary disputes were the employer refused to pay as per agreed terms or refused to pay separation dues.

Furthermore, majority of the domestic workers interviewed expressed dissatisfaction with the Labour Department citing alleged corruption on the basis of class as a hindrance to having their cases resolved on merit. As such many relied instead on local community neighbourhood watch groups that assisted in terms of sexual or physical abuse cases by helping report such employers to the police and seeking compensation where applicable.

The challenges facing domestic workers in Lusaka were found to be vast and even overwhelming. Aside from the focal issues such as inadequate salaries and poor conditions of work, most domestic workers lamented on their generally low literacy levels which they attributed to the tendency of employers to exploit them as this made them feel insignificant in the employers households especially were young children / dependants were educated. This low literacy apparently caused many employers to look down on domestic workers.

The study also revealed that it was becoming increasingly difficult for young women to find employment in the sector as most employers had a preference for older women who either were married or had children. The tendency by some young women to disturb employers' marriages was attributed to this trend which was greatly impacting young women who would otherwise seek domestic work in order to raise funds to further their education or look after their siblings upon the demise of their parents.

Another challenge facing domestic workers in Lusaka was the grappling of the disease burden as a result of HIV/AIDS which was increasingly burdening families with orphans who have to be catered for struggling domestic workers on their meagre salaries.

Similarly, a number of domestic workers interviewed in the study revealed that their husbands had passed on as result of this scourge and it was this common to find many female headed households as well as child headed households.

> *"People have died and keep dying in these compounds from HIV related illnesses. These days it has improved with the free provision of ARV's at the clinics but now what is killing us is the lack of adequate food, as you know these medicines are strong and require proper feeding which is usually absent so even if someone is on ARV's the medicines do not work properly.*
>
> *Many of these children you are seeing playing in our streets are orphans, some maybe have no future as they do not even go to school and will end up as call boys while the girls end up in prostitution as they are exposed to tavern life very early. Life here is hard madam, that is why even when employers exploit us we just stick around because these jobs allow us to escape these conditions here for the whole day at least" (Interview, Felestina Mwanza, 23 June 2012).*

Furthermore, the general living conditions of the domestic workers as observed in the study were mostly desperate. Very few could afford stand- alone housing as it was common to share rooms within one house among a number of families with one common outside toilet if they could afford to rent a place that offered this facility, otherwise the family would wander around the compound in search of such facilities from neighbours willing to share. Furthermore, most children of the domestic workers were unable to go to school despite the governments' declaration of free education.

The domestic workers attributed the high cost of uniforms and Parent Teacher Association (PTA) fees as a hindrance and thus these kids were either cultured into domestic work through their parents sourcing for work for them with their employers friends/relatives or some found casual work in the markets while others were sent off to sale small items such as fruits, nuts etc. to assist in the feeding of the family.

On the part of the employers, one employer interviewed of foreign descent had this to say, "My colleagues often complain of the language barrier, it is difficult to find a good domestic worker who can also speak English fluently. Also most of these domestic workers are fond of stealing and getting items without permission in our homes". (Interview, Peter Edwards, 20 June 2012).

These views were echoed by another employer Daisy Mwila who lamented on the aspect of domestic workers not being willing to ask when in need but choosing to steal no matter how nice one treated them. Mwila further noted that "domestic workers can be notorious for absconding from work without bothering to inform you even when they have cell phones, this can be so annoying" (Interview, 20th June 2012).

In other interviews, the employers were of the common view that domestic workers generally had a laisser – faire attitude towards their work, coupled by their lack of training and that there was need to have renewable contracts drawn up as a bid to keep them accountable and deserving of the high wages they were constantly lobbying for. An official from the Labour Department also observed that because domestic workers mainly come from vulnerable homes, this placed them in a weaker position coupled by their low literacy levels and thus made them desperate for employment. Additionally most cases reported to the Department were on this basis often withdrawn when the domestic worker was either intimidated by the employers or offered a cash reward to withdraw the matter.

The domestic workers union on the other hand blamed the employers who took advantage of the low literacy levels of domestic workers in order to abuse or exploit them saying this should not be condoned. Liywali insisted:

> "*the low literacy levels among domestic workers is often not by choice as most of these are orphans or looking after so many orphans themselves that they cannot even afford night school to improve their education and it is wrong for an employer to exploit such people as they are still able to effectively offer their domestic labour even when they do not have formal qualifications*" (Interview, 19 June 2012).

Liywali further added that one of the crucial challenges facing domestic workers was the advent of HIV/AIDS as many of their members still had very limited knowledge of the disease and how their rights at work in this instance could be safeguarded as most were dismissed upon the employer finding out their status while others were denied time off to access treatment.

6.4 MINIMUM WAGE LEGISLATION

The study was conducted at the time the government was in the process of revising the rate of the minimum wage for domestic workers. Because of the on-going debates both in the public and private media, the levels of awareness among the respondents on the existing minimum wage was found to be high and similarly the employers interviewed were sufficiently knowledgeable of this minimum wage. In the course of the study, it was revealed that a number of employers were in fact paying well above the minimum wage in terms of salaries to domestic workers and this was in part attributed to the increase in domestic worker employment agencies that were pegging their requested wages much higher than the minimum wage thereby compelling employers to adjust to these wages.

A check with a number of such Agencies revealed that salaries were pegged at averages of between K450 000 for live in domestic workers and K500 000 for commuting domestic workers while as the minimum wage stood at K250 000 for both categories of workers.

In terms of responses to the minimum wage legislation as a whole, the domestic workers interviewed offered a mixture of reactions. One domestic worker noted:

> *"Am aware of the law though not conversant with its contents because there is no education/ awareness about it. The little I know is what my friends have told me about it".* (Interview, Mwaba Helen, 26 June 2012).

Another domestic worker, Anne Mpanza who was a member of the trade union responded:

> *"This law is found either at the trade union or labour department. It is important that we get this knowledge and what I have seen is that most employers don't even know these things and get shocked when the domestic workers reports them for exploitation, they think a salary is enough"* – (Interview, 21 June 2012).

Others such as Edward noted that they had only gained awareness of the law following recent television debates surrounding the revision of the same.

> *"To be honest I was not aware if it until the recent announcements on radio and MUVI (television channel). I think it is good maybe the employers will respect us and value the work we do. The problem is that they just wake up and fire you when they are in a bad mood, I heard on TV the Minister said that is illegal and we should report such employers. Am happy about this".* (Interview, Edward Mwanza, 2 July 2012).

For others still, their sole concern regarding the law was that it assisted in getting their employers to raise their salaries and offer them formal contracts as opposed to the current verbal arrangements entered into.

> *"I don't know much about this law madam. I hope it will talk about job descriptions and salary increments which our employers avoid". (Interview, Nkandu Peter, 2 July 2012).*

> *"I will be happy if this new law will make employers give us contracts because one time when I reported my boss for not paying me the full salary he went and gave a different story to the police and because I had no evidence I lost the case. The salary used to change depending on whether the boss's business had done well or not which I could not prove".* (Interview, Shadreck Banda, 2 July 2012).

> *"It is a good law; the government must provide us copies or increase awareness to reduce exploitation by employers. It will help improve salaries and lessen our desperation due to poverty which makes us accept just anything".* (Interview, Judith Chilabi, 26 June 2012).

Notwithstanding, not all domestic workers were happy with the new legislation. Some domestic workers expressed their concern towards the enforcement of such a law. A domestic workers Stella Manda, lamented:

> *"I heard about it on radio- it will just take away our jobs as employers will not pay if the increase this minimum wage. We fear for our jobs as we were getting above this rate now employers are annoyed that they are over-paying us".* (Interview, 28 June 2012).

> *"The new law should have recognized responsibilities, education and experience of domestic workers not uniform wage. The trade union can also help us by conducting workshops / seminars to sensitize us on the contents".* (Interview, Anne Mpanza, 26 June 2012).

When prodded further on their views on respective clauses in the Act, most of the domestic workers pleaded ignorance of the contents with some admitting they could not read at all. A few of the domestic workers that had followed the on-going discussions in the media noted that they were aware of the salary rate only and the fact that it was illegal for the employer not to pay this rate or dismiss an employee without furnishing them with sufficient reason.

One of the domestic workers, Anne Mpanza further lamented that clauses such as the maternity leave provision were a mockery "how can someone be expected to survive for four months at home with a new baby and no salary madam? This is just like asking you to fire yourself. Even if they say you still get back your job after the leave, which employer will keep a job for you for four months with so many people looking for employment and even willing to accept lower salaries?" (Interview, 21 June 2012).

Another domestic worker, Misheck Tembo complained about the separation package contained in the legislation stating:

> *"This package does not make sense at all. How can someone who has worked for two years just be entitled to one month's pay? How many months are in two years? Does it mean the work we do in two years in only worth one month's salary? This is extremely unfair. It is the same with working for nothing".* (Interview, Misheck, 20 June 2012).

Others equally raised concerns with regards to the legislation such as:

> *"This law just focuses on the women there is little about our work as gardeners. It does not talk about conditions for gardeners, for instance our salaries are cut during rainy season and we are not allowed inside the house sometimes when it is raining. Even drivers are left out; does it mean our work is not recognized by the government? For me things like medical and funeral assistance are more important than maternity leave afteral most of these maids as you know are old and no longer having children, even employers do not employ anyone who is pregnant so who will even benefit from such things?"*(Interview, Zulu Mabvuto, 2 July 2012).

> *"The law does not mention social security what happens to us when we cannot work anymore? Also workers on ARV treatment should be allowed to access clinics during working hours and not have these hours or days deducted from the pay".*(Interview, Tembo Mbao, 2 July 2012).

The above sentiments from the domestic workers indicated a general awareness of the existence of only the minimum wage rate of pay and very little knowledge on the other conditions contained in the legislation. Additionally, there was a lot of anxiety among the domestic workers surrounding the impending revision as most felt the employers would seek to readjust downwards the higher salaries being paid.

As regards the rest of the contents in the legislation, major concern was on the non-availability of a social security provision as well as the calculation for separation dues which entitled a domestic worker to a salary of one month for every two years of service rendered.

The trade union shared the above sentiments in their response, noting for instance that the lack of awareness was a major concern for the union. Kevin Liywali, the Union President observed that despite the limited resources available for the union to carry out such awareness programs, the union had come up with a program to enter into a memorandum of understanding with various domestic worker agencies through which this information could be disseminated. Liywali added, "the Centres are a strategic focal point for our work as they are in direct contact with both domestic workers and employers seeking these services and we intend to use this meeting point to disseminate our IEC's (information educative materials) as once the placements were concluded it was logistically difficult to trace these domestic workers and employers alike" (Interview, 19 June 2012).

The Labour Department on the other hand was also quick to admit that there was insufficient awareness on the legislation which had led to a number of disputes which could have been avoided if there was full legislative information available to both employers and domestic workers. One of the officials interviewed at the Department noted that lack of knowledge on the legislation requirements was not just prominent among the domestic workers but even worse among the employers as most believed that mere paying of the monthly salary warranted full conditions of service for domestic workers and the rest was not their concern.

On the matter of the respective clauses in the Act, the trade union sought to agree with the domestic workers that most of the provisions in the Act were either contractor or very vague and hence subject to manipulation by employers. Liywali, the union president pointed out clauses such as the maternity leave provision as discriminatory on the basis that the ILO Convention on maternity protection to which Zambia was a signatory was very clear on the need to have this as paid leave.

However, the domestic workers were granted this leave as unpaid which only served as a further financial burden on their part in addition to discouraging young women from starting families due to fear of losing their earnings during maternity leave. Liywali observed "this has caused a lot of problems in these homes as it is disturbing family structures" (Interview, 19 June 2012).

Liywali, additionally observed that other clauses which were ambiguous were the funeral provision which left the aspect of entitlement to the discretion of the employer, the separation package of one months' pay for each two years served as well as the provision on death benefits in the vent of a demise of a domestic worker were all left vague in the Act and therefore subject to misinterpretation. The employers on the other hand noted the need to have more awareness of the legislation among domestic workers so that there was mutual understanding on either party's obligations.

The employers interviewed expressed general satisfaction on the contents of the legislation except a few wondered why the maternity leave provision for domestic workers was pegged at four months when the formal sector workers only had three months entitlement as was contained in the Employment Act.

The sentiments expressed above regarding the especially the exclusion of domestic workers themselves in the formulation of legislation concerning their sector is an indication of the challenges informal sectors such as this face in terms of policy and power relations with governments. As observed by Lindell (2010:12-15) factors such as economic liberalization and neoliberal polices have set in motion trends that have affected the conditions of participation of women at the lower end of the informal sector, such as domestic workers, making them particularly vulnerable to the hostility of governments and in this case employers in addition to the open discrimination in consultation processes.

As echoed by the UHDUWZ General Secretary, Oscar Cheupe, the domestic workers union as the key stakeholder in the sector needed to be fully involved in the formulation and review of the minimum wage legislation so as to account for the interests of its members and this would have significantly reduced the discrepancies contained in this piece of legislation. Cheupe added that "most employers are very happy with the provisions of this law because it compels them to offer less than what the Union would normally negotiate for given the high cost of living especially in Lusaka, but such efforts are heavily constrained by the somewhat vague legislation currently in place" (Interview, 18 June 2012).

The UHDWUZ however noted that there was hope in having the minimum wage legislation better aligned to the ILO domestic workers convention which was recently adopted by ILO and pending ratification by Zambia, the government was noted to have shown the political will in addressing the shortfalls of the current legislation and both the domestic workers and the Union were anticipating a less discriminatory and improved legislation.

The challenge of adjusting to the minimum wage legislation by both employers and domestic workers is one that will arguably take time, as observed by Ally (2009:71), such a law at best is ambitious in attempting to impact and compel millions of employers isolated in private homes to heed the call of government to restructure relations with their servants, given the deeply embedded colonial, and indeed cultural attitudes. This is aside from the logistical nightmare presumed by the kind of state regulatory capacity required to oversee compliance. These views relate to those expressed by the Labour Department officials as one of the critical challenges facing the ministry as regards the implementation and enforcement of the minimum wage legislation especially were the domestic workers themselves are not forthright in reporting violations by employers.

"Employers are particularly happy with the new separation package in this new law as previously we applied the Minimum Wage Employment Act which had a better package; this one is very easily affordable for the employers. The new separation package has led to many employers terminating services at will to avoid the accumulation of two years stipulated in the new law when a domestic worker qualifies for separation package"(Interview, James Kangwa, 18 June 2012).

Judith Chilabi's Story

Judith is a 46 year old single mother of seven who has worked all her life as a domestic worker, starting at the tender age of 13years after the demise of both parents. Judith only reached lower primary education before she had to quit in order to work as a domestic worker to enable her raise her siblings.

Judith narrates to the researcher how she was "upset" that the government had only now realised the need for legislation to protect domestic workers when the trade had been in existence for the longest time. Judith was further angered by the fact that despite the majority of domestic workers being young girls and with so many civil society organisations and non - governmental organisations purportedly working on projects for girl children – none of them had ever bothered about the thousands of young girls who had dropped out of school and were working as domestic workers even in these very people's homes. She strongly felt that these organisations should have lobbied for the legislation many years ago.

Judith particularly recalls her time as a young woman working for the Libyan Embassy in Lusaka as a domestic worker under harsh working conditions with a measly K125 000 ($25) as salary despite the enormous amount of work she was tasked with. She shares some of the conditions under which she worked for instance being subjected to a body search upon entry and exit by male guards at the premises, pressured and intimidated (like all the other workers at the embassy) to convert to Islam or risk losing her job. Judith vehemently refused this and was constantly victimised as a result through both physical and verbal abuse. The embassy also deducted NAPSA (Social security) from her pay but never availed her the mandatory social security card to be able to prove that the remittances were being made.

Additionally, Judith worked under constant surveillance from CCTV cameras placed everywhere in the house which she saw as an invasion of her privacy, she was often physically abused by her employer and she like most other domestic workers lamented how employers forced them to stop wearing any makeup or hairstyles of their choice and also dictated their dressing as a way of protecting their husbands from the domestic workers.

Judith further narrated how she also worked for a former member of parliament who treated her very badly and did not allow her to eat while seating and also ordered her to prepare her own food outside and not in the family kitchen. The worst experience while working for this former parliamentarian was the ordeal of having to wash the couples under wear daily which she still regrets. She further alleges that both the former parliamentarian and the embassy never paid her any overtime or transport allowance despite subjecting her to very long hours of work daily.

According to Judith she believes that the affluent people in our society are the worst victims when it comes to abusing domestic workers as many regarded domestic workers as lesser humans.

On a more positive note however, Judith recalled with longing the time she worked for His Excellency the President of Zambia when he was then Minister in the old regime. According to Judith she was treated and offered much better conditions of service than what was contained in the new Act and regretted having had to quit her job to stay home with a terminally ill child. She however noted that she was often called in for part time work which she was well paid for.

Judith now co – owns a Domestic Workers Recruitment Centre and conducts placements in Lusaka, with a quest to help ensure young women do not become victims to employers like she was during her time as a domestic worker (Interview, 19 June 2012).

6.5 LABOUR INSPECTIONS

According to ILO (2007:15) one of the obstacles to the defence of domestic workers' rights was that they worked in the private residences of individuals. In many countries, private domiciles enjoy particular protection, in order to ensure privacy. Thus many of the trade unions' traditional partners, such as labour inspectors and occupational health practitioners, cannot operate in the same way in these houses as they would in an enterprise. "Although labour inspection is required in all employment situations, in practice the home is out of bounds for labour inspectors," emphasizes the latest ILO world report on forced labour.

Further, in 2003, an ILO study on the legislative aspects of domestic work summed up the whole problem of labour inspection in private homes: "Normally, labour inspection regulations of general application are, unless otherwise stated by the law, also applicable to domestic workers".

However, “two fundamental rights may collide here: namely, the right and the duty of the State to protect the basic labour rights of domestic workers through the supervisory function of labour inspection, and the employers’ basic right to the protection of their privacy and that of their families”.

It was therefore evident that in as much as labour inspections were legislated; the inspection of private homes posed a real challenge and thus may contribute to the silent suffering of many domestic workers at the hands of abusive or exploitative employers. In Lusaka, although the employers interviewed in the study were not entirely against such inspections, many however felt that they would need formal notification and a stated agenda for such an inspection. This no doubt would potentially defeat the purpose of an inspection as the employer would ensure the necessary measures were in place for a smooth inspection.

The Labour Department officials echoed the views of ILO on the aspect of inspecting private homes. One of the officials informed the researcher that in as much as the Department would like to visit some of the private homes especially those that were reported by neighbours as exploiting their domestic workers, the hostility they received by such employers was a major hindrance. It was revealed that in certain instances, employers would release vicious dogs on the inspectors as deterrence while others simply refused or denied them access.

Nonetheless, the Labour Department official informed the researcher that in the event an inspection was seriously required for very serious or sensitive cases reported, the help of law enforcement agents would be solicited in order to obtain legal access and or forced entry into such homes.

It was the considered of the researcher that in as much as labour inspection had a role to play in enforcing the minimum wage legislation, this would prove heavily cumbersome given the dispersed nature of domestic workers in private households and especially in the absence of a formal registration of domestic workers either through trade union membership or records from the domestic workers agencies who do not keep any meaningful filing system for their clients and placements. The current situation as revealed by the study whereby concerned neighbours or relatives reported cases of gross abuse or exploitation to either the Labour Department or the Police will thus likely remain the only means through which labour inspections will be conducted.

6.6 DOMESTIC WORKERS EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES

The study interviewed three Agencies in total, of which only one was formally registered as a business. The study revealed that many of the Agencies operating in Lusaka were being run "illegally", within private homes and by former domestic workers who had retired into this fast mushrooming business. From the perspective of the domestic workers, the Agencies were in fact not living up to their expectations of training and placements but had instead concentrated on placements only which brought them faster income.

Anne Mpanza a domestic worker in Lusaka noted "these Agencies are just reaping us off and taking advantage of the shortage of jobs; they don't offer any training even though they charge the domestic workers a fee and also charge the employer when getting a domestic worker. This is unfair as one has to give up their first months' salary for these fees for just a placement" (Interview, 21 June 2012).

Mpanza's views were echoed by many other domestic workers who additionally felt that there was need for a system of regulating these Agencies in order to compel them to offer the

training they purportedly offered and also regulate the exorbitant placement fees they were charging as these actually disadvantaged most domestic workers from getting employment as employer's could not afford.

In the event that employers paid this placement fee, it was revealed that they later insisted on reducing the agreed salary from the Agency by negotiating it downwards and most domestic workers were compelled to accept this in order to maintain their jobs. However, the Agencies interviewed in the study denied charging for training of domestic workers and not actually conducting this training saying they offered basic cleaning, cooking and child care lessons to domestic workers prior to placements.

The Agencies were however quick to admit that given the increase in numbers of job seekers flooding the centres it was sometimes not feasible to train them all and they instead relied on the past work experience of the domestic worker; even though the placement(training) fee was still required to pay upon placement. The Agencies equally complained about domestic workers re-negotiating their salaries upon placement with the new employer as deterrence to the maintenance of conditions of service for domestic workers even though this did not affect their business as the placement fees will have ben already paid up. It was also revealed in the study that these Agencies were unregulated and thus operated within their own terms. The Labour Department was equally concerned with this trend of business noting that ideally, such Agencies needed to be registered under the Ministry of Labour and not under Patent and Companies Registration Agency (PACRA) which entailed they were purely business entities.

As argued by Tsikata (2009:39-40), these employment agencies are hampered by the absence of labour regulations tailored to the particular conditions of domestic work and the lack of enforcement mechanisms for the contracts they broker. It is often not clear whether they are the employers of the domestics or whether they are simply brokering agreements between

employers and employees. Some deduct monthly fees from salaries paid to them, while others take a one-off payment and leave the domestic worker and their employers to deal directly with each other.

Furthermore, the nature of these Agencies was that they were not involved in cases of disputes and could not be called upon even in the event of a security issue for instance were a theft has occurred and there is need to trace the domestic workers' whereabouts or background as they did not actually run or maintain any background information on these domestic workers.

This would entail that it was in fact much more risky to recruit from these Agencies as opposed to hiring a domestic workers known by a fellow domestic worker or a relative / friend. On this matter, the Agencies were very defensive insisting that it was the responsibility of the would be employer to run a background check on the domestic worker at the point of employment as they did not have the capacity to do so given the high influx of job seekers.

Senior labour officer at the Labour Department, Tamala Nakulela was of the view that these Agencies needed to have a mechanism of ensuring that domestic workers were not only trained, but also educated on the minimum wage legislation provisions prior to signing of the placement contracts which she also insisted needed to be in line with the existing law in order to avoid conflicts of interpretation in terms of disputes.

She further noted that:

> "*these Agencies are not involved in dispute resolutions brought to the Department's attention despite being the initiators of these contracts in dispute and because we have to rely on the provisions of the law in handling all matters we often find that the*

provisions of the contracts signed at the Agencies do not adhere to the provisions of the law thereby making our work difficult" (Interview, 23 June 2012).

Nakulela further observed that the contracts signed at these Agencies were subordinate to the legislation and therefore needed to be aligned to the existing legislation. In particular, she noted that "the salaries pegged at the Agencies are usually higher than the minimum wage and so most employers assume that this encompasses issues of overtime and transport which they refuse to pay when summoned under disputes; it would therefore be prudent that the Agencies take such matters into account" (Interview, 23 June 2012).

Similarly, the employers interviewed in the study equally observed that there was need to have the Agencies regulated so that they could provide the full services for which they were charging for. One of the employers Diana Mukusekwa observed that the domestic workers recruited from the Agencies were expected to be paid a higher salary than the minimum wage stipulated even though they were not trained at all, she adds "I still had to train my maid from the scratch in simple things such as cleaning and cooking and yet am still expected to pay higher than the minimum wage. There is need to have these domestic workers acquire basic training if the salaries we are paying are to be justified" (Interview, 5 July 2012).

Aggie Chileshe another employer in Lusaka lamented on the need for Agencies to train the domestic workers in basic child care skills as this was the reason most working mothers opted to employ domestic workers in the first place.

She notes that being a mother of twins, she relied heavily on the services of the domestic workers "however I have been constantly disappointed as these people do not have any child care skills and at one time my baby got burnt while in the care of a domestic workers whom

the Agency had claimed was trained and yet she spent more time watching television as opposed to minding the babies in the house" (Interview, 4 July 2012).

The employers were of the view that the Agencies other than being regulated required adopting a basic curriculum for training domestic workers as the fees they were currently charging, not to mention the high salaries demanded necessitated this.

The UHDWUZ, agreed with the sentiments expressed on the need to have the Agencies regulated, noting that the Agencies were a critical entry point for the possible harmonization of the work relationship between employers and domestic workers.

Union president Kevin Liywali noted that the union had recognized the important role the Agencies could play in assisting with the formalisation of the domestic worker sector and had taken steps towards this. Liywali noted:

> "*the Union has entered into partnerships with some Agencies through a memorandum of understanding that will see us disseminating key information packages to the domestic workers and the employers at the point of recruitment/ placement so that both parties are well informed of the statutory obligations of their working relationship and hopefully this will reduce instances of exploitation and abuse among domestic workers"* (Interview, 19 June 2012).

It was thus revealed in the study that while the agencies tended to benefit the domestic workers through the provision of higher salaries compared to the minimum wages, there still remained enormous work in ensuring that their operations adhered to the set standards so as to provide adequate training and legally recognised placements. The need to regulate the operations of these mushrooming agencies was identified in the study as a growing concern.

6.7 TRADE UNION MEMBERSHIP

Zambia has one trade union to which domestic workers can be affiliated. The United House and Domestic Workers Union of Zambia (UHDWUZ) was formed in 2000 to recruit and organise domestic workers countrywide. Membership to the UHDWUZ is not only voluntary but is also safeguarded in the national constitution under the freedom of association. However, the study revealed that most domestic workers' employers in Lusaka were not open to allowing or employing domestic workers that belonged to the trade union. This revelation was confirmed by one employer who clearly stated that "Unions often bring confusion in the working relationship by inciting the employee, it is better to encourage open dialogue as opposed to bringing in third parties when a dispute arose" (Interview, Mrs Joan Phiri, 4 July 2012).

However, not all employers shared this view as most were agreeable to the need for domestic workers belonging to the union noting some of their reasons as follows:

> *"The Union can help deal with abusive employers as the domestic workers can have a voice. Through the Union the domestic workers can have awareness of their rights and also what is expected of them on the job".* (Interview, Diana Mukusekwa, 18 June 2012).

> *"The Union should also consider sensitizing employers and not take it for granted that we are all aware of what is right and wrong. Also, the Union needs to come in and contain the expectations of the domestic workers with this new revision. They have to know the salary must be earned".* (Interview, Aggie Chileshe, 4 July 2012).

> *"The Union is heavily biased towards the domestic workers and rush to support them in times of disputes. The union needs to educate the domestic workers to be more*

appreciative of their employment given the high unemployment levels in this country". (Interview, Mrs Chibesa, 23 June 2012).

The domestic workers themselves on the other hand had mixed reactions towards joining the trade union as most feared victimisation and job loses should their employers discover they were trade union members. As one domestic worker, Judith Chilabi put it, "even though we are aware of the benefits of belonging to this union, the employers don't want us to join and will fire you instantly even for attending their meetings" (Interview, 19 June 2012). Another domestic worker Anne Mpanza, who herself was a member of the union was however quick to note that despite threats from employers of job termination, the law was very clear that domestic workers could join the union if they so wished.

Anne Mpanza informed the researcher that she was at one time dismissed by an employer for attending a trade union awareness meeting but that this did not discourage her as she soon found other employment and insisted on being allowed to remain a member of the trade union. She further added:

"*The trade union is to blame for the low levels of membership and the wide misinformation especially with our employers as they need to carry out more awareness and become more visible in the communities. A lot of exploitation and unfair terminations can be avoided if the trade union was more visible and available*" (Interview, 21 June 2012).

In response, both the UHDWUZ president Kevin Liywali and the general secretary Oscar Cheupe were quick to concede that the union still needed to do more in terms of visibility which was currently constrained by resource availability both human and financial.

Kevin Liywali further noted that the union had a number of activities lined up as part of their sensitization, recruitment and organising plan but with limited funding available these programs were derailed. In addition, the geographical dispersion of domestic workers was equally noted as a challenge for the union,

> "*Our members are dotted across and in private entities that is, the homes, which makes our work even more challenging and a logistical nightmare. Similarly, the law stipulates that we need 25 members in order to enter into recognition agreement and this is not feasible for the sector as domestic employers will usually only employ a maximum of three domestic workers at a time"* lamented Kevin Liywali (Interview, 19 June 2012).

The Union general secretary, Oscar Cheupe further noted that another hindrance to the effective organisation of domestic workers was the low level of subscriptions paid which did not have meaningful impact as the union often spent more in the follow up of these subscriptions than their worth.

He further added:

> "*The crisis we have in the union is of "recruit and fire", the more domestic workers we recruit, the more the employers fire them and this makes our work difficult. We have now embarked on a strategy to recruit via the employers themselves by taking time to explain and educate them on the importance, benefits and need for their workers to join the union and we hope this will yield some positive outcomes"* (Interview, 18 June 2012).

The union was emphasising the need for job descriptions and formal contracts for their members as a way of protecting them from exploitation.

The situation concerning the UHDWUZ was not just peculiar to the domestic workers sector but is a global trend that is seeing dwindling trade union membership as jobs become increasingly precarious and scarce.

The sentiments on this aspect were backed by Stephenson & Hartley (1992:168-170) who observed that trade union membership was hinged on a number of factors such as the availability of a viable trade union, the trade union's recruitment strategies, personal and occupational characteristics as well as job attitudes, that is, the more disenchanted a worker was the more likely they were to join a trade union.

Other factors noted included the social and instrumental beliefs held by workers on the benefits of the trade union, ideologies and instrumental beliefs of one's incapacity to influence their own work environment and thus seeking a cause and effect in terms of improved conditions of work as a result of trade union membership.

6.8 THE IMPACT OF PAID DOMESTIC LABOUR

Domestic labour is a component of social reproduction which according to Herrera (2008:94) draws on feminist contributions to economics that define it as any activity that involves biological reproduction, the reproduction of the labour force and of goods, and the reproduction of relations of production. It also refers to the social processes associated with the daily sustenance of people, the reproduction of the labour force and the maintenance of communities and may involve material provision of health, education and welfare.

Further, Silvey and Bakker (2008:2-3) noted that social reproduction is located in a framework of state-led development and collective responsibility for realizing the current and future reproduction of the labour force, social values and social care. Additionally, gender politics of domestic labour and its relation to capitalism indicated that domestic labour was

necessary for the reproduction of the labour force and that capitalist production should therefore be understood as dependent upon the work carried out within the home.

In this sense therefore, the domestic workers role in the maintenance of the employers' households plays a critical role in terms of accumulation and social reproduction. As observed by Cock (2011:133), our conceptualisation of the work that domestic workers perform needs to be reviewed in light of the domestic labour debate and social reproduction as a means to address the invisibility that affects these workers.

Anne Mpanza noted during the study that

> "*Domestic workers play an important role in ensuring that employers are able to timely report for work and go about their lives outside the home. Often the madams even when they are home do not have time for their own homes and children due to social commitments and we end up practically co-raising their children, this alone requires that we be paid better salaries*" (Interview, 22 June 2012).

Judith Chilabi another domestic worker also noted that:

> "*our work as domestic workers ensures that the madam's home, children and husband are well taken care of but own homes suffer in the process as I often get up too early to prepare anything for my husband and children who must fend for themselves, and later when I get home it's too late and am too tired to do anything but bathe and sleep until Sunday when I can finally rest"* (Interview, 19 June 2012).

The sentiments from the domestic workers in the study revealed a general concern for the social reproduction role they were facilitating for their employers at their own expense. As echoed by other respondents, children of domestic workers had fallen prey to instances of

child sexual abuse and early unwanted pregnancies because they as mothers were often absent from the home for prolonged periods and were unable to hire caregivers to watch over their homes like their employers did.

This view was strongly linked to the low salary levels and prolonged hours of work many domestic workers were subjected to, which they blamed for the increased incidences of alcohol abuse, early pregnancies, defilement cases and petty thefts that were rife in the compounds as a result.

"When an employer is kind towards a domestic worker they forget their place and assume they are part of the family. These domestic workers help us maintain our homes but we pay a salary so they should remove the tendency to think we abuse them". (Interview, Diana Mukusekwa 18 June 2012).

The Labour Department equally appealed to the employers of domestic workers to be mindful of the need for domestic workers to have enough time to manage their own homes. As observed by one official from the Department,

> "*employers and citizens alike need to recognize the vital role that domestic workers play in ensuring the economic wheels are kept turning, this sector is quite vast if one considers that practically each household has an average of two domestic workers and this alone demands proper recognition and legislative protection"* (Interview, Mary Gumbo, 23 June 2012).

The above sentiments thus echoed the findings of the study that the importance of the work of domestic workers should be acknowledged and rewarded, their needs recognised and their voices heard.

6.8.1 Domestic Workers Relationships to Employers

The study found that the nature of relations between domestic workers and employers was one that was heavily reliant on aspects of emotional labour and patronage. As observed by Hochschild (2003:7-12) that people use the management of feeling to create a publicly observed facial and bodily display i.e. emotional labour which is sold for a wage and therefore has exchange value and in turn use value. Emotional labour is said to have special relevance to women as it describes their experiences more as traditionally accomplished managers of feeling in private life, women more than men have put emotional labour on the market and they know more about its personal costs.

Domestic workers, especially female domestic workers are thus crafted with this ability to detach themselves from their work and behave in a manner that endears them to their employer, in this case the female boss. The domestic worker / employer relationship is mostly defined by the ability of the domestic worker to conduct and carry herself in a manner that is pleasing to the madam in the way she addresses her and the manner of dressing that depicts the domestic worker in her place as a servant. Employers interviewed in the study revealed a high affinity for what was termed “Christian” domestic workers who were considered more polite and respectful as well as those hailing from the eastern part of the country as they fitted this bill properly as opposed to those hailing from the northern part of the country who were viewed to be “cheeky”.

In a sense therefore, the domestic workers are often aware that it is this somewhat timid and reserved character/behaviour that will make their madams like them and therefore see them as obedient servants who often get privileges such as being able to eat the same food as the owners, watching television and even bathing in the main house before knocking off for the

commuting domestic workers. The employers in the study referred to this type of relationship as one in which the domestic worker was treated as "part of the family".

Elizabeth Malimba an employer from Lusaka noted that "I treat my workers as part of the family and I have even commenced life assurance policies for them so that they are not stranded in the vent of bereavements for instance, they are very hard working and dedicated am totally comfortable with them" (Interview, 4 July 2012). Another employer also noted that his domestic worker was very "reliable" and "disciplined" and that this had earned him a higher salary than what was recommended by the Agency were he recruited him from as he felt the worker was exceptionally reliable.

On the other hand, some employers were not as accepting of their domestic workers noting that they were often too lazy, too stubborn or did not behave as servants should by showing the necessary respect to them as employers. This was echoed by employers who were unmarried as they felt domestic workers did not accord them the same respect they would if they were married simply because the domestic workers themselves were married. What the study revealed was that in terms of emotional labour, both the employer and the domestic workers in this case utilized it to their own benefit.

For the domestic worker, the management of his/her emotions on the job was a strategy to appear submissive and obedient to the employers whims and thus gain their trust and sometimes affection, while as for the employer, the indirect demand for emotional labour was equally strategic as this allowed them to get away with meeting some of their obligations such overtime, leave pay etc. on the basis that they treated the domestic worker as part of the family and thereby like any of the other dependants.

The Labour Department and the trade union however were against the use and reliance on emotional labour in this domestic worker / employer relationship on the basis that it made resolutions of disputes even more complex when neither party could draw clear boundaries between the work relationship and the privileges accorded as a result. Employers in this sense were often left feeling betrayed when a domestic worker they had treated as part of the family reported them to the Department of Labour for breach of their verbal contract and the domestic workers in such cases often withdrew their cases out of supposed embarrassment.

The study also revealed a higher preference by domestic workers to be supervised by the male boss as the female boss was seen as too demanding and too aggressive. The male domestic workers interviewed expressed satisfaction that given the nature of their work which was mainly outside the household, they were rarely supervised by the female boss which was a relief as they often witnessed the female domestic workers being verbally abused by these female bosses. There was however no doubt that the domestic workers were selling their emotional labour and the employers were willingly purchasing this commodity.

The domestic worker / employer relationships observed in the study was best summed up by the observations of Cock (1980:88), who noted in her work that the relationship between employers and domestic workers involved intimate contact, exposure to stained underwear and family quarrels.

Similarly, in many instances the relationship was characterised by formality and rigidity. Servants were treated with extreme reserve, and personal interaction was strictly limited to work situations while as in other cases, the relationship showed a genuine human feeling on both sides, a mutual trust and caring structured on a daily intimacy. However, most relations showed a high degree of paternalism as a dominant aspect of these relations.

6.9 ORGANIZING AND SOCIAL NETWORKS FOR DOMESTIC WORKERS

With regard to the formal recognition and organising of domestic workers, Ally (2009:96) pointed out that the Sectoral Determination Seven as an effort of the State in South Africa to modernize paid domestic work on presumptions of their vulnerability, had overlooked the crucial aspect of an existing intimate work culture; that gave domestic workers a form of power, that was now threatened by this depersonalisation and caused workers to challenge the State's formalization efforts which were seen as extensions of the State's power at the expense of the workers.

This signified the fundamental importance attached to social networks among domestic workers in playing a critical role in the determination of working conditions. Clearly in the case of domestic workers in Lusaka, there appeared to be a synergy between both domestic workers who relay this information amongst themselves and the employers too who rely on this network to avoid negotiating with new employees. This in part would then explain the absence of formal contracts of employment as noted by the domestic workers union, UHDWUZ (2010:2) as often both employers and domestic workers feel comfortable to verbally negotiate and vary the terms of employment based on changing economic indicators.

Furthermore, in Lusaka, these domestic workers networks were very much alive and served to pass on information on the prevailing and acceptable conditions of service amongst the domestic workers. Employers too have tended to rely on this information code as usually they do not belabour to discuss any other details of the employment offer other than salary knowing that the domestic worker has been availed this information from his/her colleagues; who in most cases would have in fact referred him/her to the job in the first place.

This served in part to explain the commonality of conditions of service offered to domestic workers in Lusaka that have a geographic segmentation i.e. certain conditions of service are expected from particular locations / neighbourhoods. For instance, domestic workers working in low density areas such as Kabulonga do in fact not expect to earn the same salary as those working in medium density areas such as Kabwata and similarly for those working in high density areas such as Matero.

It was apparent that these silent codes were heavily relied on in Lusaka and accepted by both employers and domestic workers as normal practice. The Department of Labour was equally shy of admitting that they too would often base their decisions on the amount an employer would ultimately pay an aggrieved domestic worker base on the location of the workplace, i.e. the home.

In terms of trade union membership for domestic workers, the lack of time off, lack of freedom and fear of employers or authorities, especially for live-in and migrant workers, means that the usual / conventional organising strategies are often ineffective. Hopefully, with the enactment of the ILO Convention 189, domestic workers globally now have an opportunity to bring their demands to the fore and Zambia is still yet to adopt this Convention which the domestic workers union the United House and Domestic Workers Union of Zambia (UHDWUZ) hope will serve to align the legislation with international best practice and eliminate some of the glaring contradictions contained in the current legislation.

For instance, the Union referred to the maternity leave provision which is unpaid at 120 days in the domestic workers legislation as grossly unfair in light of Zambia being a signatory to the ILO Convention on maternity protection which stipulates the provision and protection of women's paid work during maternity leave among others.

Similarly, as was the case in Ghana, Tsikata (2011:19) equally noted that the position of domestic workers would be strengthened by their self-organization, advocacy on their behalf by civil society actors, and laws to regulate domestic work. An illustration of this is the initiative by the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union's (ICU), which is one of the seventeen national unions of the TUC of Ghana, the first to organize domestic workers. This is in addition to the LAWA-Ghana project to promote recognition and respect for the rights of domestic workers whose objectives include, among other things, the identification of problems with the employment of domestic workers and the advocacy of formalizing the employment relationships between domestic workers and their employers.

Bonner (2010:4) in agreement, noted that joint solidarity efforts with established social movements could be beneficial for domestic workers, stressing that domestic workers have proved to be a group of mostly unprotected workers that have been able to garner some support from the trade union movement, focused around their struggle for legal protection and an international convention on domestic work. For instance, the International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC), together with the Bureau for Workers' Activities (ACTRAV) of the ILO, was at the forefront in promoting the inclusion of Decent Work for Domestic Workers on the agenda of the International Labour Conference (ILC).

In Zambia, the UHDWUZ has also sought to partner with the domestic workers employment agencies under the auspices of ILO support to strengthen collaboration through a memorandum of understanding wherein the agencies would be used as entry and access points for the dissemination of information packs containing legislative and domestic workers rights materials. The arrangement according to the Union was necessitated by the logistical challenge of finding the domestic workers once they were placed for employment in the various homes after which access was virtually impossible due to various restrictions.

Globally, efforts to mass organise domestic workers saw the formation in September 2008 of the first Interim Steering Committee of the International Domestic Workers‟ Network (IDWN), this emerging Network provides an unusual, and probably unique, model of international organising.

The Global Union Federation, the International Union of Food, Agricultural, Hotel, Restaurant, Catering, Tobacco and Allied Workers (IUF) agreed to provide an organisational base for, and facilitate the development of, a "mixed" network of domestic workers‟ unions, associations and supportive organisations without requiring affiliation by the unions involved. Additionally, early on in its development the Network saw the need to provide a direct voice for domestic workers, both within its internal operations and externally in negotiating and advocacy forums (Bonner, 2010:13).

Lastly, the fact that domestic workers have no natural employer counterpart for collective negotiations is cited as the reason for exclusion both from labour law and from trade unions. This applies to other groups of informal/unprotected workers, and finding or creating a negotiating counterpart and engaging in negotiations, is an important and empowering strategy.

However this is slowly changing as more countries are beginning to either form complete domestic workers unions or incorporating the domestic workers into existing trade union set ups. Similarly in Zambia, efforts are underway to form a domestic worker employer association, separate from the federation of employers that will act as the negotiating body for domestic worker legislation revisions and inputs.

The sentiments from the study in Lusaka on the matter of enforcing the constitutional right of domestic workers to belong to a trade union are likely to gain more ground based on the fact

that the Ministry of Labour is now fully under the charge of former trade unionists, which gives hope to the domestic workers that their desire to join the trade union will finally come to pass and they too can have formal representation recognised by Law.

6.10 CONCLUSION

The above chapter presented a descriptive analysis of the nature of domestic work in Lusaka, the perceptions, experiences and challenges of the domestic workers in terms of their working conditions and the consequent perceptions of employers, trade union officials, employment agencies and the labour department towards the conditions of service prevailing in the domestic workers sector in Lusaka.

The chapter additionally captured the responses of domestic workers to remedy some of these challenges through participation in social networks. In the next chapter, the researcher discusses the gendered experience of domestic work based on the data collected in the study.

CHAPTER SEVEN

POWER AND COUNTER POWER – DOMESTIC WORKER'S RESPONSES

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The Chapter examines the power relations within the domestic worker / employer relationship as well as some of the responses to this for instance through domestic workers networks. The domestic service in Lusaka like elsewhere in the world is mainly characterised by majority women that hail from less privileged parts of our society, are less educated, possibly orphans themselves and maybe looking after other orphans within their households. For the domestic workers interviewed in the study, the major drive towards seeking this type of employment was poverty and lack of alternative employment. It may therefore be correct to suppose that very few domestic workers are in fact working in this sector because they want to or have a form of passion for the job.

Domestic workers consequently viewed themselves as powerless in that they were rarely able to resist the dominance and demands of the employer for fear of losing their jobs. The high unemployment levels observed in the two compounds, Kalingalinga and Mtendere whereby as early as 9am, both men and women were seen patronising the many local taverns dotted in almost every street symbolized the desperateness with which the domestic workers lucky to have these jobs exhibited. It was a case of accepting that the lower paying and often exploitative jobs were much better than nothing at all.

Similarly, in the case of the employers, sentiments expressed on their choice to hire the services of domestic workers bordered mainly on the need for child minders while they went off to work and occasionally a cleaner and someone to do the laundry on their behalf.

These were tasks that employers ordinarily felt they could manage on their own but due to work commitments necessitated the payment for hired help. Therefore, what was distinct about these two separate views was that the one (domestic worker) was in desperate need to find money in exchange for their time and services and the other (employer) was in desperate need for this available time at a price. The employer in this case had the unfair advantage of not only resource availability but the privilege of choice from the large reserve army or labour from which the domestic worker belongs.

Furthermore, the implication of the above sentiments was that employers exhibited a general lack of appreciation for the work that domestic workers performed on the basis that these were routine tasks that they themselves felt they could very well perform if time were available. Similarly, the researcher observed a somewhat consenting view from some of the domestic workers who in their expression of powerlessness in this working relationship did not seem to appreciate that their work had any meaningful impact on their employers ability to maintain and sustain their own working lives in other sectors. This was more distinct for those domestic workers employed in homes where young children were absent.

In the case of the domestic workers tending to employers children, the view was totally different from both ends. The employers felt the child care services were important especially those employing live in domestic workers, and similarly these domestic workers felt a measure of appreciation from their employers when they were able to for instance calm a ranting child who would not listen to his/her mother's plea to behave themselves.

As one of the domestic workers said to the researcher, "my madam is not a very nice person to work for and she verbally abuses me sometimes but I stay for the sake of the two children whom I have cared for from birth, these kids respect me and obey me. The madam cannot cope alone with her children when am not there and even when she has to travel out of town with them she takes me along with the family. It is just as well I have no children of my own otherwise I do not know how I would manage to separate myself, am almost a second mother to these children" (Interview, Stella, 28 June 2012).

The above illustrated that domestic workers were not always at the receiving end and did command a certain level of power over their employers. As also observed by Hondagneu-Sotelo (2001:138-139), most employers generally find it awkward to explicitly state their expectations when they hire a domestic worker, the domestic worker would thus maintain autonomy on how to do the chores/tasks. Furthermore, employers will most likely expect that the domestic worker is fully conversant with what has to be done and when this is not achieved as per their expectation. They tend to criticise the domestic worker telling them what they should have done only after the work has been done and this tends to come out in the form of harshly phrased commands or angry ultimatums.

The above assertions served to explain the notion held by domestic workers in the study that employers, notably the female employers or "madams" as they were referred to were very difficult to deal with and were constantly shouting , screaming or sometimes even verbally abusive no matter what the domestic workers did, it just never appeared good enough for the madam. As one of the domestic workers in the study lamented

> *"my madam is very difficult, she works at a busy place so she often leaves home very early, I report to work an hour before she leaves but she will usually not tell me anything as she rushes out and most of the times she returns very late and I*

am forced to walk home in the dark after 7pm as I cannot make the mistake of asking her for a K3000 for transport as she will lash out at me that I have been home all day while she went out to work and I did nothing! This hurts me because she does not consider that I will have cleaned, washed, ironed, cooked and fed and bathed her daughter in that time that she was away from work so I don't understand what else she expects me to do?"(Interview, Milika Chongo, 28 June 2012).

In looking at the magnitude of this power that employers wield over domestic workers, Cock (1980:74), stated that the one major form of such power that employers wield against domestic workers is the threat of instant dismissal, which in turn significantly contributes to the vulnerability of domestic workers. This assertion was confirmed by the responses from domestic workers in the study who indicated that often despite them being fully aware of the provisions of the law or access to both the police and the labour department in cases of exploitation, the widespread unemployment levels in the compounds that perpetuated desperate living conditions greatly inhibited them from taking action and instead resorting to ignore and simply wait for the salary and hopefully a new job.

I didn't go very far in school as my parents were too poor, so I ended up doing this work. It has its good days and bad days. I hardly get any rest and the floor where I sleep is too hard, I have no privacy &nowhere to safely keep my few belongings in their children's room which we share. I don't like this job, the madam shouts at me all the time she is never satisfied with anything I do. But the kids are really nice. I keep this job only because the pay is good. (Interview, Mutinta Mulenga, 28 June 2012).

7.2 EMPLOYER – EMPLOYEE POWER RELATIONS

Power in this sense was defined as the ability to get what one wants, and is associated with individuals and their personal resources, further, power is seen as a set of processes whereby one party (be it an individual, group, institution or state) can gain and maintain the capacity to impose its will repeatedly upon another, despite any opposition, by its potential to contribute or withhold critical resources from the central task, as well as by offering or withholding rewards, or by threatening or invoking punishment (Radtke and Stam, 1994-3:110). This definition agreed with the sentiments expressed in the study by the domestic workers that employers were able to exert this control or power over them simply because they can pay the much needed salaries which often are the only source of income for these domestic workers.

The issue of power and domestic workers response to this through resistance of one form or another has been widely debated by many authors in this context, (Cock, 1980; Hansen, 1989; Gaitskell, 1983; Rollins, 1993; King, 2007) and it is widely accepted that the employer does not in fact have the monopoly of power nor the workers a monopoly of resistance as power and resistance coexist and constantly reassert themselves against each other. This view according to Constable (1997:11-15) therefore entails that domestic workers too often wield an amount of power within this relationship which they express in form of accommodation, discipline and docility.

Domestic workers for instance show resistance by dragging their feet, being insolent as well as playing tricks to avoid certain household rules / tasks. This was confirmed by one of the employers, Aggie Chileshe in the study who noted “I have often come home unexpectedly to find my maids lazing about watching Nigerian movies on Digital Satellite Television (DSTV)

with the house still un-cleaned and the babies not yet bathed, they just appear to be busy when you are around and once you leave there's nothing that they do" (Interview, 4 July 2012).

Furthermore, it is widely held that employers are able to exercise power over domestic workers through the demand for particular personality traits that enable them to be able to dominate the domestic worker. These may include factors such as age, religion, marital status, tribe, education level and even gender in some instances. Results from the study in this regard indicated that employers will usually seek those traits in a domestic worker that make them "obedient, respectful or mature".

As observed by one manager from a domestic worker employment agency, most employers if married with children sought older, married domestic workers as these are deemed capable of better child care and do not pose a threat to the stability of their marriage, while as employers without children will usually opt for younger domestic workers whom they can easily give instructions and reprimand and this will not be seen as disrespectful, as would be the case if a younger employer reprimanded an older domestic worker. In a sense therefore, employers do carefully select traits in the domestic workers that reinforce their inferiority and therefore make it much easier for them to be able to manage these domestic workers, or exert power over them as the case may be.

"Fellow employers will agree with me that domestic workers working for single/unmarried employers are often not very respectful especially the male domestic workers. Also, female domestic workers that are married and working for unmarried employers are problematic and disrespectful the levels of defiance are often higher plus gossiping about the employer" (Interview, Diana Mukusekwa, 5 July 2012).

Most employers interviewed agreed that it was easier to deal with younger domestic workers. Furthermore, it was widely believed that unmarried employers were better off employing unmarried domestic workers as the opposite often led to the domestic workers being disrespectful or insolent simply because they felt a certain level of accomplishment at being married unlike their employer. This was also true in the case of employers without children employing domestic workers with children on the basis that cases have been known were the domestic worker ended up having a child with the male employer and generally disrespecting the female employer who was unable to have children.

The above sentiments followed the views of Constable (1997:106-107) who observed that often employers, especially female employers tended to become jealous when they realised their children were getting attached to the domestic workers and this was a source of tension. Further, women tended to be insecure about working and leaving their children and housework to someone else as this gave them a feeling of their position in the family being undermined. This was worsened if the domestic worker was younger and attractive as the women worried about their husbands causing them to be not only jealous but hostile as well.

7.2.1 Domestic Work: A Lived Experience

The researcher was privileged to have spoken to one such a domestic worker who in the process of her work had a child with her male employer whose wife was unable to conceive for a number of years. The young lady narrated to the researcher how the madam would deny her permission to take her sick child to the clinic or stay at home and nurse the child simply out of jealousy as she confidently stated.

"The madam would get upset with me each time I spoke of my child to the gardener and I didn't understand this because it wasn't my fault she didn't have any children of her own. In the end the boss started protecting me and telling her to stop always shouting at me for no apparent reason". Eventually he proposed to me and we had a child, a baby boy. I don't regret this as at least now I have my own house (a two roomed house) and he gave me money to start a business as you can see I sale wigs and other things but I also started work again for a white couple this time they are very nice people" (Interview, Stella Manda 28 June 2012).

The researcher further learnt that the young lady had forcefully moved herself to this employers residence forcing the wife to leave her marriage but later after family intervention it was resolved she be rented the said house and given money for a small business while the wife returned to her home. The narrative above thus depicts the co-existence of power and resistance as earlier noted. It was therefore not a given that domestic workers will always be at the receiving end of the power struggle in this relationship. They too sometimes took it upon themselves to assert some level of control over their circumstance even if this could be in a negative way but it served to remove the domestic worker from being a mere victim.

Furthermore, as observed by Cock (1980:99-100), relationships between domestic workers and their employers are intensely paternalistic with the implications of firstly consigning the worker to a dependant and powerless position and secondly generating a sense of power and superiority in the employer. Thus the instances such as the one depicted above further indicate the vulnerability that domestic workers are often faced with at the hands of seemingly more powerful employers who are able to purchase the dignity of the domestic worker by abusing this authority through exploitation of the poverty and powerlessness of the domestic worker especially the young and unmarried females.

Because of the paternalistic nature of this type of affair, the domestic worker was often unable to detect the aspect of abuse in such a sexual relationship and will usually attempt to justify it based on the material benefits they are able to derive from such arrangements. According to the trade union president, Kevin Liywali,

> *"such cases are usually difficult to prosecute by the police even when a complaint is made by the spouse as there is a case of consent which sometimes overlooks even the age of these girls as most of them are relatively young and clearly vulnerable as a result of the poverty they are faced with and so employers take advantage of them in this way" (Interview, 19 June 2012).*

7.2.2 The Domestic Worker as Part of the Family

Additionally, another way in which employers exerted power over domestic workers was through paternalistic or maternalistic tendencies that lead employers to place the domestic worker under their control through actions such as displays of kindness, gifts/ rewards and so forth that evoked an emotional obligation by the domestic worker to toll the employer's line as a show of gratitude. The most common of this was the tendency for employers to treat domestic workers as "part of the family" and thus assume a form of parental control over them, especially in the case of live-in domestic workers.

As noted by the domestic workers interviewed, most employers in Lusaka forbade their workers from wearing any skirts or dresses that exposed their legs, they are not to wear make-up and must at all times cover their hair whilst on duty while others even went to the extent of insisting the domestic workers stop bleaching their skins – a very popular trend observed among young female domestic workers.

In agreement with the above assertion, Parreñas (2001:187) argued that the myth of domestic workers being treated "like one of the family" is simply an act of benevolent maternalism as employers will tend to for instance give domestic workers gifts as a tactic of control even though domestic workers have gained from such gestures. Further, when employers grant favours, make promises and give gifts, the employees become ensnared in a web of debt and obligation that masks considerations of the employee's rights thus gift-giving is simply another employer tactic for keeping wages low and for extracting additional unpaid labour from the employee. Further, Cock (1989:101-102) equally observed that the gifts by employers to the domestic workers helped to cement their loyalty and reinforce the hierarchical nature of the relationship between them. It however could not be denied that this could as well often be the sincere generosity of employers.

7.2.3 Domestic Workers: Helpers or Employees

The majority of employers complained that they already did "so much" for their domestic workers aside from paying them salaries; such as availing them food, free electricity and water for those living in, some are allowed to knock off or stay away when the employer is on short leave, or allowed to knock off earlier than the stipulated time when the domestic worker had other commitments, Christmas bonuses, passing down of old clothes or food in some instances for the domestic workers family when in need and so forth. Therefore it felt justified for these employers that the domestic workers should instead show gratitude and not begin to press for higher wages than what they were currently obtaining especially that the government had not for instance reduced taxes or awarded civil servants any salary hikes to warrant the adjustment in domestic workers' wages.

One of the employers, of non-Zambian origin insisted that he had been "very good" to his domestic workers and even assisted him with school fees for his children whenever the need arose, he further was very helpful in providing material assistance whenever his domestic worker had a family bereavement for instance by offering transport for mourners, charcoal/firewood, mealie meal bags and even cash sometimes. He therefore strongly felt that even though he was paying his domestic worker below the minimum wage, the assistance, food and other incentives greatly compensated for this and he therefore expected that his domestic worker should be very grateful. It was therefore, from the researchers' perspective not as easily defined a line between an employer's generous gestures and their need to wield control over their domestic workers.

Furthermore, as an Assistant Labour Officer at the Labour Department observed, the tendency for employers to treat domestic workers as part of the family, other than not being a defence before the law, often turned sour when the domestic workers went ahead to report cases of exploitation on grounds such as unpaid overtime allowances, delayed salaries and so forth to which the employers when summoned usually reacted very emotionally as they deemed such acts as betrayal and displays of ungratefulness or greed on the part of the domestic workers. Hence, Tamala Nakulela, Senior Labour officer's counsel that it was more beneficial for employers and domestic workers alike to simply treat each other as strictly "employer and employee" and abide by the agreed terms of this contract.

The trade union too was agreeable that there was need for employers and domestic workers to strive to maintain a more professional relationship as this would help in the enforcement of appropriate legislature covering the terms and conditions under which domestic workers were to be engaged.

Union general secretary Oscar Cheupe observed that this would also make it easier for domestic workers to be able to highlight instances of non-compliance by employers when they were able to be emotionally detached from the employers as are workers elsewhere.

7.2.4 Intimate Spaces: Domestic Workers and Employers

It must however be noted that often times it was the nature of the environment within which domestic workers operate, that is, within the home that will perpetuate this "like one of the family" syndrome. As observed by Elizabeth Malimba an employer from Lusaka who has since bought insurance policies for her domestic worker, she justifies this action saying "my worker is very reliable and has been diligent through the years, I wanted to make sure that he was catered for in the event of a funeral for instance and I don't regret this at all" (Interview, 4 July 2012).

Another employer Diana Mukusekwa stated that while it was better to keep the relationship professional, the cultural nature and orientation often dictated that one goes an extra mile to show appreciation or to make the domestic worker feel at home and not like ordinary hired help considering that they were intimately linked to their household and shared everything including the same space. She further added, "there's nothing wrong with giving a domestic worker your old clothes for instance, what matters is encouraging and keeping open communication lines so that there is mutual respect and full understanding of job expectations" (Interview, 5 July 2012).

The ambiguities of intimacy in domestic work, especially where child care is involved is therefore according to Ally (2010:98-99) among the more potent sources of the peculiar exploitations of paid domestic work, structuring its unique architecture of dependence and exploitation.

For some domestic workers, these unavoidable personal and intimate relationships with their employers become strategic resources for informally negotiating their conditions of work.

Similarly, the domestic workers in the study were indignant that such gestures even though acceptable and often appreciated especially in the case of old children's clothes, school bags and shoes; were however not supposed to prevent the employer from fulfilling their obligations towards them. As one young female domestic worker lamented,

> "*my employer is very kind and she often gives me her used weaves (artificial hair extensions) and kitchen things she doesn't need anymore, sometimes when she travels out of the country she also buys me a shoe or a watch but the problem is she constantly reminds of these gestures whenever I ask her for a raise or even simple things like transport allowance when I knock off late sometimes. She says am ungrateful but that's not true, my home is just too far to walk back when it's dark*" (Muleta Monica, 28 June 2012).

"I find that older domestic workers are a challenge to supervise if they are older than the employer as they do not see the boundaries of employee-employer. Perhaps the union needs to educate the domestic workers to be more appreciative of their employment given the high unemployment levels in this country" (Interview, Diana Mukusekwa, 5 July 2012).

On the other hand, some domestic workers did not seem to think these gestures of kindness from their employers were a mask for exploitation. These category of domestic workers were notably those in the higher income bracket and reported that their employers gave them left over food, used clothes and shoes and in some instances even offered them salary advances to pay for their bills on agreed flexible repayment terms.

As noted by one of the domestic workers Anne Mpanza,

> "*I have worked for my employers for the last five years and all three of their children were born while I was working there so I am very close to them. My madam relies on me and trusts me with the children even when she needs to travel out for work or other commitments; I think that is why she is kind to me in this way. I don't think it's because she wants to exploit me because they pay very well even though money is never enough but I get by and they treat me with a lot of respect*" (Interview, 21 June 2012).

These two scenarios therefore entailed that there was clearly a distinction underlying these gestures from employers and classifying them as a mask for exploitation was not necessarily accurate. Hondagneu-Sotelo (2001:208-209) offers a plausible explanation for this, stating that these gestures of kindness from employers can indeed be viewed in two ways.

On the one hand, is the employers maternalism, which underlines deep class inequalities between employers and domestic workers situating the domestic worker as needy, deficient and childlike and does not accord the domestic worker any dignity or respect. On the other hand, is personalism, which is a two-way relationship even though it is still asymmetrical. In personalism, the employer explicitly recognises the domestic worker as a person worth dignity and respect and therefore strives to maintain a mutually respectful working relationship even though most employers would still maintain a certain level of impersonalisation. Further, although personalism alone is not sufficient in the absence of decent work conditions, its presence ensures that domestic work is not experienced as degrading work in addition to its ability to limit the levels of employer power and in turn flexibility to control domestic workers.

Incidentally, at the time of the study, the government was in the process of revising the minimum wage upwards as fulfilment of the campaign promises upon which the new government had been elected. While one would expect that the domestic workers would be pleased with such news, the respondents in the study expressed mixed feelings with most of them opting that the status quo be maintained and instead a revision be made that looks to offering them other benefits such as social security, medical and funeral facilities.

These sentiments could be expected in Lusaka were the average domestic worker already earned above the existing minimum wage of K250 000 and additionally many feared that an adjustment in the minimum wage would either stall their salaries or compel employers to begin to offer less than they were currently paying or indeed increase their workload; for instance through combination of housework and gardening work. However, what this also implies is the desire for domestic workers to be considered as employees and not just hired help obtaining a wage for the hours they put into their work at the month-end.

The domestic workers, like other workers elsewhere needed attendant conditions of service as stated by Judith Chilabi a domestic worker from Mtendere, "salaries are important but can never be enough, we need to have NAPSA (National Pension Scheme Authority) in place or savings accounts were both the worker and employer contribute monthly so that in the event of problems or termination one has something to fall back on before another job comes along or even in retirement" (Interview, 19 June 2012).

Anne Mpanza also added,

> "*What we need most as domestic workers is medical assistance. Most people are sick these days and it is very expensive to buy medicines which are rarely available at the clinic. We also need paid maternity leave, funeral assistance even just transport and*

some cash to help you manage and also allowances such as overtime transport for working late are important" (Interview, 21 June 2012).

According to both the Trade Union and the Labour Department, the government was addressing these concerns through for instance the enactment of the Domestic Workers Order Act (2011) which was a beginning and needed to be continuously improved upon to take into account the basic needs of domestic workers as the sector became more visible in the legislative sphere.

The enactment of the first ever legislation specifically covering the domestic service is therefore a milestone and a stepping stone towards the recognition, appreciation and regulation of the sector for the country considering that the sector has been in active existence since the early colonial years and was only ever recognised under the Masters and Servants Ordinance, first enforced in North- Western Rhodesia (Barotseland) in 1908 and extended over the amalgamated territory in 1912, amended 1913 and 1925 and was modelled on similar legislation in Southern Rhodesia (Hansen, 1986:60-61).

This law as was expected during its time was highly paternalistic and shroud in racist class intricacies based on black and white, master and servant relations. The domestic workers under this law were regulated under very punitive rules which would see them fined or imprisoned with or without labour for breaches of contract. There is thus a marked difference with the new legislation that has attempted to restore a sense of worth for domestic workers and has made further attempts at ensuring decent work for domestic workers even though much still remains to be improved upon. What was however important is that the domestic workers should no longer work at the pure mercy of the employer but that they too can now have a form of leverage to obtain fair reward for their skills / services.

"Things are getting better for us now in this work that we do, when I started work years ago it was either what the employer offered or nothing. The coming of this law has at least given our employers a wake- up call that we too are workers and have needs just like they do. The law is especially important to deal with those employers that have no value for our services and want to pay degrading salaries and sometimes even payments in kind. I hope that the government will listen to us and improve this law to make it more beneficial for us" (Interview, Judith Chilabi, 19 June 2012).

The study revealed that this preserve of power did not only rest with the employers in a household but often extended to their dependents; who equally assumed and exerted this power and dominance over domestic workers, a trend that was notably worrying for the domestic workers Union. The Union was emphatic that even in the absence of the law, there was need for employers and their dependants need to be sensitised on treating domestic workers as human beings.

As stated by Oscar Cheupe the General Secretary "most of these homes are run entirely by the domestic workers but no respect is shown towards them which is sad. Apart from under-paying them, domestic workers are often verbally and physically abused which needs to be addressed" (Interview, 18 June 2012).

Furthermore, it came to light during the course of the study that most respondents in the study believed that local or Zambian employers tended to treat domestic workers with much more respect and flexibility as compared to non-Zambian employers.

This was mainly attributed to the fact that in most instances employers tended to employ domestic workers who hailed from their own cultural background, that is, similar tribes.

On the other hand, non-Zambian employers were viewed as strict, more easily abusive and often very formal supposedly on the basis of language barriers which often limited communication to instructions and orders with very little casual or familial talks. Non-Zambian employers were at the same time negatively cited on observance of working hours as they sometimes kept domestic workers beyond midnight while they attended functions and other commitments with no additional overtime paid to the domestic workers who were mostly live in workers.

The Labour Department and the Trade Union alike shared the above views noting that a number of cases were reported often of such instances as noted; however these cases often went unresolved owing to the complications of handling such non-Zambian employers when they had diplomatic status and therefore had immunity protections. As for most foreign employers reported for abuse / exploitation, the cases were usually referred to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Department in charge of Labour issues. The Trade Union however stated that this was not always helpful as often such employers would eventually leave the country even before the matter was disposed of. The Labour Department was however quick to add that often foreign employers usually emulated the local employer's manner of handling domestic workers and equally began to treat domestic workers in the same manner.

The researcher was further informed that in terms of exploitation cases reported at the Labour Department, local employers ranked highest. Furthermore, the study revealed that the Labour Department had dealt with a number of instances were non-Zambian employers of a named origin have been reported by neighbours or passers-by for locking up domestic workers in their homes when they go out for work or weekends which poses a health and security risk

for such workers; this is in addition to lack of provision of food and protective clothing. The Department however noted that accredited diplomats had a much cleaner record and rarely ever got reported to the Department for labor disputes.

7.3. DOMESTIC WORKERS RESPONSES TO CHALLENGES

"I worked for over 15 years as a domestic worker until I could not withstand the exploitation and decided to start my own business (Recruitment Agency) so that I can impart my skills and knowledge of the sector to others looking to join the sector. It's a very tough sector and not for the faint hearted. One needs to have a purpose to stay in it. For me I managed to educate my three children before I finally gave up. The amount of abuse both verbally and physical is enormous, domestic workers are not seen as equal human beings by the employers" (Interview, Judith Chilabi, 19 June 2012).

Like many other low paying jobs, domestic work is wrought with instances of poor working conditions and all sorts of exploitation as alluded to in previous chapters, but this work is still done and still very much sought after by both men and women unable to seek any other form of incomes. The domestic workers agencies interviewed in the study attributed the huge influx of job seekers to their centres on daily basis as one of the reasons training programs had been suspended as the costs were increasingly becoming unmanageable in the given circumstances.

Similarly, the Labour Department and the Trade Union alike noted that despite the increasing number of cases of exploitation brought to their attention, more and more men and women still joined the sector and sometimes the same domestic workers continuously reported such cases from one employer to the next, but they never left the sector.

Sentiments expressed during the field work indicated that this form of work was for most the only type of available work through which they could gain incomes and so despite the challenges, they opted to stick it out in the hope that a new job would soon come along and they would move on, possibly to a better or worse employer.

This trend goes on for most of these employers until eventually one finally quits and either goes into self –employment, selling some merchandise at home or at the market or like most have done, opens up a domestic worker recruitment agency in the compounds.

However, what was significant for these domestic workers in Lusaka was the solidarity network existing within the compounds. It was in fact these very networks that ensured the success of the research field work as the researcher was able to rely on this network to find particular respondents desired for the study. These domestic workers networks in the compounds work in two ways; the serve as information sources as well as information outlets.

"Just because we don't have domestic workers groups which meet openly like the marketeers do for instance does not mean we don't talk among each other, we meet in the compounds and exchange information about which areas pay well, what type of employers are good to work for, what to do to please the madam and even learn how to cook and clean from each other. This is the only way to survive as a domestic worker as most employers do not have time to coach you and just shout when you do not perform well" (Interview, Anne Mpanza, 22 June 2012).

Employers for instance were able to know what ideal conditions of service are payable to which type of domestic service that is, live-in, commuting, part time, babysitting and so forth based on the information from these networks passed on by the domestic workers themselves.

This was particularly evidenced during the research findings that revealed a close uniform pattern arrangement in terms of conditions of service offered by the employers. The researcher learnt that particular areas/ locations attracted particular conditions of work.

For instance areas such as Kabulonga, Ibex Hill that are low density areas and mostly accommodated the affluent in society attracted higher wages of as much as K1 200 000 per month, while as medium density areas such as Long acres, North mead would attract salaries in the range of K600 000 and high density areas such as Kabwata, Libala attracted salaries of between K350 000 – K450 000 depending on whether the residence was in the council area section or the site and service section.

Domestic workers accepting salaries below these "stipulated" ranges were not just frowned upon but openly castigated back in the compounds and would be labelled "muzungu ani konde" (white man's bootlicker) a term that is very popular from the colonial days when domestic workers from the Eastern province were much preferred to the others on the basis of their servitude and humble unquestioning conduct even when the conditions of service were very exploitative. It is therefore similarly taken for granted especially by employers that once a domestic worker is employed they are conversant with what is expected of them and this too like the conditions of service are rarely fully discussed. As stated by one employer

> "*I asked my gardener to find a maid and told him how much I was willing to pay. When the lady was brought I simply asked her if they had discussed the salary with my gardener and she agreed, next she was getting into her uniform after I showed her around the house and explained what stays where and who sleeps where- that was it*" (Interview, Peter Edwards 26 June 2012).

The silence that domestic workers exercised when faced with exploitative conditions of work was peculiar to both genders. Domestic workers interviewed felt that there was not much they could do to change their situations and the best was to search for new work or hope that the government, as was being anticipated would come down heavily on the employers and compel them to abide by the set legislation and allow domestic workers for instance to join the trade union.

Cock (1989:103) in discussing this silence stated that it was a non-committal attitude by domestic workers and also one of their most effective weapons against their masters who have all the instruments of power on their side, a fact both were fully aware of. The silence was further seen as a form of rebellion and a crucial mode of adaptation enabling the servant to maintain their personality and integrity, engendered by their powerlessness that blocked any overt expression of dissatisfaction.

Employers spoken to in the study were well aware of this silence and saw it as a hindrance to effective communication. As noted by one employer, Aggie Chileshe,

> "*I find it annoying that the domestic workers prefer to gossip about their employers when they are disgruntled about something instead of discussing the matter with you. Also, this habit of rushing to the Labour Department and revealing private and sometimes embarrassing matters in order to discredit the employer is a very bad habit which only serves to widen the communication channels between employers and domestic workers*" (Interview, 4 July 2012).

These sentiments were echoed by most of the other employers who similarly felt that the openness of discussion would help improve domestic worker / employer relations as often domestic workers worked on assumptions for instance when an employer purchased a new

car they immediately felt an increase was necessary for them without realising the car could be on lease or on loan. Instead the domestic worker might start to have attitude in their work and generally appear disgruntled without directly communicating their grievance.

"We are not allowed to eat their food or use their tables to sit and eat our food "from outside" as though we will contaminate them and yet they leave us to clean, wash and cook for them and their children. It doesn't make sense to me. As soon as I get a job in a shop am quitting this work. I can't talk to my employer about this as she has a sharp temper, one day she even slapped the garden boy for buying the wrong things at the market" (Interview, Monde Mavis, 28 June 2012).

What was clear from the field work interviews with domestic workers was that the fear of joining the trade union due to threats of victimisation or dismissals from the employers had nonetheless not impeded the domestic workers to share solidarity among themselves.

It was further revealed during the researcher's interviews with domestic workers found reporting cases at the Labour Department that either a colleague had pushed them to report the dispute or had in fact accompanied them to the Labour office for moral support. These seemingly isolated acts of solidarity were in fact much more prevalent within the compounds and served as valuable sources of information as well as job prospect avenues as most employers often relied on domestic workers working for either friends or family members to help find them a worker as this was seen as a more reliable reference system since "someone knew the domestic worker".

According to Parreñas (2001:194-195), the individual acts of resilience or struggles expressed by domestic workers are often rooted in the collective consciousness of a shared struggle among domestic workers and that when they do complain, it is often probable that they had heard or articulated those same complaints to another domestic worker before they did so to their employers . These shared experiences of domestic workers going on as they conduct their day to day work was referred to as the "hidden transcript"; that is, the ability of the weak to develop a consciousness of collective struggle.

This discourse occurs behind the scene away from the observation of the powerful, in this case, while the employers are at work or back in the compounds at the days end.

Furthermore, as alluded to earlier in the chapter, it is this "hidden transcript" of domestic workers that provides them an opportunity to share their collective struggles and experiences of dominance, establish standards of wages, evaluate the fairness of their working conditions, validate suspicions and finally garner the strength to disobey the script of the dominant order.

These alternative forms of collectivism or organisation by domestic workers have existed from years back when the domestic workers under colonialism formed alliances with the miners for instance and went on strikes to press for better working conditions at a time when trade unions did not yet exist to champion these causes (Hansen, 1989:69). It is therefore worth noting that while most of the domestic workers appeared unsatisfied with their respective conditions of service, there was a feeling of acceptance of these conditions on the basis that the same was prevailing for their colleagues. The fact that domestic workers limited their comparisons to only fellow domestic workers within their respective work stations could be attributed to the seemingly low demands they sought from the legislation revision process that was on-going at the time of the study.

As observed by the trade union President Kevin Liywali, “the ideal adjustment would be something closer to the food basket needs as this is indicative of the average cost of living for a family of six in Lusaka. But the domestic workers many of whom have even larger families than this do not earn even half of the projected figure which leaves them in perpetuating destitute conditions”. Therefore, the domestic workers owing to their own self perceptions as uneducated and therefore deserving of lowly paying informal sector jobs in fact ended up under bidding their own services notably through the “hidden transcript” system that was very alive among them.

For most of the domestic workers spoken to in the study, there’s was a case of appreciating any job that came along so long it provided an income and hope was continually placed on a better paying job and nicer employers coming along one’s path. Nonetheless, the alternative networks could be said to be effective as noted by the domestic workers in the study for the purposes of avoiding employers short changing conditions of service to new domestic workers especially the younger domestic workers who were often targets of more exploitation according to the domestic workers, on the basis that they were seen as having less responsibilities being dependents themselves in most cases, and therefore ought to be paid less than the older domestic workers with their own homes.

Therefore the networks in this case were safety nets for domestic workers entering the sector for the first time, in addition to serving as a grievance channel through which domestic workers vented their frustrations with their various employers.

7.4 CONCLUSION

The Chapter examined the aspect of power exerted by employers over domestic workers owing to their vulnerability and powerlessness. Among the factors noted were that this power can be in the form of maternalism which was viewed as more degrading to domestic workers by placing them in a child- like position and that of personalism which when coupled by the adherence to acceptable conditions of work served to restore the dignity and respect of domestic workers, especially those involved in child care work. In this sense, the chapter took a critical analysis of the gestures of kindness that employer's exhibited towards domestic workers often as a guise to mask the exploitation that was rampant within the household set-up.

The Labour Department was fully aware of these challenges that domestic workers faced in the privacy of the household that served as their workplaces and to this effect were producing and airing a program on both radio and television in vernacular that was aimed at discussing some of the common challenges faced by domestic worker as per letters of complaints and requests for advice sent into the program. Senior Labour Officer Tamala Nakulela stated that the program, known as 'chintobentobe" (literally translated as "any other business" in the local Bemba dialect) was widely followed and discussed an array of legislative issues and invited workers especially the non- represented workers to participate and by phoning in, texting or writing into the problem. Additionally, Nakulela informed the researcher that plans were underway to decentralise the Labour Department so as to enable it reach more workers within the communities where they resided in order to raise legislative consciousness to curb abuse and exploitation.

The domestic workers union, UHDWUZ, was equally cognizant of the existence and importance of the alternative networks of domestic workers within the compounds and attributed this to the stifling of their rights to freely join the union by the employers. As stated by Kevin Liywali, "the government is undoubtedly the largest employer of domestic workers as almost all civil servants and officials engaged service od domestic workers within their homes and they therefore they needed to show political will towards bringing decent work to this sector" (Interview, 19 June 2012).

Liywali further suggested that one of the ways this could be done would be by setting up a domestic workers desk at the Ministry of Labour that would specifically deal with vastly growing sector and that this would send a strong signal to the public that domestic workers needed to be respected as workers.

The researcher further learnt that plans were underway to formulate a domestic workers employers association that would be able to bargain for conditions of service for domestic workers with the trade union as representatives of the domestic workers so as to harmonize conditions in the sector and make meaningful strides towards achieving decent work standards. Unfortunately, according to the union, the federation of employers were reluctant to support this association as it would usurp their role as employers' representative- even though this was unfounded as domestic workers employers were individuals while as the federation's members were whole institutions / firms. It was hoped that the government would positively intervene in ensuring this association was formulated.

On the part of the domestic workers, their solidarity towards each other was exhibited through the existence and active operation of the social networks that were inter-linked between the compounds and through which information was sourced and passed on among the domestic workers.

It was apparent from the discussions held with the domestic workers that these social networks were more than just information sources but also served, through the comparison mechanism, to assure the domestic workers that their problems or challenges were in fact not unique or exclusive but shared across the sector thereby giving them a sense of collectiveness in the pursuit of improved conditions for domestic workers.

As noted by Anne Mpanza,

> "*things are slowly improving because now even the employers are becoming aware what salaries and conditions of service are acceptable depending on the area they are coming from and even when they negotiate downwards, the domestic workers will accept to work only until they can find another job and move on, that is why you find some domestic workers not lasting on the job. Eventually such employers get tired of hiring new domestic workers and just pay the going rates*" (Interview, 22 June 2012).

Clearly, these social networks are having an impact on the sector, which cannot be ignored.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The study examined the working experiences of domestic workers from their own perspectives in a sector that still largely receives very little recognition for its importance in the continuing economic and labour cycle. The immediate response obtained from discussions with the domestic workers is a sense of self-defeat towards their situation. This is in similar to the findings of Cock (1980:26) that domestic workers are essentially an extremely insecure group of workers, lacking fundamental worker's rights and working for long hours at extremely low wages for employers who are often indifferent to their welfare; which exploitation is "suggestive of slavery".

The research was conducted in two compounds, Kalingalinga and Mtendere between 18th June 2012 and 8th July 2012. A total of forty three (43) interviews were conducted of which twenty eight (28) constituted domestic workers, further broken down into 18 females and 10 males; three (3) government officials from the labour department, two (2) trade union officials and three (3) employment agencies.

Other secondary data was collected through content analysis of relevant documentation such as trade union documents, which included the Memorandum of Understanding, entered into with Domestic Workers Agencies, the Code of Conduct for Domestic Workers, and newspaper clippings on the revised minimum wage pronouncement as well as legislative instruments such as the Minimum Wage Act (Domestic Workers) Order – 2011. Others included Ministry of Labour Inspection Reports, Government publications on informal sector employment and ILO reports on domestic workers and minimum wages.

From the findings of the study, it was evident that despite the legislative recognition of domestic workers in Zambia since 2011, a lot still remains to be done in terms of domesticating the law to the private households which form the work places for domestic workers. Until then, challenges of compliance with the legislation and continued exploitation of domestic workers based on their vulnerability will persist. As aptly observed by Grossman (2011:139), even though it can be imagined that domestic service can with sufficient political will be removed from the privatised individualised employment relationship and become socially recognised as an essential public service, the massive social, economic and political implications of this action remain a challenge.

8.1 FINDINGS FROM THE LITERATURE REVIEW

Through the literature reviewed the researcher observed that domestic work in the context of the domestic labour debate is increasingly becoming a global phenomenon and gaining more recognition for the important role this form of work plays in the capitalist structures of accumulation, reproduction of labour power and its market exchange (Cock, 2011:4). The research revealed that domestic workers in Lusaka are faced with a contrast of definition of their work engendered by the lack of job descriptions, which has led to instances of exploitation as job tasks or expectations are not clearly defined.

The definitions contained in the Zambian legislation (Domestic Workers Order, 2011) and that in the ILO Convention 189 on Domestic Workers (2011:10) both somewhat differ on what constitutes job content for a domestic worker. The literature therefore indicated the evolution of roles for Zambian domestic workers post- independence (Hansen, 1986:60) but also reveals that domestic workers are often employed for dual purposes and not necessarily as distinguished by either the national legislation or ILO Convention 189 cited above.

In terms of the lived experiences of the domestic workers in Lusaka, the responses from the research respondents were able to be situated in the literature on domestic workers that looked at several factors that are characteristic of this type of work. One of these factors included the role of domestic workers in the social reproduction cycle within the domestic labour debate (Bezanson and Luxton, 2006:3) and how this work mostly done by women often went unrecognized, undervalued or neglected despite it being so crucial to the maintenance of working- class households and continuity of daily and generational reproduction of labour.

This literature was especially important in explaining how the domestic workers in Lusaka found themselves at the mercy of employers in terms of poor working conditions engendered by the existing high unemployment levels which created desperation for employment and in turn compromised the bargaining ability for better or improved conditions of service.

Other factors found to be influencing the experiences of domestic workers from the point of view of the literature included the aspect of emotional labour as noted by Hochschild (2003:7) which played a key role in establishing the means for exploitation and abuse of domestic workers on the premise their work was separated from their persons thereby making them trapped in emotions of self-pity and unable to speak out against their employers exploitation even when they had legislative backing as is the case in Zambia. These feelings of self- defeat, acceptance, powerlessness or accommodation as noted in the literature in turn gave impetus to the employers to exert often undue power over the domestic workers (Rollins, 1993:335-343) ensuring that a class division based on domestic workers servitude was maintained at all time.

Furthermore, the literature revealed that even though both male and females were active participants in domestic work in Lusaka, the sector was now predominantly female unlike the colonial periods when the males formed the majority of domestic workers. Literature reviewed in this regard indicated that in terms of lived experiences, female domestic workers by virtue of their disposition to work as live in domestic workers and child minders as well often faced more instances of exploitation and abuse from employers. On the other hand, the study revealed that there was no gender pay gap in Lusaka in terms of the salaries offered as uniform rates were paid across the gender divide based on what type of work the domestic worker was engaged for that is, gardening, driving or housework.

In terms of literature on surrounding the legislative protection of domestic workers as regards conditions of service and minimum wages, it was noted that despite existing efforts to ensure that domestic workers were recognized under the legislative apparatus, these laws were either often inadequate or lacking regulatory mechanisms for compliance (ILO, 2007:22-23) making them mostly inoperable especially in environments were large reserve armies of labour were prevalent. In this regard, domestic workers notably resorted to social networks that acted as benchmarks for acceptable conditions of service (Parreñas, 2001:194-195) and general expected etiquette in handling different types of employers in order for one to maintain their employment.

The literature additionally revealed that these networks have proved to be very effective in the absence of trade union organizing as most domestic workers are faced with high job instability and hence avoid joining trade unions in order to remain in the employer's good books. It was additionally the researcher's observation that despite the legislation and grievance procedures for domestic workers being easily accessible, most employers did not in fact care to learn about these issues and often were caught unawares when a disgruntled

domestic worker reported them to the Labour Department for a violation or abuse of the terms of engagement.

It can therefore be noted that domestic workers in the study appeared to have more knowledge of the existing legislation and attendant procedures, possibly attributed to the effective social networks, than did the employers. This aspect was especially escalated owing to the absence of formal contracts of employment at the point of recruitment. Employers and domestic workers relied on verbal contracts whose terms were often passed on from the employer to the domestic worker through either the recruitment agency or the middle person introducing the domestic worker to the employer. Needless to say this lack of formal contracts is cited as an avenue for exploitation (Herriot, 2001:42-45) as the terms are often vague, shrouded in emotions, assumptions and presumptions and often resulting in arbitrary violations and abuse.

8.2 FINDINGS FROM THE STUDY

Qualitative data was collected through the use of interviews with the research sample of respondents as prior noted. The responses from the respondents obtained through both structured and semi structured interview schedules were then recorded in Microsoft Word Folders, this data was later analysed by classifying it into categories using themes and concepts. The study revealed that domestic workers in Lusaka although faced with a number of challenges in terms of attaining decent work standards in their conditions of service were however not entirely victims and in most instances were able to bargain or obtain wages far above the rates set in the minimum wages legislation through reliance on the strong social networks in place within their compounds.

In relation to the aim of the study which was to explore the experiences and working conditions of domestic workers in Zambia, and in turn the study's objectives, that is,

i. To understand the sociological profile of domestic workers (gender, class, biographical and employment history).
ii. To explore domestic workers' experiences, working conditions, relationship with employers and responses to the challenges they face.

The following findings are accordingly noted: Firstly, in terms of the sociological profile, domestic workers that participated in the study revealed the following characteristics worth noting: The findings revealed a higher proportion of female domestic workers as compared to males and of the total sample majority of the domestic workers fell in the age range of 36-50 years confirming the general preference for older domestic workers as opposed to younger ones by the employers.

In terms of marital status, the study revealed that majority of the female domestic workers were widowed and similarly more females than males were married. On the male respondents, majority had never married. This information was in tandem with the findings of the research which indicated that a lot of female domestic workers were at the same time in the bracket of female headed households with a high number of dependents, mostly attributed to the HIV/AIDS disease burden.

On the other hand, the higher rate of male domestic workers indicated as never married is equally indicative of the current trends of employing young energetic males for garden work and drivers as opposed to older less energetic men- even though these were preferred by non-Zambian employers especially on the basis of loyalty and the drive to fend for their families which gave them an apparent added sense of responsibility.

The study further indicated an overall low level of education attainment amongst the domestic workers with the majority not having gone past primary school. A very small number had entered secondary level but none past the first level exams at grade nine. These low levels of education according to the research findings were as a result of hardships and poverty that made it expensive to purse education. Many of the younger domestic workers both male and female indicated that they had to quit school upon the death of either one parent or both which was commonplace in the compounds.

The domestic workers occupations mainly consisted of gardener, maids and child minders. The main types of domestic work consisted gardening, housekeepers/maids and child minders. As regards length of service, the study revealed that domestic workers in Lusaka rarely kept the same job for prolonged periods due to the poor working conditions which kept the domestic workers moving from one job to the next in search of better conditions. As such, majority of the respondents interviewed had only been in employment for between 1-3 years, followed by 4-6 years and the least being those between 7-10 years and 10 years plus respectively. This trend is characteristic of the precarious nature of domestic work, which did not often offer long term sustained employment. Most of the domestic workers indicated having worked in part time work such as washing clothes and ironing from one place to another before chancing more semi -permanent employment ; that of a domestic worker.

The study revealed that majority of domestic workers were recruited through personal referrals by fellow domestic workers further indicating the importance attached to domestic workers social networks which were very rife in the compounds.

The referral system was also heavily relied upon by employers who had a preference to employ a domestic worker "known" by a fellow domestic worker working for either their friends or colleagues.

The study revealed that this referral system was very useful and the most reliable manner to obtaining knowledge of existing vacancies and wages being offered. Additionally, the social networks functioned as a form of "bargaining council" were-in domestic workers agreed amongst themselves what conditions to expect and accept in a given area or location if one were to be employed there.

The study further revealed that domestic workers were not given any formal contracts of employment and that conditions of service, job descriptions and salaries were verbally communicated. This was no different with those employed through the Agencies as only the employer and the Agency would sign a contract; to which the Domestic Workers also appended her/his signature even though a copy was not availed. However, the study revealed that those domestic workers employed through the agencies earned much higher salaries in comparison and these were above the existing minimum wage.

Additionally, the study indicated that male domestic workers were not employed as live – in domestic workers mainly due to challenges of accommodation prior alluded to and were instead preferred for outside the home work such as gardening. On the other hand, the female respondents indicated a general dislike for live-in work citing higher instances of abuse from employers ranging from poor sleeping conditions (made to sleep on the floor), verbal or mental abuse and sexual abuse in some cases. The high rate of married domestic workers also made commuting work more preferable as this allowed the domestic workers co-manage their homes after work and during off days.

Lastly, of the total domestic workers that participated in the study, only two belonged to the trade union even though majority were fully aware of its' existence. The researcher learnt that most domestic workers shunned the trade union for fear of victimization and job termination by their employers who did not condone them associating with the trade union.

Finally, in terms of experiences of domestic workers, the study's findings indicated that despite being employed by different employers under different circumstances their experiences and working conditions were homogenous to a very large extent. Domestic workers in Lusaka faced similar challenges mainly as a result of the intensity of their "hidden transcripts" that is the social networks that served as measures of acceptable standards within the sector, which even though conducted away from the employers knowledge were nonetheless heavily relied upon by the very employers too. It was evident from the findings that to a large extent, conditions of service prevailing in Lusaka were uniform depending on the location of the employers house that is, low, medium or high density.

The study equally revealed challenges of abuse and exploitation pertaining mostly with live-in domestic workers who were subjected to excess working hours and were often victims of verbal and sometimes physical abuse. The fact that literacy levels were very low among the domestic workers and given the high levels of unemployment were seen as contributing factors to the vulnerability of domestic workers which additionally inhibited their ability to either bargain for or question their conditions of service. The majority of domestic workers interviewed desperately wanted the government to improve the existing legislation and firmly enforce its compliance so as to compel employers to offer decent work conditions and allow domestic workers to freely join the trade union.

Additionally, the research findings indicated that the mushrooming of domestic workers agencies was a concern to the domestic workers who implored that they be regulated as they were allegedly charging high recruitment fees while not offering any training or support in the event the domestic worker faced challenges with the new employer. This revelation was voiced despite the fact that these agencies in most instances demanded better conditions of service for the domestic workers in comparison to those in the existing legislation. Lastly, the major form of response to their challenges noted from the findings was the use and reliance on the social networks. It was through these networks that domestic workers for instance got information on how and where to report cases of abuse and exploitation such as unpaid wages, physical or sexual abuse and so forth. Within the very networks, domestic workers were able to do comparatives of their conditions of service as well learn of job openings from each other.

8.3 CONCLUSIONS

The lived experiences of domestic workers in Lusaka did not vary in great detail from domestic workers elsewhere globally, notably, it was clear from the research findings that challenges such as those engendered by race, migration and ethnicity that plague other global domestic workers were not a factor in this case. However, it was evident that given the existing legislation and the wide access to information both through print and electronic media, there was a general lapse notably on the part of employers to acquire this information, which coupled by the lack of formal contracts and job descriptions led to a break -down in communication resulting into high instances of exploitation on the part of the domestic workers.

Zambia for instance had formulated and enacted the minimum wage legislation covering domestic workers conditions of service well ahead of the ILO Convention 189 on the same but to date this legislation was still widely unknown by its key stakeholders.

In light of the above, the following conclusions are made with regard to the study's research questions:

8.3.1 What is the sociological profile of domestic workers in contemporary Zambia?

Domestic workers in Lusaka were predominantly female at two thirds of the sample even though both male and female were engaged as maids/house helps and gardeners with similar rates of pays and conditions of service. Further, the domestic workers had markedly low levels of education, high numbers of dependents and majority of the females were widowed. The researcher further attributed the limited numbers in length of service to the precarious nature of the sector which necessitated domestic workers to constantly change jobs in search of improved conditions of service or better employers.

8.3.2 What are the experiences and responses of domestic workers to their working conditions?

The fact that nearly all domestic workers that participated in the study presented similar challenges such as non-payment of allowances for overtime, transport, lack of provision of food, lack of medical and funeral assistance, restrictions on joining the trade union, in some cases lack of leave entitlement and lack of contracts or job descriptions was indicative of the pattern or uniformity of conditions of service prevailing in Lusaka possibly arising out of the leakages from the domestic workers "hidden transcripts" or social networks. The researcher observed that employers too appeared to have some form of network through which applicable conditions of service for domestic workers were discussed.

The fact that domestic workers comparativeness was limited to their fellow domestic workers only could be a limiting factor in this case as it entailed a silent acceptance of prevailing conditions of service as "normal" on the basis that everyone else was obtaining the same, a factor that clearly worked to the advantage of the employers.

Further, isolated cases of sexual abuse were revealed in the course of the study and these were mainly dealt with through the victim support office at the Police stations. The researcher observed that in instances where the domestic worker was consenting to such acts they seldom reported the matter unless they were denied salaries or threatened to be denied the salary if they refused to end the resulting sexual affair. However, in the case of non – consenting sexual advances made against the domestic workers, these were readily reported even though it was revealed that usually the cases did not get exhausted as complainants were often offered cash settlements to withdraw such cases.

Nevertheless, it was evident from the study that domestic workers were likely to continue experiencing challenges resulting from the exertion of control by employers as long as they remain powerless victims without realisation of the crucial role that their services play in the system of capital accumulation and labour reproduction. The observed trend of docility, passivity and accommodation in the form of self-discipline as cited by Constable (1997:200-201) prevents these domestic workers from asserting their rights as a means to avoid losing their incomes.

8.3.3 What is the role of stakeholders such as government, employment agencies and the trade union in protecting the rights of domestic workers?

In terms of the Labour Department, the research findings indicated that their role was primarily that of dispute resolutions in the event of non-compliance to the existing legislation. Admittedly, while part of the role of the Labour Department was the dissemination and enforcement of the minimum wage legislation as well as compliance inspections, the Officers interviewed clearly stated this was not currently feasible, not only due to logistical hurdles given the private nature of homes with regard to issues of accessibility as well as the geographical expanse but also the financial constraints with regard to provision of information. However, the Department has embarked on a local language television and radio program in a bid to mitigate this challenge.

The researcher further observed that there was little or no collaboration between the Labour Department and the Trade Union or the various recruitment agencies entailing that the three agents worked in isolation for the same cause, which could have an impact on low levels of legislative compliance sighted in Lusaka. The Department however duly recognised the respective roles the two stakeholders played while stressing that agreements entered into at the agencies or trade union remained subservient to the main laws of the country. However, it still stands out that the Labour Department is instrumental in the crucial aspect of diffusing the amount of power that employers can exert on domestic workers by being able to bring to book erring employers.

The role of the state through the legislation in outlawing instant dismissal, and the Departments ability to consistently curb this is a significant change for domestic workers as this act was both disruptive and inhumane as observed by Ally (2009:72-73), similarly the recognition that the legislation and the work of the labour department contribute towards

removing the invisibility of domestic workers, which has been a mode of control by employers, has helped restore dignity and respect to the sector. Therefore, the role that the labour department plays and still has to play in ensuring that domestic workers attain levels of decent work in their conditions is of much significance.

The employment agencies on the other hand, from the findings of the research could best be credited with advancing better conditions of work for domestic workers in comparison to those contained in the legislation. In nearly all instances, the salaries pegged by the agencies were two or three times those in the legislation even though the agencies had no follow up mechanism to check if these wages were sustained once the placement had been made. The agencies interviewed in the study admitted they had ceased training programs for domestic workers owing to the high influx of job seekers and merely have "pep talks" to the domestic workers prior to a placement on general conduct and etiquette such as personal cleanliness, time keeping and respect for the employer.

Incidentally, despite the majority employers preference to recruit domestic workers known by other domestic workers either working for family or friends, a large number of placements were still made through these centres, which in turn explained the large presence of these agencies in nearly all streets of the two research cites, Kalingalinga and Mtendere. These agencies, which the research revealed are in fact registered under normal businesses, are playing a crucial role in enhancing the plight of domestic workers through improved conditions of service, at least at the point of placement. Hondagneu – Sotelo (2001:112-11) notes that domestic employment agencies though part of the formal sector of the economy are involved in the procurement of job placements for an important part of the informal economy, in the process though they do not determine, they nonetheless shape employment practices.

Lastly, the trade union, in this case the UHDWUZ which was the only domestic workers union in Zambia undoubtedly had a mammoth task on its agenda. Discussions with the union officials indicated that currently the union was plagued with challenges of recruitment and organising domestic workers in Lusaka owing to logistical problems as well as the "recruit and fire" syndrome that had become characteristic of the sector wherein employers tended to dismiss domestic workers upon their joining the union. Notably, the trade union unlike the labour department had not just recognised the critical role that agencies played in this sector, but had gone a step further to engage the agencies in a bid to utilise them as access points for the dissemination of key information to both employers and domestic workers.

The researcher observed that despite the many activities and plans of the trade union, as long as the legislation was not strengthened enough to protect domestic workers from victimization when they attempted to associate with the trade union, these efforts and plans were in vain. The Union President, Kevin Liywali was insistent on this fact stating "the govt. needs to recognise the difficulties of the sector and make deliberate policy decisions to inform this, otherwise employers will keep bringing in young relatives from villages to replace domestic workers as the minimum wages continue to rise, which will be a huge problem in terms of human trafficking". Liywali further added, "A lot of work needs to be done by the government in improving the existing legislation to make it better aligned to the ILO Convention 189 on domestic workers so that it can for instance address the crucial aspects of live-in domestic workers whose circumstances are unique compared to commuting domestic workers" (Interview, 19 June 2012).

It was evident from the findings of the study that domestic workers and even sections of employers were hopeful that the trade union would act to regulate the relationship between employers and domestic workers as mediators as well as channels of worker education which

was critical given that majority of the domestic workers were uneducated and lacking in basic employee etiquette as observed by both the trade union and the employers alike.

8.3.4 What is the role and experience of employers with domestic workers and legislative compliance?

The study's findings revealed that employers in Lusaka were mainly concerned with the lack of training of domestic workers which they attributed to their often below par performance. While a few were pleased with the domestic service they were paying for, the majority of the employers were generally unhappy at the low standards of work. Employers further indicated that domestic employment agencies often purported to train these domestic workers hence the recent increase in preference for domestic workers from the said agencies but this had turned out a fluke and employers felt duped into paying higher salaries in comparison with the stipulated minimum wages for domestic workers that were untrained in addition to the risk factor attached to them being unknown or lacking credible referees.

Further, employers noted that often domestic workers were quick to accept terms of employment at the point of recruitment but as soon as they settled into the job, they would become disgruntled and begin to give the employers attitude and other acts of defiance and disrespect out of frustration with the wages, which they willingly accepted. Cases of theft or pilfering of groceries and food items, poor time keeping, absenteeism and familiarity were some of the challenges that employers cited with the domestic workers.

Additionally, with regard to the minimum wage legislation, employers in the study were satisfied with the provisions as nearly all were in fact paying wages above the set minimum wage. Discontent was only expressed on the 120 days unpaid maternity leave provision for female domestic workers that would have worked for two consecutive years.

Employers observed that this leave if granted for this period would inconvenience their households as they would require hiring a temporal replacement since the law was clear that such a domestic worker still retained the job whilst on maternity leave.

It was the researchers observation that majority of employers had very little knowledge of the actual contents of the legislation and instead relied on the social network leakages to gauge condition of service prevailing in their respective localities. Most of the information accessed was evidently from the on-going discussions, programs and interviews in both the print and electronic media regarding the impending revision of the minimum wage Act which had at the time of the study generated widespread countrywide interest. Interestingly, majority of the employers were receptive to the idea of labour inspections visiting their home as well as encouraging their domestic workers to join the trade union- even though this was not the same sentiment obtained from the domestic workers.

The observation of the assistant labour officer from the Labour Department are thus valid when he stated "most employers in Lusaka are very pleased with the existing legislation as it requires them to pay less than was the case before it when we relied on the employment act applicable to even formal sector employees that are non-represented". Similarly, the trade union President echoed these sentiments, stating:

> "*the domestic workers engaged as drivers are currently being handled as though they were civil servants even though their interests are not advanced or tabled by any civil service union as they fall outside their membership which creates a conflict of interest as these types of workers, drivers, are more prevalent in the homes of government officials, C.E.O's (Chief Executive Officers) and the well do to but are outside the law and at the mercy of these employers*" (Interview, 19 June 2012).

From the above findings, it was evident that employers of domestic workers had taken advantage of the inadequacies of the minimum wage legislation to lump all domestic services into one regardless of job weight and were paying uniform wages, which according to the trade union was a violation in itself. These sentiments helped the researcher to contend the intense apprehension and resistance expressed by majority employers towards the government's pronouncements to revise the minimum wage legislation as it suited the employers very well in its current form.

8.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

It is recommended that the government enforce the rights of domestic workers to belong to the trade union in order for them to have representation and access to requisite training and information on their rights as workers in order to contain their feelings of powerlessness and vulnerability. In order for this to be effective, the trade union's capacity will also require to be enhanced through better recognition from the line ministry through the Labour Department as well as financial, material and technical support from relevant organizations such as the International Labour Organization.

Additionally, there would be need to ensure that the employment agencies were registered under the ministry of labour so as to be able to regulated in their work and prevent them from further exploiting the domestic workers through the arbitrary placement and training fees when in fact the training was not offered though billed. Lastly, domestic workers stand a better chance at being recognized as workers and not just house helps if they would be given formal contracts of work stipulating their job expectations and conditions of service, which contracts would be legally binding between the employers and the domestic workers.

Undeniably, employers require the services of domestic workers to enable them to pursue other activities outside the home in as much as domestic workers need these jobs in order to earn much needed income for their survival. The challenge therefore rests with all stakeholders concerned, impelled by the government's commitment and political will, to ensure basic tenets of decent work as enshrined in the Zambia Decent Work Country Chapter and indeed the ILO Convention 189 on the rights of Domestic Workers to which Zambia is a signatory are attained for domestic workers in Zambia.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ally, S. (2009). *From Servants to Workers: South African Domestic Workers and the Democratic State*. Natal: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.

Archer, S. (2011). "*Buying the Maid Ricoffy*": Domestic Workers, Employers and Food. South African Review of Sociology, vol.42, no.2, pp.66-82.

Babbie, E.R. (1986). *The Practice of Social Research*. 4th Edition: Wadsworth, Inc.

Babbie, E., and Mouton, J. (2001). *The Practice of Social Research*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bakker, I. and Gill, S. O. (2003), *Power, Production and Social Reproduction: Human In/security in the global political economy.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Bell, J. (1993Z). *Doing Your Research Project*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Bezanson, K., and Luxton, M., (2006). *Social Reproduction: Feminist Political Economy Challenges Neo-Liberalism.* Ithaca: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Blumenfeld, E., and Mann, S., (1980), *Domestic Labour and the Reproduction of Labour Power: Towards an Analysis of Women, the Family and Class,* in Fox, B., Hidden in the Household: Women's Domestic Labour Under Capitalism, Toronto: The Women's Press.

Bonner, C. (2010). *Domestic Workers around the World: Organising for Empowerment*, Paper prepared for the Social Law Project Conference, 7-8 May 2010, Cape Town, Exploited, Undervalued – and Essential: The Plight of Domestic Workers, WIEGO Publications. [Online]. Available from: http://www.dwrp.org.za/images/stories/DWRP_Research/chris_bonner.pdf [Accessed on]: 27 March 2012.

Briskin, L., (1980) *Domestic Labour: A Methodological Discussion,* in Fox, B., Hidden in the Household: Women's Domestic Labour Under Capitalism, Toronto: The Women's Press.

Bujra, J., (2000). *Serving Class: Masculinity and the Feminisation of Domestic Service in Tanzania.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press Ltd.

Burawoy, M., (1998) *The Extended Case Method*, Sociological Theory, American Sociological Association, vol.16, no.1, pp.5-33.

Chacko, E. (2004). *"Positionality and Praxis: Fieldwork Experiences in Rural India"*, Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography, vol.25, no.1, pp.51-63.

Chaim, N. (2008). *Sampling Knowledge: The Hermeneutics of Snowball Sampling in Qualitative Research, International Journal of Social Research Methodology, vol.11, no. 4, pp. 327-344.* [Online]. Available from: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13645570701401305 [Accessed on: 1October 2012].

Chen, M.A., Jhabvala, R., and Lund, F., (2001). *Supporting Workers in the Informal Economy*: A Policy Framework, Paper prepared for ILO Task Force on the Informal Economy, WEIGO Publications. [Online]. Available from: http://weigo.org. [Accessed on: 27 March 2012].

Chen, M.A. (2011). *Recognizing Domestic Workers, Regulating Domestic Work*: Conceptual, Measurement and Regulatory Challenges, Canadian Journal of Women and the Law, vol.23, no.1, pp.167-184. [Online]: Available from: http://utpjournals.metapress. com/content. [Accessed on 14vMarch 2012].

Chigunta, F. (2001). "*Enterprise Activities of Youth in the Urban Informal Sector in Lusaka and the Institutional Framework for Promoting Youth Enterprise Development"* [Online] Available from: http://idl-bnc.idrc.ca/dspace/bitstream/10625/33599/1/118498.pdf- [Accessed on 3 October 2012].

Clarke, V., and Braun, V. (2006). *"Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology",* Qualitative Research in Psychology, vol.3, no.2, pp.17-101 [Online] Available from: http://www.informaworld. com/smpp/content . [Accessed on 14 March 2012].

Cock, J., (1980). *Maids and Madams, A Study in the Politics of Exploitation*. Ravan Press.

Cock, J. (2011). "*Challenging the Invisibility of Domestic Workers"*, South African Review of Sociology, Journal of the South African Sociological Association, vol. 42, .no.2, pp.132-133.

Cock, J. (2012). *Marxism & Feminism*. Unpublished.

Connell, R.W. (1993). "*The Big Picture: Masculinities in Recent World History"*, Theory and Society, vol. 22, no. 5, pp. 597-623.

Connell, R.W. (2005). "*Hegemonic Masculinity – Rethinking the Concept",* Gender and Society, vol.19, no.6, pp.829-859.

Constable, N., (1997), *Maid to Order in Hong Kong*, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.

Counihan, C.M., (1999) *The Anthropology of Food and Body: Gender, Meaning and Power*, New York and London: Routledge.

Denzin, N.K., and Lincoln, Y.S., (2000). *Introduction: The Discipline and Practice of Qualitative Research*. In N.K Denzin and Y. Lincoln (Eds.), Handbook of Qualitative Research (2nd Ed.), Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

De Sousa, A. (2010). *Moving towards Decent Work for Domestic Workers – An Overview of the ILO's Work, Geneva: ILO Publications*. [Online]. Available from: http://www. ilo.org/ publns. [Accessed on 14 March 2012].

Dey, I., (1993). *Qualitative Data Analysis*. London: Routledge.

Elson, D., 2007, "*Macroeconomic policy, Unemployment and Gender Inequality",* in J.A Ocampo and K.S Jomo (Eds.) Towards Full and Decent Employment, United Nations, New York, NY.

Fakier, K., and Cock, J. (2009). "*A Gendered Analysis of the Crisis of Social Reproduction in Contemporary South Africa", International* Feminist Journal of Politics, vol.11, no.3, pp.353-371.

Fox, B., (1980) *Hidden in the Household: Women's Domestic Labour under Capitalism*, Toronto: The Women's Press.

Gaitskell, D., Kimble, J., Maconachie, M., and Unterhalter, E., (1983). "*Class, Race and Gender: Domestic Workers in South Africa",* Review of African Political Economy, vol.27, no.28, pp.86-108, Women, Oppression and Liberation. [Online]. Available from: http://www.jstor.org/stable4005601. [Accessed on 14 May 2012].

Gershuny, J., and Man, Y.K., 2010, *Gender Segregation and Bargaining in Domestic Labour: Evidence from Longitudinal Time-use Data*, in Scott, J., et al, Gender Inequalities in

the 21st century: New Barriers and Continuing Constraints, (Eds.), Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited.

Giddens, A. (1983). *Central Problems in Social Theory*: *Action, Structure and Contradiction in Social Analysis*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Grossman, J. (2011). "*Venturing Beyond: Domestic Work as Essential Public Service"* South African Review of Sociology, Journal of the South African Sociological Association, vol. 42, no.2, pp.133-141.

Hansen, K.R. (1986). "*Domestic Service in Zambia"*, Journal of Southern Africa, vol.13, no.1, pp. 57-81, [Online]. Available from: http://www.jstor.org/stable/2636676. [Accessed on: 14 May 2012].

Hansen, K.R. (1989). *Distant Companions: Servants and Employers in Zambia,* 1900 – 1985, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Hansen, K.R. (1990). *"Domestic Trials: Power and Autonomy in Domestic Service in Zambia"*, American Ethnologist, vol.17, no.2, pp. 360-375, [Online]. Available from: http://www.jstor.otg/stable/645085 [Accessed on: 14 May 2012].

Hansen, K. R. (1997) *"Keeping House in Lusaka".* New York: Columbia University Press

Hobden, C., 2011, "*Reversing a History of Exclusion through International Labour Law",* in Pons-Vignon, N., (eds.), There is an Alternative: Economic Policies and Labour Strategies beyond Mainstream, Geneva: ILO Publications.

Herrera, G., (2008) *Managing migration: reproducing gendered insecurity at the Indonesian border*, in Bakker, I., and Silvey, R., Beyond States and Markets: The Challenges of Social Reproduction (Eds.), Abingdon, Oxon, [England]; New York: Routledge.

Herriot, P., (2001) *The Employment Relationship: A Psychological Perspective*, Hove, East Sussex: Routledge.

Hochschild, A.R., (2003). *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling*. Berkeley California: University of California Press.

Hoffer, F., (2011). "*International Labour Standards: An Old Instrument Revisited"*, in Pons-Vignon, N., (eds.), There is an Alternative: Economic Policies and Labour Strategies beyond Mainstream, Geneva: ILO Publications.

Hondagneu-Sotelo, P., (2001) *Domestica: Immigrant Workers Cleaning and Caring in the Shadows of Affluence*. Barkley. Los Angeles. London: University of California Press.

International Domestic Workers' Network Newsletter, October 2011, [Online] Available at: http://wiego.org/resources/idwn-newsletter-Oct-2011 , [Accessed on: 17/03/12].

ILO. (2000). *ILO Convention 183 on Maternity Protection.* [Online] Available from: http://www.ilo.org/global/standards/subjects-covered-by-international-labour-standards/maternity-protection/lang--en/index.htm. [Accessed on: 3 October 2012].

ILO. (2000). *Zambia Decent Work Country Program 2007* – 2011. [Online] Available from: http://www.ilo.org/public/english/region/afpro/lusaka. [Accessed on: 14 March 2012].

ILO (2007). *Labour and Labour – Related Laws in Micro & Small Enterprises: Innovative Regulatory Approaches.* [Online] Available from: http://www.ilo.org/publns. [Accessed on: 14 March 2012].

ILO (2010) *International Labour Conference, 99th Session, 2010* [Online] Available from Available from: http://www.ilo.org/publns. [Accessed on: 14 March 2012].

ILO (2011). *ILO Convention 189 on the Rights of domestic Workers.* [Online] Available from: http://www.ilo.org/ilolex/cgi-lex/convde [Accessed on: 17 March 2012.].

Khunou, G., (2006), *Maintenance and Changing Masculinities as Source of Gender Conflict in Contemporary Johannesburg*, Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand Thesis.

King, A.J. (2007). *Domestic Service in Post- Apartheid South Africa: Deference and Disdain*, England: Ash Gate Publishing Limited.

Lindell, I. (2010). *Africa's Informal Workers*, *collective agency, transnational organizing in urban Africa*. London New York: Zed Books.

Maccoby, E.E., 1987, *Masculinity / Femininity: Basic Perspectives*, in Machover, J. R., Rosenblum, L.A., and Sanders, S., (Eds.), New York: Oxford University Press.

Minimum Wage & Conditions of Employment (Domestic Workers) Order 2011 – Republic of Zambia.

Mohun, S., and Himmelweit, S., (1977) *Domestic Labour and Capital*, Cambridge Journal of Economics, Vol.1, pp. 15-31.

Moore, H.L., (2007) *The Subject of Anthropology: Gender, Symbolism and Psychoanalysis*, Cambridge, UK; Malden, MA: Polity.

Morrell, R., and Richter, L., (2006) *Baba: Men and Fatherhood in South Africa* (Eds.), Cape Town, South Africa: HSRC Press.

Neuman, L.W., (2000), *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. (4th Ed), Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Oakley, A. (1974). *The Sociology of Housework*. New York: Pantheon Books

Parreñas, R.S. (2001). *Servants of Globalization: Women, Migration and Domestic Work*, Stanford California: Stanford University Press.

Peil, M., (1993). *Situational Variables.* In Social Research in Developing Countries: Surveys and Censuses in the Third World, M. Bulmer and D.P Warwick (Eds.), London: UCL Press.

Pires, R. (2008). *Promoting Sustainable Compliance:* Styles of Labour Inspection and Compliance outcomes in Brazil, (Cover story), International Labour Review, vol.147, no.2, pp. 199-229.

Punch, J., (2000), *Developing Effective Research Proposals*. California: Sage.

Rao, G. P. (2009). *An Investigation into the Poverty among Domestic Maids in Lusaka, Zambia*. [Online] Available from: http://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/35717. [Accessed on: May 2012].

Radtke, H. L., and Stam, H.J., 1994, *Power / Gender: Social Relations in Theory and Practice,* London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Rollins, J. (1993). "*Deference and Maternalism" Feminist Frameworks, in Hochschild, A.R., The Managed Heart: Contemporary Issues through the Lense.* [Online] Available from: http://www.csus.edu/indiv/c/chalmersk/ECON184SP09/ManagedHeart.pdf . [Accessed on: 15 May 2012].

Saunders, M., Lewis, P. and Thornhill, A. **(**2003). *Research methods for business students.* (3rd Ed). Harlow: Financial Times/Prentice Hall.

Shuler, S., and Sypher, B.D. (2000). *Seeking emotional labour: When managing the heart enhances the work experience*. Management Communication Quarterly, vol. 14, no.1, pp. 751-789.

Stephenson, G. M., and Hartley, J. F. (1992). *Employment Relations, the Psychology of Influence and Control at Work*. Oxford UK and Cambridge USA: Blackwell Publishers.

Silvey, R., and Bakker, I. (2008). *Beyond States and Markets: the Challenges of Social Reproduction*. London and New York: Routledge.

Simatele, D.M. (2010). "*Climate Change Adaptation in Lusaka, Zambia: A Case Study of Kalingalinga and Linda Compounds",* Global Urban Research Centre Working Paper #6 [Online]. Available from: http://www.sed.manchester.ac.uk/research/gurc/ documents/ GURC_wp6_web.pdf - . [Accessed on: 1 October 2012].

Tsikata, D. (2011). (a), *Employment Agencies and the Regulation of Domestic Workers in Ghana*: Institutionalizing Informality?, Canadian Journal of Women and the Law, Project MUSE, vol.23, no.1, pp.213-233, [Online] Available from: http://muse.jhu.edu/>. [Accessed on: 14 March 2012].

Tsikata, D. (2011). (b), *Domestic Work and Domestic Workers in Ghana*: An Overview of the Legal Regime and Practice, Geneva: ILO Publications. [Online].Available from: http://www.ilo.org/travail/whatwedo/publications/WCMS. [Accessed on: 14 March 2012].

United House & Domestic Workers Union of Zambia (UHDWUZ). (2010). *Action Programme for Advocacy on Domestic Workers Rights in Zambia*.

VanEvery, J., (1997) *"Understanding Gendered Inequality: Reconceptualising Housework"*, Women's Studies International Forum, vol. 20, no.3, pp. 411-420.

Wassenaar, D.R. (2006). "*Ethical issues in social science research", In M. Terrblanche, K., Durrheim and D. Painter (Eds.) Research in Practice*. 2nd Ed. Cape Town: Juta.

Weiss, R.S. (1994). *Learning from Strangers*: *The art and Method of Qualitative Interview Studies.* New York: The Free Press.

Williams, C.L., (1989). *Gender Differences: Women and Men in Nontraditional Occupations*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Zambia Census 2010, Preliminary Results [Online] Available from: http://unstats.un.org/unsd/demographic/sources/census/2010_phc/Zambia/PreliminaryReport.pdf [Accessed on: 1/10/12].

Zambia Labour Force Survey, 2008, [Online] Available from: http://www.mlss.gov.zm/upload/2008%20Labourforce%20Survey%20Report.pdf [Accessed on: 10/7/12].

The Post, Tuesday, Page 4, July 17, 2012

Zambia Daily Mail, Wednesday, Page 6, September 26, 2012

APPENDIX "A" – LIST OF RESPONDENTS

1. Domestic Workers

i. Mailesi Banda, 26 June 2012
(Lusaka/ Kalingalinga)
ii. Stella Manda, 28 June 2012 & 5 July 2012
(Lusaka/Kalingalinga)
iii. Maggie Phiri, 28 June 2012
(Lusaka / Mtendere)
iv. Eunice Banda, 28 June 2012
(Lusaka / Kalingalinga)
v. Mildred Mwanza, 5 July 2012
(Lusaka / Mtendere)
vi. Annie Mpanza, 22 June 2012 & 21 June 2012 & 26 June 2012
(Lusaka/Kalingalinga)
vii. Chongo Milika, 26 June 2012 & 28 June 2012
(Lusaka /Kalingalinga)
viii. Pamela Lungu, 21 June 2012, 28 June 2012 & 2 July 2012
(Lusaka/Kalingalinga)
ix. Muleta Monica, 26 June 2012 & 28 June 2012
(Lusaka/Mtendere)
x. Monde Mavis, 25 June 2012 & 28 June 2012
(Lusaka/Mtendere)
xi. Mrs Cecilia Banda, 28 June 2012
(Lusaka/Bauleni)
xii. Mutinta Mulenga, 28 June 2012
(Lusaka/Mtendere)
xiii. Maiwase Phiri, 23 June 2012
(Lusaka/Mtendere)
xiv. Judith Chilabi, 19 June 2012 & 26 June 2012
(Lusaka/Mtendere)
xv. Enala Banda, 22 June 2012
(Lusaka/Bauleni)
xvi. Felestina Mwanza, 23 June 2012
(Lusaka/Mtendere)
xvii. Thoko Milanzi, 20 June 2012
(Lusaka/Mtendere)
xviii. Mwaba Helen, 20 June 2012 & 26 June 2012
(Lusaka/Mtendere)
xix. Phiri Moses, 30 June 2012 & 2 July 2012
(Lusaka/Kalingalinga)
xx. Peter Nkandu, 20 June 2012 & 2 July 2012
(Lusaka/Kalingalinga)

xxi. Mwanza Edward, 27 June 2012 & 2 July 2012
xxii. (Lusaka/Kalingalinga)
xxiii. Mabvuto Zulu, 2 July 2012 & 4 July 2012
(Lusaka/Mtendere)
xxiv. Sam Njovu, 2 July 2012
(Lusaka/Mtendere)
xxv. Misheck Tembo, 20 June 2012, 28 June 2012 & 3 July 2012
(Lusaka/Kalingalinga)
xxvi. Masautso Sakala, 22 June 2012
(Lusaka/Mtendere)
xxvii. Mbao Tembo, 2 July 2012
(Lusaka/Kalingalinga)
xxviii. Banda Shadreck, 30 June 2012 & 2 July 2012
(Lusaka/Kalingalinga)

2. Stakeholders

2.1.Government Officials

i. Tamala Nakulela, 23 June 2012
(Lusaka/Ministry of Labour & Social Security)
ii. Mary, 23 June 2012
(Lusaka/ Ministry of Labour & Social Security)
iii. James Kangwa, 18 June 2012 & 23 June 2012
(Lusaka/ Ministry of Labour & Social Security)

2.2.Trade Union

i. Kevin Liywali, 19 June 2012
(Lusaka/ Wood gate House)
ii. Oscar Cheupe, 18 June 2012
(Lusaka/ Wood gate House)

2.3.Employment Agencies

i. Milika Mungezi, 2 July 2012
(Lusaka/Olympia)
ii. Mildred Mwanza, 5 July 2012
(Lusaka/ Roma)
iii. Stella Zulu, 28 June 2012 & 5 July 2012
(Lusaka/ Garden)

3. Employers

i. Mrs Chibesa, 23 June 2012 & 4 July 2012
(Lusaka/ Rhodes park)
ii. Elizabeth Malimba, 4 July 2012
(Lusaka/Chelstone)
iii. Aggie Chileshe, 4 July 2012
(Lusaka/ Chelstone)
iv. Diana Mukusekwa, 18 June 2012 & 5 July 2012
(Lusaka/Avondale)
v. Fred Kaunda, 28 June 2012
(Lusaka/ Kabulonga)
vi. Daisy Mwila, 20 June 2012
(Lusaka/Makeni)
vii. Peter Edwards, 18 June 2012, 20 June 2012 & 26 June 2012
(Lusaka/Long Acres)