

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Sexual harassment at the workplace has not only recently been recognised as a social problem of enormous proportions in the developed world, but also more so in the developing world.

“Researchers have aptly described this phenomenon as “hidden crimes” or “crimes without punishment” due to the nature of situational and cultural variables which further contribute to the sexual victimisation of women” (Khan, 2005, p. 6). Koss (1995, p.17) described sexual harassment as “the last great open secret” and contends that despite the silence that has surrounded it, sexual harassment has existed since women went to work in the marketplace.

In developing countries such as Zimbabwe, sexual harassment appears to be an unrecognised insidious crime. To the majority of people in Zimbabwe (including women) the concept of sexual harassment has been counter-intuitive since there is a strong belief that many women benefit from seductive behaviours at work, acquiring perks and privileges in exchange for sexual favours or the possibility of acquiring these favours (Khan, 2005).

With the economy of Zimbabwe having dramatically worsened since 2005, opinions surrounding sexual harassment have worsened as women have been put in precarious positions forcing them to frequently accept sexually harassing behaviour from men in order to acquire basic needs for themselves and their families.

The reason why the Banking sector was considered for this research is that it is one of the most fundamental institutions in modern society. Since money is the medium of exchange for most goods and services in modern times and most of these transactions are done by the banking sector, how this industry is ran affects peoples livelihoods on a daily basis. For example, the recent collapse of the banking sector in the western world had an adverse effect on the current global economic recession which began in the year 2008 (economist.com, 2009, p.1). The same economist report further stated that due to the

recession, companies closed down, employees got retrenched, their wages and salaries were lowered and both employees and employers were facing psycho-social effects of the global economic hardships such as depression, suicidal thoughts, increased intake of drugs and alcohol among other effects. It is also interesting to look at how human rights abuses such as sexual harassment occur in the banking sector, particularly in relation to how women, who are usually the victims of sexual harassment, perceive this phenomenon in such an unstable economic environment.

This research investigates the causes and consequences of sexual harassment of female employees in Harare's three international banks, situated in the Central Business District (CBD). The Child and Law Foundation is the main body that has been actively involved in sexual harassment research and activism in Zimbabwe since 1995, as indicated by Khan (2005). Nevertheless, there is a paucity of specific research targeting causes and consequences of sexual harassment in the workplace in Zimbabwe. This research focused on both experience and perceptions of women as regards to sexual harassment at their workplaces.

1.2 Rationale of the study

The great Depression (a large-scale economic collapse that affected mainly western countries and institutions such as industries and finance) that began in 1929 and the current worldwide economic recession that began in 2008 are excellent examples of the kind of downhill turn that Zimbabwe has been going through since 1999. It has been reported that never has there been recorded a worse inflation rate and economic decline in the world since the beginning of time as has occurred in Zimbabwe. On 19th February 2009, the Zimbabwean inflation rate was estimated at 10 sextillion percent. 10 sextillion, or 10 000 000 000 000 000 000 000, is roughly 100 billion times greater than the number of stars estimated to make up the Milky Way. It is estimated that there are roughly 74 sextillion drops of water in all of the world's oceans; only 7.4 times greater than the Zimbabwean inflation rate (Wikimedia Foundation 2009).

The rationale for this research is to provide information on the views of female

employees of Harare's three international banks situated in its CBD. Secondly, it is to provide specific information on sexual harassment in three of Harare's international CBD situated banks. Thirdly it is to help fill in the gaps in terms of information about the causes and consequences of sexual harassment in three international banks situated in Harare's CBD and lastly it is to influence sexual harassment policies in Zimbabwe's banks.

1.3 Aims of the research study

The aim of this research study is to explore the causes and consequences of sexual harassment in three of Harare's CBD situated international banks. In summary, the research question reads: "What are the causes and consequences of sexual harassment in the three international banks situated in Harare's CBD, according to their female employees?"

1.3.1 Primary Aim of the research:

1. To explore participants' views regarding the causes and consequences of sexual harassment of women working in these banks from:
 - a) An individual/ subjective perspective;
 - b) A conceptual/behavioural perspective; and,
 - c) A legal perspective.

1.3.2 Secondary Objective of the research

1. To find out the differences and similarities in female employee's views on sexual harassment depending on the international bank they worked for

1.3.3 Research Questions

1. What are the views of female employees' working in Harare's international CBD situated banks on the causes and consequences of sexual harassment from the below perspectives;

- a) An individual/ subjective perspective;
 - b) A conceptual/behavioural perspective; and
 - c) A legal perspective
2. What are the differences and similarities in female employee's views on the causes and consequences of sexual harassment at the three different international banks in Harare's CBD?

1.4 Anticipated value of the study

This research anticipates providing information on the views of female employees of Harare's three international banks situated in its CBD. It is also hoped that their views on the causes and consequences of sexual harassment as female employees in banks will be elicited.

It is anticipated that this research will provide specific information on sexual harassment in three of Harare's international CBD situated banks. Sexual harassment in the banks of Harare is also a relatively new area of research. This research also proposes to help to fill in the gaps in terms of information about the causes and consequences of sexual harassment in three international banks situated in Harare's CBD. Furthermore, research on sexual harassment in Zimbabwe has not previously focused on its causes and consequences. This research intends to open up the voices of women in Zimbabwe who have been silenced by the Zimbabwean culture over the years.

1.5 Assumptions of the study

1. It is assumed by this research that men and women differ in their views on the causes and consequences of sexual harassment. For example, Dougherty (2007, p.1) provides backing for this assumption in an article where she reports, "For men, power comes from formal authority and they view sexual harassers as primarily managers and supervisors - I have power, so I sexually harass". She added that men acknowledged that co-workers could sexually harass one another, but co-worker harassment was mainly seen as a "misunderstanding". On the other hand, she found evidence in research that women view sexual harassment

differently from men. She writes that, “Women view power in a more complex manner; formal authority is but one dimension in male-dominated workplaces. Power, to women, is a negotiated process between the harasser and harassed”. Dougherty said women often perceive all members of an organisation as possible harassers - thinking it can be initiated by any person who is perceived as having power (Dougherty, 2007, p. 1).

In addition, Sabitha (2008, p. 1) reports that, “one major problem in dealing with sexual harassment in organisations is its perceptual nature”, explaining that, “men and women generally differ in what they perceive to be sexual harassment”. Further more, Blanco and Fiedler (2006, p.276) add that, Research has shown that a person’s gender impacts his or her perceptions of sexual harassment. (Dietz-Uhler and Murrell, 1992; Popovich, Gehlauf, Jolton, Somer, and Godinho, 1992) in Blanco and Fiedler (2006, p. 276) also declare that women are often more sensitive to what constitutes sexual harassment than men, and they often judge the same behaviour to be more serious. Perceptions on causes and consequences of sexual harassment will therefore be affected by differences in gender.

2. An unstable economic environment such as in Zimbabwe makes women more tolerant towards sexually harassing behaviour. Researched evidence is provided by Schein (1994, p.6) who found that “when the socio-cultural power model of male dominance operates within pluralistic/political professional and organisational systems, these systems can become breeding-grounds for sexual harassment behaviours that are tolerated rather than exposed. A contrast between careers within systems and less systems-bound jobs illustrates the influence of context on decisions to tell or tolerate”.

Evidence of this is also provided by the United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF) (1998, p.3), where it is explained that, “While human rights are most likely to be abrogated during periods of violent conflict, contemporary civil conflicts are becoming increasingly based on nationalist or religious

fundamentalist ideologies, which are used to redefine women's role and status, with important ramifications on their status, rights and access to services and definitions of citizenship in that society". Women may thus be forced to put up with abuses because of circumstances occurring in their society at certain times.

3. More stringent sexual harassment laws and policies will help to reduce its occurrence in workplaces. Lindenberg and Reese (2010, p.1) echo from their research findings that, "Based on surveys and case studies of Michigan municipalities, the findings suggest that training is the critical link between sexual harassment policies and perceived positive outcomes. In short, even the best policy, without a commitment to training, is unlikely to have the desired workplace outcomes". This suggests that training employees on existing and strong sexual harassment policies will be effective. On the contrary, Heathfield (2010) argues that having good sexual harassment policies in the first place is the benchmark to use in guiding employees on what is acceptable and what is not in regards to sexual harassment at work.

1.6 Research design and methodology

The researcher used a qualitative descriptive research design. A qualitative (naturalistic) approach to research uses situations or behaviours to arrive at concrete conclusions and generalisations about them (Neuman, 1997). The reason for the choice of this research design stemmed from the fact that the study focused on the generation of knowledge about a particular social phenomenon (the views of women on the causes and consequences of sexual harassment) rather than the testing of theory or hypotheses. Thus, what were important in the study were participants' perceptions and feelings about their psycho-social needs and their coping strategies. A questionnaire was developed with quantitative and qualitative questions to address these.

63 willing participants were found and the researcher personally administered the questionnaire. These were all drawn from the CBD-situated international banks in Harare. Due to the transportation and fuel problems affecting Zimbabwe at the time, it

was found to be easier to conduct the research in the CBD as the researcher could walk within the CBD to access the participants. International banks were preferred since they were the most stable at the time in Zimbabwe. At the time, due to the economic collapse, many local banks closed down or were forced to merge with others to survive. The qualitative data was analysed using the thematic content while quantitative data was analysed using descriptive statistics.

1.7 Limitations of the study

1. Some participants did not answer some of the questions in the questionnaire. This may have affected the reliability of the research in terms of the information that the particular question was meant to elicit. Reliability in research is defined as, "...the consistency of your measurement, or the degree to which an instrument measures the same way each time it is used under the same condition with the same subjects. In short, it is the repeatability of your measurement. A measure is considered reliable if a person's score on the same test given twice is similar. It is important to remember that reliability is not measured, it is estimated" (Social Research methods 2009).

The same problem may have also affected the external validity of the research. According to Social Research Methods (2009) the external validity refers to "our ability to generalise the results of our study to other settings". In this case, more consideration was given towards the ethical responsibility of the research. Some participants had experienced various forms of abuse at work and the questionnaire may have been a trigger of their past or on-going experiences. Professional counselling by a qualified social worker was provided for all who were affected.

2. Most possible and actual participants feared that they would lose their jobs or promotions if they took part in this research or told the truth about harassment. This fear seems to have spread throughout Zimbabwe due to politically motivated acts of organised violence and torture to keep the dictatorial ZANU PF government in power. Many of these crimes have been recorded as signed

affidavits by Southern African Centre for Survivors of Torture (SACST), a Johannesburg based NGO that supports victims and survivors of torture in southern Africa and especially Zimbabwe. There is no simple solution to resolving this fear as the SACST (2005) reports of rape, bodily mutilation and other grievous things that have been done to keep citizens in fear. A new democracy is needed in Zimbabwe for its people to build confidence in the government and start addressing their fear.

For this research to protect the respondents and make them feel confident, all the possible and actual respondents of the research had been briefed about the research before its implementation. The researcher explained that confidentiality of the information would be adhered to and that the research was for academic purposes only and not to inform management about what the respondents had said. Nevertheless, they were made aware that their organisations would get a final report of the research once it was complete. The researcher emphasised that no respondent names would be on the report. The report would provide a general overview of the views of sexual harassment at their workplaces.

The researcher made it clear that since there are 15 bank branches it would be impossible for anyone to associate the results with a particular branch. This would motivate management to create working sexual harassment policies as a general awareness of the phenomenon would have been created which would in turn protect the employees.

The researcher had to make several trips from South Africa into Zimbabwe and was only able to elicit responses from respondents who volunteered their time on weekends, after hours, to take part in the research. This made the research costly as the research was self-funded and in terms of travel and time a lot of patience and tolerance was required on the researcher's part. Passing through the Zimbabwean border with information on sexual harassment was also risky as the ZANU PF government is very protective regarding issues that make it or Zimbabwe, look negative to the outside world and have been reported to

unnecessarily harass journalists and researchers.

1.8 Definition of key terms

1. Sexual harassment...

is “any deliberate or repeated sexual behaviour that is unwelcome to the recipient, as well as other sex-related behaviour that is hostile, offensive or degrading to the recipient ” (Fitzgerald, 1993, p.1070).

2. Multi-perspective framework of sexual harassment

Tata and Bowes-Sperry in Powell (1999) came up with this framework. According to Powell (1999), this framework was developed after an extensive review of 20 years of existing research on sexual harassment. Tata and Bowes-Sperry say that sexual harassment can be viewed from the following three different perspectives:

- a) An individual/subjective perspective;
- b) A conceptual/behavioural perspective; and
- c) A legal perspective

3. Quid pro quo...

“...is a term that was coined by Mackinnon, a legal scholar, in 1979 in relation to a form of sexual harassment in which sexual compliance is exchanged, for employment or academic opportunity” (Mackinnon,1997, p. 24).

4. Gender Harassment

“...is defined as behaviour involving broad, negative stereotypical attitudes toward males or females. Thus, sexist remarks, for example, would conform to the definition of gender harassment and they could also apply to the definition of sexual harassment if they are shown to interfere with performance or participation in a job or organisational activities” (League of Educational Administrators, Directors and

Superintendants of Saskatchewan 2009).

5. *Unwanted Sexual Attention*

“Unwanted Sexual Attention (UWSA) refers to unsolicited verbal comments, gestures, stares and other non-physical attention toward another’s sexuality and physical appearance”(National Centre for Post Traumatic Stress Disorder 2009).

6. *Sexual Coercion*

This is seen as “forcing someone to engage in sexual behaviour against his/her will, through threatened or actual violence or severe social consequences” (RHO Cervical Cancer 2009).

7. *Sexualized environments*

Sexualized environments are environments where obscenities, sexual joking sexually explicit graffiti, viewing of internet pornography, sexually degrading posters and objects, among others, are common. None of these behaviors or objects may necessarily be directed at anyone in particular or intended as harassment. However, they can create an offensive environment and one that is consistent with “hostile environment sexual harassment” (Wikimedia Foundation 2009).

1.9 Outline of the research report

The research report is divided into six chapters:

Chapter 1:

This chapter provides an outline of the research report explaining the nature of the problem; the overall aim and research questions are clarified; the rationale and value of the study is explained; key words are defined; underlying assumptions are given; the research design and methodology is described and finally an overview of the research report is provided.

Chapter 2:

In Chapter two, sexual harassment at the workplace is discussed. The multi-perspective and other frameworks of sexual harassment are also explored. Causes and consequences of sexual harassment from different perspectives are examined and the three international banks' sexual harassment policies are highlighted.

Chapter 3:

This chapter specifically focuses on sexual harassment in Zimbabwe. Human rights violations in the country are also explored and the cultural influence on sexual harassment discussed. Some published cases of sexual harassment are highlighted and sexual harassment in banks is then unearthed. The chapter ends with a brief summary of sexual harassment cases and issues at the workplace in different countries in the world.

Chapter 4:

In this chapter the research design and methodology is explained; the strengths and weaknesses of the research design are discussed; aspects such as trustworthiness, sampling procedures, inclusion and exclusion criteria, the research instruments, research procedures, data analysis methods and ethical aspects of the study are also explained.

Chapter 5:

In chapter five data collected through the questionnaires and in-depth interviews is analysed and discussed in relation to existing literature. The researcher combined the analysis of quantitative and qualitative data; using tables, figures and quotations from the participants to answer the research questions.

Chapter 6:

In this final chapter the main findings of the data analysis are linked to the aims and objectives of the study and conclusions are discussed. Recommendations for future research, practice and theory are identified.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The main aim of this research study was to explore sexual harassment at the workplace. Zimbabwe in particular was found to be a good location choice for the study because the current political and socio-economic climate exhibits many of the challenges that organisations usually go through during difficult times. These challenges are relevant as learning to manage them helps organisations keep afloat. This is paramount to occupational social work as this branch of social work is organisational-focused.

This study is particularly important to occupational social work as the world has been grappling with the global recession since 2007, the effects of which have been akin to what Zimbabwe have been going through for over 10 years. Zimbabwe's political crisis was widely and globally covered by international media since its onset in 1997. In 2007, the then ruling ZANU PF government began evicting white farmers forcefully and violently from their land. The effects of the eviction in the wider economy included a high number of job losses, retrenchments, unemployment and other related difficulties that employees and their families have also been forced to suffer during the current economic global recession.

2.2 The economic context and human rights

According to the Economist.com (economist.com, 2009, p.3), the International Monetary Fund (IMF) takes many factors into account when defining a global recession, and states that global economic growth of 3 percent or less is, "equivalent to a global recession".

Either a global or national recession will have adverse effects on businesses and on organisations at large. The International Labour Organisation (ILO) predicted in January 2009 that global unemployment would increase by up to 50 million in a worst case scenario. As maintained by ILO (2009), "already, most of the developed world has succumbed to recession. Forecasts for future growth have been repeatedly revised

downwards and it is unlikely that the European Union (EU) economy will begin to recover before late 2009 at the earliest”.

Unemployment levels in the EU began to increase in May 2008 and the rise had been precipitous in certain member states (Spain, Ireland, Estonia, Latvia and others) while even those labour markets that had been least affected by then (Germany, Poland, Slovakia) were beginning to report abruptly worsening conditions (ILO, 2009). The ILO (2009) reported that, “People will have to be laid off, companies will have to close down and salaries will have to be cut”. This and similar information was reported by various forms of media worldwide.

To understand what had caused the collapse of these systems, looking at Marxist theory proved extremely valuable. Karl Marx predicted in his book *Das Kapital* in 1867 that, “Owners of capital will stimulate the working class to buy more and more of expensive goods, houses and technology, pushing them to take more and more expensive credits, until their debt becomes unbearable. The unpaid debt will lead to bankruptcy of banks, which will have to be nationalized, and the State will have to take the road which will eventually lead to communism”.

According to Marxist Theory, “human society consists of two economic parts: the **Base** and the **Superstructure**. The **base** comprehends the relations of production, employer-employee work conditions, the technical division of labour, and property relations into which people enter to produce the necessities and amenities of life. These relations *fundamentally* determine society’s other relationships and ideas, constituting the **superstructure**; thus, the base *determines* (conditions) the superstructure, yet, their relation is *not* strictly causal, because the superstructure often influences the base; however the influence of the base predominates” (Wikimedia Foundation 2009).

Using the theory that the economic base, determines the superstructure, the harsh economic conditions in Zimbabwe were assumed to have a direct correlation with the superstructure which among other things included sexual harassment in banks. In such working environments, as described in the previous paragraphs, during a recession,

women and children will usually be particularly vulnerable to sexual abuse of all kinds. This research sheds light into how women are currently responding to these abuses in this socio-economic climate in Zimbabwe. Sexual harassment is particularly focused on as a form of sexual abuse and the three international banks in Harare: Stanbic Bank (also Standard Bank in some countries), Barclays Bank (African Bank of South Africa -ABSA in South Africa) and Standard Chartered Bank are chosen as examples of a typical workplace.

Banks were found to be principally important for this study because, as mentioned previously, according to Marxist theory the economic base determines society's other relationships. These relationships include issues such as human rights, which includes the issue of sexual harassment. Nevin (2009, p. 1) explains that, "Since money is necessary to exchange goods and services, the flow of money is critical to the economy. When the money stops flowing, the economy stops moving. Banks control the flow of money. Banks benefit from the flow of money through the interest they charge for the money they create and lend." When banks stop lending, money stops flowing, and the economy grinds to a halt which is exactly what has happened. This is what is meant by the term "credit crunch".

2.3 What is Sexual Harassment at the workplace?

At least until 1976, no one had a name for this collective experience (Stanko, 1985, p.61). Currently, "a major issue is people's diverging views on what constitutes harassment. Definitions vary - from verbal harassment through sexist, crude or suggestive remarks, casual touching or open advances, to the extremes of coercion or blackmail if a manager has the power to threaten a subordinate's job if she (or he) does not "play along", to attempt or actual rape. It is difficult to pinpoint the problem: sometimes the more "innocent" forms of harassment - a stare making a woman/man feel uncomfortable, a "too-personal" comment, or "friendly" touching - may mean the man (or woman) is testing her (or his) reaction and will take things further if not clearly repelled" (Cape Gateway 2009).

Cases have been reported of men being harassed by women or by other men, or women by other women. However, 98% of the cases reported in a survey conducted in South Africa in the early 1990's among members of the Institute of People Management (IPM) and the Institute of Directors (World Federation of Personnel Management Associations), related to men harassing women at work or in work-associated situations (Cape Gateway 2009). These statistics have not changed much since the 1990's. Below are some definitions of sexual harassment at the workplace by different bodies:

a. **The Equal Employment Opportunity Committee's (EEOC) "Guidelines on Sexual Harassment"**

The Equal Employment Opportunity Committee's (EEOC) "Guidelines on Sexual Harassment" was adopted by the EEOC, in the United States of America in 1980. They set out the legal definition of sexual harassment which has been "analysed extensively by the courts" (Welzenbach, 1986, p.4).

• **The guidelines define sexual harassment as:**

"Unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favours and other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature ... when;

(1) Submission to such conduct is made either explicitly or implicitly a term or condition of an individual's employment,

(2) Submission to, or rejection of, such conduct by an individual is used as the basis for employment decisions affecting such an individual, or

(3) Such conduct has the purpose or effect of unreasonably interfering with an individual's work performance or creating an intimidating, hostile, or offensive working environment (Welzenbach, 1986, p.23)".

The first two sections of this definition deal with what has become known as "*quid pro quo*" harassment. This occurs when specific employment opportunities or benefits are withheld as a means of coercing sexual favours. In other words, an individual in a position of power

either explicitly or implicitly, uses his/her authority to hire, fire, promote or allocate work to “persuade” an employee to engage in sexual activities. These activities can include complying with requests for dates or sex, being touched or fondled, or responding positively to sexual comments and flirtations (Welzenbach, 1986, p. 4).

The latter section of the definition deals less explicitly with direct power relations in employment. It focuses instead on the work environment. If this is made unpleasant or uncomfortable for anyone on the basis of their sex or sexual preference, then it constitutes sexual harassment. This type of harassment, therefore, can include sexist or homophobic jokes or comments, unwelcome verbal and/or physical advances of a sexual nature, offensive sexual flirtations, graphic comments about an individual’s body, sexually degrading words used to describe an individual and the public display of sexually suggestive objects or pictures. In a “workplace sexual harassment” case, an employee must demonstrate that a superior has either “created or condoned” such an atmosphere (Welzenbach, 1986, p. 4).

Conduct which can constitute sexual harassment ranges from innuendo, inappropriate gestures, suggestions or hints or fondling without consent or by force to its worst form, namely rape. “It is in my opinion also not necessary that the conduct must be repeated. A single act can constitute sexual harassment” says Sutherland (1989, p. 757).

Within both of the definitions three points are emphasised. Firstly, that the acts are of a sexual nature. Secondly, that *sexual harassment* covers a wide range of activities that may be *either physical or verbal*. Finally, these acts are *unwanted* by the recipient. There remains, however, a fundamental distinction.

In the United States of America sexual harassment is recognised as a form of unlawful sexual discrimination. Under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act (1964) it is unlawful practice “for an employer to discriminate against applicants or employees on the basis of sex”, and, as “by definition, sexual harassment occurs because of the harassed employee’s sex”, it is unlawful. The EEOC has the “responsibility of administering Title VII” and their guidelines provide a legal definition of sexual harassment (Welzenbach, 1986, p. 9).

Moreover, under Title VII, if sexual harassment can be proved, an employer can be held liable for such acts. Under this legislation employees can apply for “interdicts preventing certain conduct” as well as be awarded “back pay (and/or) damages for injured feelings” (Mowatt, 1986, p. 645)

b. “Equal Rights Advocates” definition of sexual harassment

(Equal Rights 2010) a website of a US based human rights lawyers organisation, gives a legal definition of sexual harassment at the workplace that is shown below:

Sexual harassment is a form of sex discrimination. The legal definition of sexual harassment is “**unwelcome verbal, visual, or physical conduct of a sexual nature that is severe or pervasive and affects working conditions or creates a hostile work environment**”.

The definition is then broken down as shown below to give a clearer understanding of the terms used as demonstrated below:

1) Unwelcome

Conduct is not sexual harassment if it is welcome. For this reason, it is important to communicate (verbally, in writing, or by one’s own actions) to the harasser that the conduct makes one uncomfortable and that it has to stop.

2) Conduct of a Sexual Nature

Many different kinds of conduct - verbal, visual or physical that are of a sexual nature may be sexual harassment, if the behaviour is unwelcome and if it is severe or pervasive. Here are some more examples:

Verbal or written Comments about clothing, personal behaviour, or a person’s body; sexual or sex-based jokes; requesting sexual favours or repeatedly asking a person out; sexual innuendoes; telling rumours about a person’s personal or sexual life; or threatening a person.

Physical This includes assault; impeding or blocking movement; inappropriate touching of a person or a person's clothing; kissing, hugging, patting, and /or stroking.

Nonverbal Looking up and down a person's body; derogatory gestures or facial expressions of a sexual nature; or following a person.

Visual- These include posters, drawings, pictures, screensavers or emails of a sexual nature. Non-sexual conduct may also be sexual harassment if one is harassed because she is female, rather than male, or because one is male, rather than female. For example, it may be sexual harassment if you are a woman working as a carpenter in an all-male job, and you are the only one whose tools are frequently hidden by your male co-workers.

3) Severe or Pervasive The conduct of the harasser must either be **severe** or it must be **pervasive** to be sexual harassment. A single incident is probably not sexual harassment unless it is severe. For example, a single incident of rape or attempted rape would be sexual harassment (it would also violate criminal laws).

Although a single unwanted request for a date or one sexually suggestive comment might offend one and/or be inappropriate, it may not be sexual harassment. However, a number of relatively minor separate incidents may add up to sexual harassment if the incidents affect one's work environment. Some questions one can ask oneself are to determine whether the conduct is pervasive: How many times did the incidents occur? How long has the harassment been going on? How many other people were also sexually harassed?

4) Affects Working Conditions or Creates a Hostile Work Environment

If an employee is fired, refused a promotion, demoted, given a poor performance evaluation, or reassigned to a less desirable position because they reject a sexual advance, this almost certainly is sexual harassment. Even if the conduct does not result in economic injury or change of status to their job, it may be sexual harassment if the conduct unreasonably interferes with their work performance or creates an "intimidating, hostile, or offensive work environment". For example, it may be sexual harassment if repeated sexual comments make

the employee so uncomfortable at work that their performance suffers or if they decline professional opportunities because it will put them in contact with the harasser.

A workable definition would be: “Sexual harassment in the workplace is unwelcome or unwanted attention of a sexual nature from someone at work that causes discomfort, humiliation, offence or distress, and / or interferes with the job; this includes all such actions and practices of a sexual nature by a person or a group of people directed at one or more workers” (Equal Rights 2009).

Sexual harassment can therefore consist of unwelcomed sexual advances, requests for sexual favours in return for employment benefits, pressure for sexual favours to clinch sales deals, the display of sexually offensive posters, cartoons or drawings, or any other form of verbal or physical behaviour that the recipient regards as unwelcome or embarrassing.

The severity of the harassment is to a large extent determined by the impact it has on the victim. “It was just a joke” or “I had too much to drink” is no excuse. Harassment usually relates to intimidation, exploitation and power; not to real, mutual personal attraction and respect. Thus a relationship between two consenting adults would usually not be harassment. Yet if the one party has far more power than the other and abuses this in the work situation to coerce the other, it could still be a case of harassment (Equal Rights 2009).

If unwelcome attentions are repeated although they have been declined, or if the person is victimised because he/she turned down such advances, the situation becomes worse. Furthermore, the employer is liable by Law if they fail to provide an environment for their employees where sexual harassment is not allowed to take place (Sutherland, 1989). Section 2.5.1 of this chapter goes into more detail on sexual harassment liability costs for companies.

c. “Labour Protects” definition of Sexual Harassment

“Labour Protect” is a South African organisation which specialises in assisting employees faced with labour law disputes. They define sexual harassment at work as:

“1) Sexual harassment is unwanted conduct of a sexual nature. The unwanted nature of sexual harassment distinguishes it from behaviour that is welcome and mutual.

(2) Sexual attention becomes sexual harassment if:

- i. The behaviour is persisted in, although a single incident of harassment can constitute sexual harassment; and/or
- ii. The recipient has made it clear that the behaviour is considered offensive; and/or
- iii. The perpetrator should have known that the behaviour is regarded as unacceptable”.

d) Other sexual harassment definitions across the board

“In its narrowest form sexual harassment occurs when a woman (or a man) is expected to engage in sexual activity in order to obtain or keep employment, or obtain a promotion or other favourable working conditions” (Sutherland, 1989, p.757). This definition emphasises the general perception of the majority of the populace that believes that an act only qualifies as sexual harassment when sexual acts or intercourse is involved. In its wider view it is, however, “any unwanted sexual behaviour or comment which has a negative effect on the recipient” (Sutherland, 1989, p. 757).

2.4 Causes and consequences of sexual harassment at the workplace

2.4.1 The Causes of sexual harassment

According to (Cape Gateway 2009), the causes of sexual harassment vary from person to person and from situation to situation. Many of the causes are interrelated and are linked to the culture and values in society and in companies; and to the roles, relative power and status of the men and women concerned. Below is a discussion on some broad causes of sexual harassment.

a) **Socialisation**

Rudman, Borgida and Robertson (1995, p.26) state that the way in which men and women were brought up to see themselves and others strongly influences their behaviour. “Various viewpoints could create a climate that allows sexual harassment, for example, in a culture where it is, or was until recently, “ok” to discriminate against people because they are different (in terms of gender, race, culture, religion, lifestyle, political conviction or whatever), the abuse of power or humiliation that is typical of sexual harassment will not be unusual. Harassment is often closely linked to prejudice in general and to sexist attitudes”.

The same authors add that, “Men who were brought up with *macho* beliefs like “real” men pinch bottoms”, “girls were made to hug and kiss”, “the more, the merrier”, easily carry these social values into the workplace and treat their female colleagues accordingly. Such men often even think that women should take their harassment as a compliment”, say Rudman et al., (1995, p.26).

The same authors testify that many women have been brought up to believe that a woman’s highest calling is to please men, that popularity with men equals success, or that “real women look sexy”. This can give the impression - usually unintended - that they invite sexual advances at work. Some women who see sexuality as their only power base, play along. Although research has proven them to be a small minority, their behaviour can also encourage harassment of other women.

Finally, on the relationship between socialisation and sexual harassment, Rudman et al (1995) declare that if women see themselves as dependent on, or of lesser value than men, or are unassertive, they find it difficult to handle harassers or to complain. Often women who are breadwinners are more vulnerable and fear victimisation or even job loss, should they reject advances or complain.

b) Power games

It is stated by Prekel (2009) that social and political changes in recent years have changed power relationships. He states that some men feel threatened by the career advancement of women and people of colour, or are uncomfortable with women's newfound independence and assertiveness at home and / or at work. He explains that other men who have recently gained positions of power (possibly after decades of discrimination) may also try to prove themselves by harassing female subordinates.

Prekel reports that some men even regard it as a “fringe benefit” to which their position, their power and their sex entitle them. In tough times of uncertainty, fear, limited promotion opportunities, retrenchments, personal stress and pressure on performance, there is a real danger that sexual harassment and trading of sexual favours will form part of the power games played.

c) Moral values, divorce and cultural differences

In times of moral laxity, when extra-marital affairs and “one-night stands” are broadly accepted, when some people equate monogamy with monotony, it is relatively easy for people to indulge in office flirtations, whether one-sided or mutual. The person who tries, and does not accept rejection, or sees the unwilling colleague as a challenge, easily becomes a harasser, or may victimise the reluctant colleague, say O’Leary-Kell and Bowes Sperry (2001).

The same authors further comment that the prevalence of marital stress and divorce in western society (which now influences many cultures globally) means that some men and women come to work in a state of emotional distress that could make them vulnerable to sexual harassment.

Some confusion results from cultural differences about what is, or is not, acceptable in our rapidly changing society. For example, in 2005 when action was taken against sexual harassment at the University of Cape Town, black male students claimed it was their cultural and traditional right to act in that way. They were strongly challenged by the then

vice-chancellor, a black woman. Black women complaining about harassment by black men have been accused of disloyalty to their own group; while whites may fear accusations of racism or prejudice if they reject or complain about such behaviour from black colleagues (Cape Gateway 2005).

d) Credibility and victim-blaming

The credibility of the victim is often called into question; as it is usually her word against that of the harasser/s. Several factors aggravate this problem:

The large majority of decent men, who treat women with respect and would never dream of taking such liberties, usually find it difficult to believe that respected colleagues would abuse their position in this way (Canadian Resource Centre for Victims of Crime 2009).

Management may take the word of a senior person rather than that of a subordinate as they are likely to have known the senior longer and a manager usually has more credibility in a dispute than a subordinate. Particularly if the managers concerned are all men, they may not understand the seriousness of the problem, or may “stick together” out of gender loyalty (Sexual Harassment Support 2009).

If the person deciding whether to take action or not has himself been guilty of harassment, he is likely to go along with a cover-up, or at least give his “buddy” the benefit of the doubt. The harassed may be a high-level or highly-skilled person who is difficult to replace, while the victim is likely to be on a lower level and thus more expendable (Sexual Harassment Support 2009).

The common tendency of victim-blaming often causes the plaintiff to end up virtually as the accused. As in the case of sexual assault and rape, the dress, lifestyle and private life of the victim seem to become more important than the behaviour being investigated. Naturally it is advisable that women dress and behave appropriately at work. Yet any woman - whatever her appearance and lifestyle - has the right to decide whether, when, where, and from whom she wishes to accept any sexual approach or comment. And if she

declines, she should not be victimised in any way. We should heed the saying: “However I dress, wherever I go yes is yes, and no is no” (Sexual Harassment Support 2009).

The victim may be very embarrassed by the events or afraid of ridicule or revenge and is likely to wait until matters become unbearable before she complains. She may then be blamed of having played along or condoned the behaviour initially (Canadian Resource Centre for Victims of Crime 2009).

Many women are also inclined to excessive guilt and self-blaming and may even believe they unwittingly did or said something to invite the unwanted behaviour. And if they are ashamed or afraid and don't discuss the problem, they often do not realise that it is a fairly common occurrence and not their fault (Canadian Resource Centre for Victims of Crime 2009).

e) Aggressiveness or bravado

Men in groups often behave differently from how they would as individuals. This can explain some of the “gang harassment” that occurs when a woman enters a plant or walks past a group of workers at lunch; after a few drinks at an office party; or when a group of colleagues attend a conference. Alone, those men would probably be “harmless”, or less bold (Pellegrini, 2001).

f) Lack of company policy

Aaron and Dry (1992) reported that women would often resign rather than complain, since they did not know where to go, or if they did complain, it was either treated as a joke, or no action was taken by management. They further explained that if management condoned such behavior or if victims ended up being blamed, the perpetrator was encouraged to continue the pattern of harassment, affecting more and more women. This may still be going on in many companies currently especially due to either a lack of sexual harassment policy or challenges with administering sexual harassment policy adequately.

2.4.2 The Consequences of Sexual Harassment

According to Larson (2009), case histories, experience and research internationally and in South Africa, have proven that sexual harassment can involve heavy costs, both to companies and to individuals concerned. A discussion of the consequences for companies, legal costs and personal costs follows:

a) Costs to companies

Harassment costs companies money by reducing productivity, morale and motivation. If a worker is constantly concerned that the harasser may strike again, he/she is unlikely to be able to work effectively. At the same time, colleagues who are not involved may be de-motivated if they are aware of unacceptable goings-on, or fear possible favoritism.

Companies may lose valuable staff. Many women resign rather than go through the unpleasantness of a confrontation. In a division of a company employing many women, where the problem was rife, few women stayed longer than three months. This almost bankrupted the division due to high recruitment and training costs and poor productivity (Larson, 2009).

The costs of bad decisions related to harassment are difficult to quantify. These include the costs of appointing people because of their looks or compliance with “*quid pro quo*” demands, rather than skills and competence, the direct costs of perks and unearned increases for favorites, and hotel and travelling costs if women are taken along on business trips or to conferences for personal rather than business reasons. Other examples could relate to giving loans or overdrafts unwisely, or placing orders in the hope of gaining the victim’s compliance.

High absenteeism among women could also be a result (or a possible symptom) of harassment, as the stress caused by such an unresolved problem, or the fear of being harassed again can either cause illness, or encourage women to stay “safely” at home.

The knowledge that harassment is permitted can undermine ethical standards and discipline in the organisation in general as staff lose respect for, and trust in, their seniors who indulge in, or turn a blind eye to, such behaviour. If word gets around that a company allows sexual harassment to go unchecked, the company's image among its staff, customers and the general public may also suffer (Larson, 2009).

b) Legal costs

Companies can incur legal costs if the problem of sexual harassment is ignored. Sutherland (1989) describes the first case of sexual harassment reported in South Africa which, ruled that "an employer undoubtedly has a duty to ensure that its employees are not subjected to this form of violation in the workplace". Action may be brought against an employer who knows, or ought to know, about harassment and fails to take appropriate preventive action. Where there are inadequate channels of complaint an employer may be held liable even if there was no knowledge of the harassment (Sutherland, 1989).

Sutherland (1989) also expresses that whereas sexual harassment was in the past usually dealt with by the Industrial Court as an unfair labour practice, harassment of an employee or prospective employee by an employer, or by another employee of the same employer, is now expressly prohibited. Because of being declared unlawful such behaviour may lead to both criminal action and civil claims.

It is further presented by Sutherland (1989, p. 620) that if a company has no clear policy on sexual harassment it may also have problems if it needs to take disciplinary steps against the person accused of sexual harassment. Lack of clear definition of unacceptable behaviour would make it easier for a person accused of sexual harassment to take the company to court to appeal against disciplinary steps or dismissal. "In a case a few years ago a senior manager in a large South African company was dismissed when many years of serious harassment of more than a dozen women came to light. His behaviour had cost the company heavily in terms of productivity losses, the cost of favours and company image. However, when he appealed to the Industrial Court the company settled out of

court because they feared losing the case as they had had no specific policy or clear definition of sexual harassment at the time” (Sutherland,1989, p.620).

c) Personal costs

The victims usually suffer the highest personal costs, although the perpetrators and even observers can also be harmed if harassment is allowed to go uncontrolled.

Rudman et al., (1995) document that few people who have not experienced sexual harassment personally understand the distress and even terror it can cause. They explain that most women experience it as an insult that undermines their self-confidence and thus also their personal effectiveness. They say it may also undermine their trust in men and in people in authority. In the case of women who were sexually abused as children or as adults yet another negative experience can cause serious psychological damage.

Rudman et al., (1995) further say that women who resign because of sexual harassment problems often have difficulty getting good references from their previous employers, or struggle to give reasons for having left their previous job; and may thus have difficulty in finding another position. Obviously this could disrupt such a woman’s entire life. They continue to explain that women who resist harassment or complain may be victimised, for example overlooked for promotion. This can restrict their career development and personal growth.

According to research on Cape Gateway, the people accused of sexual harassment themselves could fall into bad habits if their behaviour is allowed to continue. This can negatively influence their effectiveness at work, their interpersonal relationships, their marriage and their personal development. Particularly in the case of the last two of the types of harassers mentioned above, i.e. the serial and the situational harassers, ignoring their behaviour could cause a deep-seated problem to go untreated (Cape Gateway, 2009).

Men or women who observe harassment going unchecked may lose trust in their superiors, may feel threatened by the situation if they believe that others are favoured

because they play along, or may be tempted to indulge in the same type of behaviour if that appears to be “the rules of the game” in their company (Cape Gateway 2009)

2.5 The Multi-Perspective Framework of Sexual Harassment

2.5.1 Introduction

Tata and Bowes-Sperry in Powell (1999) came up with what they refer to as the Multi-Perspective Framework of Sexual Harassment. This framework has been adopted as a guideline for the proposed research. According to Powell (1999), they developed this framework after an extensive review of 20 years of existing research on sexual harassment. This research justifies the use of this framework because of the long-term and extensive work put into formulating it. Tata and Bowes-Sperry say that sexual harassment can be discussed from the following three perspectives:

1. The Individual/Subjective perspective;
2. The Conceptual/Behavioural perspective; and
3. The Legal perspective.

2.5.2 The Multi-Perspective Framework of Sexual Harassment

a) The Individual/Subjective perspective

York in Powell (1999, p.24) writes, “Sexual harassment is not a purely objective phenomenon but one based on an individual’s perception of another’s behaviour”.

Using this concept, Tata and Bowes-Sperry in Powell (1999, p.56) explain that from the individual/subjective perspective, sexual harassment is “any behaviour of a sexual nature that an individual subjectively perceives to be offensive and unwelcome (whether or not it is legally or conceptually defined as such)”. Therefore, from this perspective, sexual harassment is viewed subjectively with the definition differing from individual to individual.

b) Conceptual/Behavioural perspective

Tata and Bowes-Sperry in Powell (1999, p.35) maintain that sexual harassment is a “stable behavioural construct distinct from, but related to, evolving legal formulations.” They explain that it consists of three primary dimensions, which are:

- a) Gender harassment;
- b) Unwanted sexual attention;
- c) Sexual coercion.

This perspective seeks to identify types of behaviour that constitute sexual harassment whether or not they are legally defined as sexual harassment, or are perceived by targets as such. In this case, the definition of sexual harassment does not differ from person to person. Again, according to this perspective, this sexually harassing behaviour does not also have to be legally defined as such.

1. Gender Harassment

Tata and Bowes-Sperry in Powell (1999, p.36) define this term as “behaviours that express hostile or insulting attitudes towards targets, but are not initiated for the purpose of gaining sexual co-operation.”

2. Unwanted Sexual Attention

Tata and Bowes-Sperry in Powell (1999, p.36) define this construct as “behaviours that are initiated for the purpose of gaining sexual co-operation, but are not welcome by the target or tied to job-related outcomes.”

3. Sexual Coercion

Tata and Bowes-Sperry in Powell (1999, p.37) define this concept as “behaviours that explicitly or implicitly link sexual co-operation to job-related outcomes.” This perspective examines the occurrence of objective outcomes; therefore, its definition remains constant. Glomb (1997) in Powell (1999) elaborates that in addition to direct

exposure to sexually harassing behaviour; people can also be indirectly exposed. He refers to this phenomenon as, “*ambient sexual harassment*” which has been defined as “the general level of sexual harassment in a work group” and refers to the frequency of sexually harassing behaviours experienced by others in a target’s work group.

c) Legal Perspective

Tata and Bowes-Sperry in Powell (1999, p.22) insist that from a legal perspective, “sexual harassment is any behaviour that violates the laws of the country in which it occurs”. Khan and Mawire (2005) reveal that before 2003, Zimbabwe’s Laws had no legal definition of sexual harassment at the workplace. Although the concept was mentioned in some codes of conduct within organisations, it was not developed to the extent that it would act as a deterrent to would be harassers. For this reason, victims could not get recourse from the courts and this also played a part in perpetuation of the harassing behaviour. Currently, Section 8 of the Zimbabwean Labour Relations Amendment Act 17\2002 provides for unfair labour practice by an employer to cover:

- Demands from an employee for any sexual favour as a condition of;
 - a) The requirement for employment, or
 - b) The creation, classification or abolition of jobs or posts; or the improvement of the remuneration or other conditions of employment of the employee, or
 - c) The choice of persons for jobs or posts,
 - d) And other matter related to employment.
- Engaging in unwelcome sexually determined behaviour towards any employee, whether verbal or otherwise, such as making physical contact or advances, sexually coloured remarks or displaying pornographic materials in the workplace.
- The aforementioned definition covers two very important aspects of sexual harassment, namely, the issue of *quid pro quo* as explained in the clause;

“whereby sexual favours may not be utilised to offer jobs, promotions, better salaries, stop retrenchment and such employment related matters.”

Section (h) covers the issue of unwanted sexual attention such as touching a colleague inappropriately, making verbal remarks or displaying pornographic materials.

Khan and Mawire (2005) explain that although this definition covers a wider range of behaviours than the previous one found in the codes of conduct, it fails to mention the issue of “hostile environment” which is an important element of the nature of sexual harassment. According to the law of Zimbabwe on sexual harassment as an unfair labour practice, there are two main issues with respect to employees. Both the person accused of sexual harassment and the employer are liable for the harassment. The employer is liable because he/she is required to provide a safe working environment.

Khan and Mawire (2005) further allude to a trend whereby women do not complain of sexual harassment until they are challenging an unfair dismissal. This has had the effect of questioning the women’s credibility because as the complaint is retrospective, the complaint has lower credibility. It is unfortunate that sexual harassment only arises as a defence by victims; it then impacts negatively on court outcomes. This is probably due to a combination of factors, including the fact that the victims often do not have enough information about their rights or fear of not being believed. As a result, the onus is shifted to the victim by the law of evidence. In sexual matters, the law of Zimbabwe requires the victim to satisfy the courts and prove her innocence (with the assumption that the victim is virtuous). As yet there do not appear to have been any complaints of sexual harassment in court by men.

2.5.3 Causes of sexual harassment from the Multi-Perspective Framework of Sexual Harassment

a) Individual/Subjective Perspective

From the individual/subjective perspective the question, “what causes sexual harassment”, is reframed as, “what causes certain individuals to label certain behaviours

as sexual harassment?" (Tata and Bowes-Sperry in Powell, 1999, p.72). This is because from this perspective, sexual harassment only exists when an individual labels it as such.

Blakely et al., (1995) and Feder (1993) in Powell (1999) assert that socio-sexual behaviours are more likely to be labelled as harassment by people who have previously experienced sexual harassment. Both-Butterfield (1989) maintains that socio-sexual behaviours are more likely to be labelled as harassment by people who have an internal locus of control. Moreover, Brooks and Perot (1991) believe that certain behaviour is more likely to be perceived as sexual harassment by people who perceive the initiator's intentions as hostile.

Reilley et al., (1999, p.24) on the other hand believe that "third-party perceptions of sexual harassment can be influenced by perceptions of the target's complicity to the situation". Tata (1998, p.38) also adds that perceptions of sexual harassment can be influenced by the "remedial accounts (explanations) provided by the initiator".

Apart from individual-level factors, organisational variables also influence people's perceptions and labelling of sexual harassment. Pryor (1985) supports Tata's (1993, p.72) belief that, "the general unexpectedness or inappropriateness of behaviour for an actor's role and status contributes to the labelling of a behaviour as sexual harassment". For example, people in superior positions are held to higher standards than those in the same positions and the target would then not expect to experience sexually harassing behaviour from a person in a supervisory role.

Schneider et al., (1997) and Pryor et al., (1993) agree that those organisations with highly sexualised atmospheres are more likely to have a greater number of occurrences of harassment. Bowes-Sperry and Tata in Powell (1999, p.38) confirm that this finding is consistent with the power differences perspective, to the extent that "there is power in numbers" because individuals who are contemplating sexual harassment are likely to believe that they will be supported (or at least not punished) by others.

b) Conceptual/ behavioural perspective

Below are examples of causes of sexual harassment from a conceptual/behavioural viewpoint:

i. Sexual arousal as an explanation for sexual harassment

Johnson (1982) in Powell (1999, p.40) purports that from the natural/biological model of sexual harassment, “sexual harassment results from biological sex drives or sexual arousal”. Sexual arousal is also central to Stockdale’s (1993) *misperception theory* that says that some sexual harassment behaviours may result due to men misperceiving women’s friendliness as a desire, or want, of a sexual relationship. The initiators in such cases may not perceive their actions as harmful to the targets but as pleasing. Abbey (1982); Johnson et al., (1991) concur that men are more likely than women to perceive friendly behaviour as sexy. These authors believe that men are more likely than women to initiate sexually harassing behaviours.

ii. Power differences as an explanation for sexual harassment

Tangri et al., (1982) explain that “Differences in power are central to both *socio-cultural* and *organisational models* of sexual harassment. The *socio-cultural model* suggests that sexual harassment is the result of gender-related power differences perpetuated by a patriarchal value system in society. The *organisational model* suggests that sexual harassment results from the hierarchical structure in organisations”.

Therefore they elaborate that according to the *socio-cultural model* a man who is part of a society that exhibits gender-related power differences that favour men is more likely than not to exhibit sexually harassing behaviour. According to the *organisational model*, a person may exhibit sexually harassing behaviour because of their being in a higher hierarchical position than the target.

Research by Lafontaine and Tredeau (1986) shows that sexually harassing behaviour occurs more often in firms that are not perceived as having equal employment

opportunities for women. These firms by definition have more men in higher-level positions. Johnson et al., (1991) show that men tend to be the initiators of sexual harassment behaviours. This finding is consistent with the *power differences perspective*. Tata and Bowers-Sperry in Powell (1999) say that target characteristics associated with personal vulnerability, for example younger age and lower levels of education, have been found to be correlates of sexual harassment.

iii. Integrative explanations of sexual harassment

Gutek and Morasch (1982) use the *sex-role spill over model* to argue that when the sex ratio of employees in a place is skewed, or when the occupations are sex-typed, the characteristics of one gender become more salient and traditional sex roles spill over into the workplace.

Fitzgerald et al. (1997) partially support this viewpoint by saying that from their findings workplaces with large male numbers and traditionally oriented tasks exhibited higher sexual harassment levels, though they did not find a similar effect for female-dominated workplaces. Gruber (1992) found similar results in her research where there was a higher occurrence of sexual harassment in male-dominated, blue collar occupations. In this case this model is consistent with the sexual arousal explanation if it is looked at in terms of whether “sexiness” is more salient as a result of skewed gender ratios. Alternatively, if “weakness” is more salient as a result of skewed gender ratios, then this model is consistent with the *power differences* explanation as well.

Bargh et al., (1995, p.23) also found that “men with propensities to sexually harass (e.g. those espousing adversarial sexual beliefs and traditional sex role stereotypes) were more likely to associate power cues with sexual cues. They were more sexually attracted to women when power themes had been primed, compared to other men.”

Pryor et al., (1993) view sexual harassment as originating from person/situation interaction. They suggest that individual variables should be examined within their situational context because “neither qualities of the person, nor qualities of the situation are typically sufficient to produce sexually harassing behaviour.” They found that men

with a tendency to harass were more likely to initiate sexually harassing behaviour when the social norms of their department or organisation allowed them to do so without penalty.

c) **Legal Perspective**

From a legal perspective, breaking sexual harassment laws or policies in a given country, system or workplace will result in one being accused of sexual harassment if this is reported to the police by the victim, or if somebody reports on behalf of the victim. The organisation/accused may be fined, made to serve a sentence or whatever is seen fit by the judge/jury of a given country.

2.5.4 Consequences of Sexual Harassment from the Multi-Perspective Framework

“Consequences of sexual harassment may be similar to the individual/subjective and conceptual/behavioural perspective because even “relatively low-level” types of sexual harassment can result in negative outcomes for people exposed to such behaviour” (Schneider et al., 1997, p.42).

a) **Individual/Subjective Perspective and Conceptual/Behavioural Perspective**

Tata and Bowes-Sperry (1999) in Powell (1999) categorise consequences of sexual harassment as:

1. Job-related,
2. Psychological/Somatic,
3. Organisational.

Gutek and Koss (1993) maintain that negative job-related outcomes of sexual harassment include voluntary quits, transfers and reassignments, terminations, deterioration of interpersonal relationships with co-workers and decrease in job satisfaction and organisational commitment. Fitzgerald et al., (1993) in Powell (1999) found that women who were harassed reported lower levels of job satisfaction and higher levels of

absenteeism and turnover intentions. According to Lewin (1987), when people report sexual harassment, co-workers and others often retaliate against them in a manner similar to the well-documented 'whistleblower' effect.

Fitzgerald et al., (1993) in Powell (1999) also indicate that sexual harassment can impair the target's health causing headaches, sleep disturbances and psychological outcomes. Tata and Bowes-Sperry in Powell (1999) indicate that psychological/somatic outcomes include reduced self-esteem and life satisfaction, as well as increased stress, anger, fear, depression and anxiety.

As early as 1984, Loy and Stewart also noted that loss of motivation, irritability, uncontrolled anger and nervousness were the most common personal effects of sexual harassment and that three quarters of those experiencing sexual harassment had suffered at least one symptom of emotional/physical distress.

Glomb et al., (1997, p.47) provide an example to their earlier-mentioned phenomenon of 'ambient sexual harassment' when they state that negative outcomes were also experienced by co-workers of those who were aware of sexual harassment of others, had witnessed it or had heard about it.

b) Legal Perspective

The consequences of sexual harassment for Zimbabwean employees are related to the committing of an offence, or being a victim against the laws on sexual harassment. This may result in serving some time in prison, paying a fine and or providing compensation for the victim as the judge/jury see fit.

2.6 Other models/frameworks of Sexual Harassment

2.6.1 Glomb, Munson, Hulin, Bergman and Dragsgow's (1999) Structural Equation Model

According to this model, sexual harassment and its corresponding outcomes develop and change over time, yet research on this issue has been limited primarily to cross-sectional data. Using this model the authors adopted longitudinal models of harassment, which were proposed and empirically evaluated via structural equations modelling using data from 217 women who responded to a computerised questionnaire in 1994 and again in 1996. Results indicated that sexual harassment influences both proximal and distal work-related variables (e.g., job satisfaction, work withdrawal, job withdrawal) and psychological outcomes (e.g., life satisfaction, psychological well-being, distress).

2.6.2 Whaley's (1997) Comprehensive Framework

Whaley combines three existing models on sexual harassment; the psychological model, the organisational model and the socio-cultural model. He suggests that a general problem in the models of sexual harassment in the literature today is over-simplicity. He believes the complexity of sexual harassment requires more complex models. The author attempts to integrate three existing models from the literature (the psychological model, the organisational model and the socio-cultural model) into a single, more comprehensive model of sexual harassment. From the psychological models, the author examines the impact that "attitudes towards women" have on the existence of harassment; from the organisational model, "power distance is examined"; and from the socio-cultural model, "gender based role expectations" are considered.

2.6.3 Whaley and Tucker's (1999) Theoretical Integration Framework

This framework reports on research statistics that reveal that half of all working women are likely to suffer some form of sexual harassment during their careers, particularly those in non-traditional posts. It also outlines different explanatory theories for sexual harassment proposed in current literature, focusing in particular on socio-cultural, organisational and individual differences models and seeks to examine the interaction between various factors

identified. It discusses the main effects of power distance, attitudes towards women and gender/job match on sexual harassment; and develops models of sexual harassment behaviour to examine the interaction between these three factors for women with male supervisors in traditional and non-traditional roles, thus identifying the circumstances in which *quid pro quo* and hostile environment sexual harassment are most likely and most unlikely to occur.

2.7 The Sexual Harassment policies of the three international banks

2.7.1 Standard Chartered Bank International Sexual Harassment Policy

Standard Chartered Bank International includes its sexual harassment policy under its Human Rights policy. It therefore does not specifically address sexual harassment on its own. Below is their human rights policy as extracted from standardchartered.com:

“Standard Chartered supports the rights of the individual.

Standard Chartered supports the 1948 United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR)”.

“The UDHR contains a number of fundamental rights, which we aim to uphold in all circumstances, including:

- ❖ The right to life
- ❖ The right to legal recognition as a person
- ❖ Freedom of thought, conscience and religion
- ❖ Freedom of opinion and expression
- ❖ Freedom from torture
- ❖ **Freedom from cruel, inhumane or degrading treatment**
- ❖ Freedom from slavery and servitude
- ❖ Freedom from retroactive penal legislation”.

“Standard Chartered meets all relevant international legal obligations and all relevant local legal obligations in the countries in which it operates”.

“We are strictly apolitical and do not engage in political activity, support political parties or have any political affiliations worldwide. We recognise that we have direct responsibility for the impact of our activities on our employees, suppliers, customers and the communities in which we operate. We work to protect human rights in our own operations through our internal policies and procedures. Our policies also ensure that human rights are taken into account in procurement and lending decisions”.

2.7.2 Barclays Bank International Sexual Harassment Policy

“ The Sex Discrimination Act states that in employment it is unlawful to discriminate against women on grounds of sex or marriage in recruitment, training, promotion, dismissal and retirement” (Buxton, 2007, p.5).

The two types of discrimination according to Barclays bank are:

1. Direct Discrimination: This occurs when a person of one sex is treated less favourably on grounds of sex than a person of the other sex would be in the same or similar circumstances.
2. Indirect discrimination: This may occur when the same requirement or condition is applied to both sexes but the proportion of one sex which can comply with it is much smaller than the proportion of the others gender. If this is the case the employer must prove that the requirement is necessary for the job, irrespective of sex, unless the employer can do so it will be unlawful, whether or not there was an intention to discriminate.

2.7.3 Stanbic Bank International Sexual Harassment Policy

Extensive research reveals that Stanbic Bank international has no published sexual harassment policy.

2.8 Conclusion

The above chapter has highlighted what sexual harassment at the workplace is. It then went into an exploration of the causes and consequences of sexual harassment at the workplace.

The Multi-Perspective Framework of sexual harassment was then discussed and a comparison made with other sexual harassment models/frameworks. In addition, sexual harassment policies of the three international banks participating in this research were outlined.

CHAPTER 3: SEXUAL HARASSMENT IN ZIMBABWE

3.1 Introduction

Sexual harassment is a human rights violation. The chances of its occurrence are thus higher in an environment where there is a general disregard for human rights. There are widespread reports of systematic and escalating violations of human rights in Zimbabwe under President Robert Mugabe's administration and his party, Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF). Below is a discussion on human rights violations in Zimbabwe which will help to draw out a clearer understanding of human rights abuses, which include sexual harassment. This will show how much easier it is for sexual harassment to occur in Zimbabwean workplaces, including banks, specifically International banks in Harare's Central Business District (CBD).

3.2 Human Rights Violations in Zimbabwe

According to human rights organisations such as Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch the government of Zimbabwe violates the rights to shelter, food, freedom of movement and residence, freedom of assembly and the protection of the law. There are assaults on the media, political opposition, civil society activists, and human rights defenders (U.S. Department of State, 2006).

Opposition gatherings are frequently the subject of brutal attacks by the police force, such as the crackdown on a March 11, 2007 Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) rally. In the events, party leader Morgan Tsvangirai and 49 other opposition activists were arrested and severely beaten by the police. Edward Chikombo, a journalist who sent images of the beatings to foreign media, was abducted and murdered a few days later (*The Independent*, April 4, 2007).

After his release, Morgan Tsvangirai told the BBC that he suffered head injuries and blows to the arms, knees and back and that he lost a significant amount of blood. The police action was strongly condemned by the UN Secretary-General, Ban Ki-Moon, the European Union and the United States government (British Broadcasting Corporation, 2007).

While noting that the activists had suffered injuries, but not mentioning the cause of them (*The Herald, Zimbabwe, 2007-03-14*), the Zimbabwean government-controlled daily newspaper The Herald claimed the police had intervened after demonstrators “ran amok looting shops, destroying property, mugging civilians, and assaulting police officers and innocent members of the public.” The newspaper also argued that the opposition had been “willfully violating the ban on political rallies” (*The Herald, Zimbabwe, 2007-03-14*).

It is interesting to find out what the degree of violations are for women who are at a risk of sexual harassment considering the above experiences by men in leadership roles. Below is a relevant discussion.

a) **The relationship between human rights violations and women’s rights in Zimbabwe**

Women are disadvantaged in Zimbabwe, with economic dependency on men and social norms preventing them from combating sex discrimination. Despite legal prohibitions, customs such as forced marriages are still in place. Domestic violence against women is a serious problem. While labour legislation prohibits sexual harassment in the workplace, such harassment is common and generally not prosecuted. While the law recognises women’s right to property, inheritance and divorce, many women lack awareness of their rights (U.S. Department of State, 2006).

According to the same publication, authorities often did not allow detainees prompt or regular access to their lawyers and often informed lawyers who attempted to visit their clients that detainees were “not available”. In February 2006, for example, police officials in Harare denied activists arrested during the annual Women of Zimbabwe Arise (WOZA) Valentine’s Day march access to their attorney, Tafadzwa Mugabe, for five days. Family members were sometimes denied access unless accompanied by an attorney.

The same publication adds that domestic violence against women, especially wife beating, continued to be a serious problem and crossed racial, ethnic, and economic lines. No legislation specifically addresses domestic abuse in Zimbabwe. Musasa Project, a local Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) that works for the protection and promotion of women's

rights, reported that approximately one-third of women in the country were in an abusive marital relationship in 2006.

According to a speech given by the Minister of Women's Affairs, Gender, and Community Development, Oppah Muchinguri, approximately 60 percent of murder cases heard by the high court directly related to violence in the home. Most cases of domestic violence went unreported due to traditional sensitivities and fear of economic consequences for the family. There were newspaper reports of wife killings and there were a few reports of prosecutions and convictions for such crimes. In one reported case, a man received a 15 year jail sentence for killing his wife in a domestic dispute (*The Herald, Zimbabwe, 2007-03-14*).

During the year 2006 government conducted a public awareness campaign on domestic violence in the state media and through pamphlets and billboards. Musasa Project reported that treatment of victimised women varied because authorities generally considered domestic violence to be a private matter and usually only arrested an offender for assault if there was physical evidence of abuse. Several women's rights groups worked with law enforcement and provided training and literature on domestic violence as well as shelters and counseling for women (*The Herald, Zimbabwe, 2007-03-14*).

The criminal code of Zimbabwe defines sexual offenses as rape, sodomy, incest, indecent assault, or immoral or indecent acts with a child or person with mental disabilities. The Act makes rape and non-consensual sex between married partners a crime; however, few cases of rape, especially spousal rape, were reported to authorities because women were unaware that spousal rape was a crime and particularly in rural areas they feared losing the support of their families. The criminal code provides for penalties up to life in prison for sexual crimes; however, there were continued reports of rape, incest, and sexual abuse of women and young girls. In many cases the victims knew their rapist. The criminal code also makes it a crime to infect anyone knowingly with HIV/AIDS and the government prosecuted some individuals for the crime (Government of Zimbabwe Sexual Harassment Act N0 8 of 2001).

According to a report by the US Department of state (2006), Zimbabwe's labor legislation prohibits sexual harassment in the workplace; however, women commonly faced workplace

sexual harassment and there were no reports of any prosecutions during the year. There are laws aimed at enhancing women's rights and countering certain traditional practices that discriminate against women; however, women remained disadvantaged in society. Economic dependency and prevailing social norms prevented rural women in particular from combating societal discrimination. Despite legal prohibitions, women were still vulnerable to entrenched customary practices, including the practice of pledging a young woman to marriage with a partner not of her choosing and the custom of forcing a widow to marry her late husband's brother.

The above report continues to say that the law recognises women's right to own property independently of their husbands or fathers. Many women, however, continued to be unaware of their property and inheritance rights. Divorce and maintenance laws are favourable to women, but women generally lacked awareness of their rights. Women and children continued to be adversely affected by the government's ongoing campaign of forced evictions and the demolition of homes and businesses in several cities and towns. Many widows who earned their income in the informal economy or by renting out cottages on their property lost income when their market stalls or cottages were destroyed.

The report continues to say that in addition, widows faced particular difficulties when forced to relocate to rural areas. Traditionally, women joined their husband's family when married and were considered an unwanted burden by their childhood families. Likewise, they were sometimes unwelcome in their husband's family in rural areas where resources were already strained. The report adds that, The Ministry of Women's Affairs, Gender and Community Development did little to advance the cause of women beyond a public information campaign and lobbying for a proposed Domestic Violence Bill. The government gave qualified women access to training in the military and national service. Although there have been advances for women within the armed forces, they continued to occupy primarily administrative positions.

According to the 2004 Zimbabwe Millennium Development Goals Progress Report, women represented 30 percent of the civil service in 2002. A local NGO, Musasa Project (2007), reported that in recent years women progressed in health and education but in general were

concentrated in the lower echelons of the workforce, especially in the financial industry. Women held positions of importance in the legislative and executive branches of the government. The report states that several active women's rights groups concentrated on improving women's knowledge of their legal rights, increasing their economic power, combating domestic violence and protecting women against domestic violence and sexual transmission of HIV/AIDS.

It is interesting to note that in African countries, culture and custom play a major role in the promoting of discrimination against women. No wonder Lightfoot-Klein comments, "Custom in Africa is stronger than domination, stronger than the law, stronger even than religion. Over the years, customary practices have been incorporated into religion and ultimately have come to be believed by their practitioners to be demanded by their adopted gods, whoever they may be" (Lightfoot-Klein, 1989, p.47) cited by (Okome, 2003, p.71). This information helps us to understand the root causes of some of the occurrences of sexual harassment in Zimbabwe, which naturally takes us to the following discussion.

3.3 The relationship between Sexual Harassment and Culture in Zimbabwe

Culture is a broad term that refers to the 'customs, institutions and achievements of a particular nation, people or group' (South African Concise Oxford Dictionary, 2002, p. 282). Kambarami (2006) purports that radical feminists believe culture imprisons women, leading to their subordination because of the patriarchal nature of society. For example, In Zimbabwe, a widow passes to her deceased husband's brother in a traditional practice called *kugara nhaka*, which could fuel HIV transmission if the woman's deceased husband was HIV-infected, she has become HIV-infected, and she transmits the virus to her husband's brother (United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs 2004).

Another example is by Jewkes et al., (1999) who say that child marriage is also facilitated by the tradition of *lobola* in Zimbabwe, also called bride wealth. A man's family gives goods or property to his prospective wife's family as compensation for her obligation to bear children and the loss of her labour. A young girl's high productive and

reproductive potential makes her especially valuable in such marital arrangements. Yet, once married, a young woman may have little control over sexual matters.

Seventeen years after Lightfoot-Klein made the important assertion in the previous paragraph, it is only appropriate this paper continues to assess how culture continues to impact negatively on feminine sexuality despite all efforts that have been made to minimise the impact by challenging the status quo. Kambarami (2006), in her presentation at the University of Fort Hare, examined the interplay between being female, sexuality and culture within the Shona culture in Zimbabwe. Shona (or ChiShona) is a Bantu language, native to the Shona people of Zimbabwe and southern Zambia; the term is also used to identify peoples who speak one of the Shona language dialects, namely Zezuru, Karanga, Manyika, Ndau and Korekore.

The word “Shona” is derived from the Ndebele word *itshonalanga* (where the sun set). Shona is an official language of Zimbabwe, along with Ndebele and English. Shona speakers comprise more than (80%) of Zimbabwe's population and number about six and a quarter million persons (Wikimedia Foundation 1989). Shona is also spoken by a substantial number of people in Mozambique. Other countries that host Shona language speakers are Zambia and Botswana. The total number of Shona speakers is at least 7 million (Wikimedia Foundation 1990).

Kambarami (2006) explains that in the Shona culture, patriarchal practices shape and perpetuate gender inequality and strip women of any form of control over their sexuality. Her paper focuses on one aspect of culture, namely, patriarchy. She highlights how patriarchy is bred through the socialisation process, which begins in the family, and how it (patriarchy) infiltrates into other sectors of society like religion, education, the economy and politics. Lastly, she highlights patriarchal practices which lead to the control of female sexuality by males. The main argument in her paper is that patriarchy leads to gender inequality and subordination of women to the extent that females do not have control over their sexuality.

a) **The relationship between culture and the family in Zimbabwe**

Kambarami alludes that the family, as a social institution, is a *brewery* for patriarchal practices by socialising the young to accept sexually differentiated roles. In the Shona culture, from a tender age, the socialisation process differentiates the girl child from the boy child. Shona males are socialised to view themselves as breadwinners and heads of households, whilst females are taught to be obedient and submissive housekeepers (Kambarami, 2006). In addition, girls are also encouraged to pursue careers such as nursing, social work, teaching and other similar ones and avoid mechanical ones such as engineering and actuarial sciences which leaves them in lower earning jobs in the future compared to their male counterparts. Furthermore, some families fail to take their girl-children to school or further their education. The cause of such differentiation and discrimination is that society views women as sexual beings and not as human beings (Charvet, 1982).

McDowell and Pringle (1992) further state that women are not only constantly defined in relation to men, but are defined as dependent and subordinate to them as well. As a result, women are socialised to acquire those qualities, which fit them into a relationship of dependence on men. These qualities include gentleness, passivity, submission and striving to please men always.

According to Kambarami (2006), in the Shona culture, once a girl reaches puberty all teachings are directed towards pleasing one's future husband, as well as being a gentle and obedient wife. Her sexuality is further defined for her, as she is taught how to use it for the benefit of the male race. She adds that these cultural teachings foster a dependence syndrome and explains that this is why most African women depend heavily on their husbands for support. As a result, once a husband dies, the woman quickly remarries so as to find another pillar of support to lean on.

Interviews by Kambarami with Shona women who visited Harare Central Hospital's Social Work Department during the period from January 2006 to June 2006 revealed this dependence on males. Most women who sought grants from the Government answered the question "Why do you need assistance from the Government"? With answers like "My

husband died so I have no-one to look after me”, or “I was deserted by my husband, so I have no one to look after me”, or further still, “I do not have a husband”.

Kambarami noted that all the answers given by these women spelled out how patriarchy creates dependence on males to the extent that in the absence of males, many women may not manage to support themselves financially as they had been socialised to believe that that role should be played by males. She affirmed that, in the Shona culture, in the family, the male child is preferred to the female child. “In fact, males rule females by right of birth and even if the male child is not the first born in a family, he is automatically considered the head of the household who should protect and look after his sisters”.

“The female child is further discriminated due to the fact that eventually she marries out and joins another family, whilst the male child ensures the survival of the family name through bringing additional members into the family” (Human Rights Monitor, 2001). This attitude has seen some parents preferring to educate boys instead of girls.

The toys that parents buy for their children also aid the socialisation process, for instance a girl child is given dolls or kitchen utensils to play with, whilst the boy child is given toy cars, puzzle games and all toys that require physical energy or mental ability. As a result, the girl child is socialised to become a mother - soft, emotionally sensitive and to develop her mothering instincts. Furthermore, boys who cry easily, are shy or avoid fights are often scolded by their parents for behaving like girls (Kambarami, 2006).

Kambarami (2006, p. 22) says that upon reaching puberty, aunts, grandmothers and mothers play an active role in ensuring that the girl child understands her sexuality and the implications it brings upon her life. “Don’t play with boys” is a favourite phrase that characterises the puberty stage, however the Shona culture is very conservative, to the extent that sexual issues are not discussed openly. “As a result the phrase becomes so confusing for girls who begin to treat their counterparts with a wary eye without full information on why they should do so. This state is confusing, also due to the fact that as she grows up, she is

taught the merits of being a good wife – in contrast to years of being taught that males are to be treated with a wary eye”?

Furthermore, as one grows up, biological instincts win the battle and the female enters into sexual relationships. There is always an ambivalent feeling that at one end it feels good to be in a relationship, whilst at the other end there is guilt due to culturally cultivated attitudes and norms. Along the process a lot of mistakes do happen, like unwanted pregnancies or forced abortions and society does not spare such women as they are then labelled ‘spoilt’ (Human Rights Monitor, 2001).

Many cultures express leniency on male sexual behaviour but are very prescriptive when it comes to female sexual behaviour (International Centre for Human Rights, 1996). Males are free to experiment sexually at will before marriage, whilst females have to preserve their virginity for marriage, or risk tarnishing the image of the family since the son-in-law will not pay ‘*mombe yechimanda*’. This is a cow offered to the in-laws as a token of appreciation for ensuring that his wife preserved her virginity. This custom holds much value in the Shona culture and in some parts of the country, virginity tests are still carried out up to this day (Kambarami, 2006).

The socialisation process in the family which instils patriarchal practices into the young does not end within the family, but infiltrates into the other social institutions such as marriage, religion, education, politics and the economy (Every Culture 2009).

b) The relationship between culture and marriage in Zimbabwe

Oyekan (2002) says that marriage is considered sacred and a married woman is treated with respect, in fact the desired outcome of most Shona women is marriage. In marriage, the husband can have as many wives as he wants and can have extra-marital affairs. When such a scenario happens, however, it is the wife who is blamed for failing to satisfy her husband or for failing to curb his desire to have an affair. “All men are the same” is a favourite phrase of older women as they try to make young women accept the inevitable (male infidelity). However, if it so happens that a married woman engages in an extramarital affair she is not

spared, she is labelled as 'loose' and has to be sent back to her parents so that they can instil some discipline into her, or she is divorced straight away (Kambarami, 2006).

In addition, married women are expected to be sexually passive and submissive to their husbands, men are the initiators of sex and also set the conditions for the sexual encounter. On the same note, Messer (2004) states that women are expected to satisfy the sexual desires of their husbands. As a result, when a husband wants sex, the wife should comply because that is part of the marriage contract (Leclerc-Madlala, 2000). This scenario has increased the spread of HIV and AIDS because women are less able to insist on safer sex measures, as men control the sexual encounters.

c) The relationship between culture and religion in Zimbabwe

Patriarchal attitudes are also found in Christianity and these have strengthened the traditional customs, which men use to control women's sexuality (Human Rights Monitor, 2001). Most religions consider men to be more valuable to society than women. In Christianity for example, Eve's alleged creation from Adam's rib has made women occupy a subordinate position in the Church, as well as in the family. Women are therefore viewed merely as second-class citizens who were created as an afterthought. This is to say that if God had seen it fit for Adam to stay alone, then Eve would never have been created and hence women would not exist in this world.

Such patriarchal attitudes have seen women being forced to be submissive to males. To make matters worse, once Eve was part of the picture she created havoc by giving in to the Devil's temptation and leading Adam into sin. This portrayal of women as the weaker sex has caused men to view women as needing to be kept under constant supervision, lest they err.

St Paul's letter to the Colossians is one example of the letters which Zimbabwean men quote as a justification of their control over women. The woman is expected to "submit to her husband" (Colossians 3:18), whilst the husband has to love his wife (Colossians 3:19). Now love is much more difficult to measure than obedience or submissiveness. As a result, men control their women and justify their actions through Christian theology.

d) The relationship between culture and education in Zimbabwe

The educational system in Zimbabwe is structured in a way that maintains the inequalities that exist between girls and boys. Firstly, the textbooks that are used in schools depict boys as tough, rough and mentally skilled people who are adventurous, whilst girls are depicted as soft, gentle people who enjoy carrying out household duties. Even the uniforms for boys and girls are different with girls' uniforms not being suitable for the rough play or tree climbing that boys favour (Kambarami, 2006).

Secondly, the educational system does not take into consideration the fact that when children start attending school they come with inequalities discussed in previous pages already shaped within them. The school curriculum should then as a result, rather be structured in a way that addresses these inequalities and not in a way that perpetuates them. The educational system in Zimbabwe has thus been criticized by Chirimuuta (2006) for being gender insensitive and gender blind as it encourages mainly male models, male-authored textbooks and theories - thus creating the expectation that women should be academically subordinate as well.

Thirdly, in the school environment, the girl child is a victim of her sexuality as well. Male teachers make sexual advances to girls in return for cash, marks or other material gains and failure to comply may lead to violence. This offer however is irresistible for girls who come from poor families, but at the end of the day it is the girl who suffers when she becomes pregnant, contracts Sexually Transmitted Infections or HIV. To add on to the burden, society will ostracize her for being 'loose' (Chirimuuta, 2006) whilst the male culprit who seduced her goes scot-free, without a 'label'.

In Zimbabwe, the enrolment ratio for girls' declines with the level of education, for instance in secondary schools, the enrolment ratio for girls is only (42%), (UNAIDS, 2004). This is due to the patriarchal attitude which views educating girls as a waste of money, since they will marry out and benefit another family (Human Rights Monitor, 2001). In some religions, like the Apostolic Sect, girls are married whilst still in primary school to older members of the sect.

Education is one way in which women can emancipate themselves from the grip of culture through male domination, however a critical analysis of educated women reveals that education is not a true emancipator. This is due to the fact that even those women who are educated have to succumb to culture otherwise they get labelled as ‘unmarriageable’ (Chirimuuta, 2006) and will be shunned by prospective partners. Since marriage is a sacred institution in the Shona culture, it is society’s expectation that every woman should be married. Furthermore, parents really get worried when their daughters do not get married - to the extent of consulting *Sangomas* (traditional healers) in order to break the supposed curse. As a result, education fails to offer total liberation to Shona women.

e) **The relationship between culture and the economy in Zimbabwe**

The low levels of female enrolment in secondary schools means that fewer women make it into the corporate world, however for those who do, they soon realise that men control the economy. Patriarchal attitudes also exist in the corporate world and fewer women are allowed to occupy leadership positions. Most women occupy less challenging positions like secretarial or clerical positions. In the public service in Zimbabwe, for example, there are more males than females occupying ministerial positions. Moreover, the females occupy less challenging positions for instance in Gender, Culture or Education Departments (Kambarami, 2006).

It is rare to find women occupying challenging ministerial positions, such as in the Ministry of Finance or State Defence. Furthermore, even if women are chosen as leaders they have to prove their capability twice as much as their male counterparts due to the fact that educated and professional women, no matter how capable, are never considered equal to male peers and colleagues. A female colleague may be admired, humoured, tolerated....and if she plays her cards well she might even make an inroad into her field of expertise. But too often it will be because of “favour”, rarely because of her true capabilities (Buchanan, 1993, p.1070) cited in (Okome, 2003, p. 84).

Still in the corporate sector, women are victims of their sexuality as they may be subjected to sexual harassment or sexual violence by their bosses. This situation is due to the fact that

women are frequently viewed as sexual beings and not as human beings, as reported by Charvet (1982). In some cases, in order to be considered for promotion women have to offer sexual favours to their bosses. To even be considered for a position, a woman might also be asked for sexual favours.

The majority of Zimbabwean women who are not employed are found in rural areas where they “toil on land they do not own, to produce what they do not control and at the end of the marriage, through divorce or death they can be sent away empty handed” (Kambarami, 2006).

These women are discriminated upon by not being allowed to own land on the basis of custom and customary law since men have always been viewed culturally as land owners, (Human Rights Monitor, 2001). This situation as a result forces rural women to be dependent on males through the cycle of marriage and reproduction (Human Rights Monitor, 2001).

f) The relationship between culture and politics in Zimbabwe

Politics is portrayed as a dirty game, which requires tough qualities and as a result very few women in Zimbabwe join it. Those women who enter politics have to really prove that they are of a tough calibre in order to withstand the pressure brought about by patriarchal attitudes, which define women as weak citizens not fit for public office. Typically in the Zimbabwean political sphere women are only freely accepted without questions as singers, dancers, cooks and guest entertainers (Kambarami, 2006).

3.4 Patriarchal Practices which lead to the control of female sexuality by males

Due to the fact that the African culture is patriarchal, female sexuality is largely in the hands of males (Khumalo and Garbus, 2002). The payment of *lobola*, arranged marriages, rape and levirate marriages will be used as examples to explain below how these practices lead to the control of female sexuality.

a) Payment of lobola, bride price or dowry

In the Shona culture, by virtue of the payment of *lobola*, or bride price, children belong to the father and inherit the father's surname, totem, as well as citizenship. Furthermore, married women cannot pass on their citizenship rights to their children even though single mothers can, (Ansell, 2001). This is due to the fact that many Zimbabwean laws follow cultural customs, which are part of the patriarchal system in which women occupy subordinate positions. All the same, *lobola* gives a man all rights, whilst the woman is stripped of all freedom and rights.

She is even further reduced to the level of acquired property. The scenario is made worse in cases where the *lobola* is set at a high price as this can lead to abuse if the wife fails to be obedient to her husband, even though she was 'paid for'. As a result, *lobola*, which is part of the patriarchal nature of our society breeds, inequality and widens the gap between men and women, thereby placing women in a subordinate position (Das, 1993).

b) Levirate Marriages

According to Shona custom, when one's husband dies, the widow is expected to marry one of her late husband's brothers. If the woman fails to comply she risks being sent back to her parents, leaving behind her children and all that she toiled for. On the other hand, if a man is widowed, he is given his late wife's young sister as a wife. The wife he is given must be a virgin and consent is not sought from her, she just has to comply because that is culture (Nyakudya, 1998).

c) Arranged marriages

Arranged marriages are familiar within the Shona traditions and elsewhere in Zimbabwe. These can be based on religion, such as in the apostolic sect where young girls are married off to older male members of the sect based on prophetic revelations. These girls cannot deny getting married to these men, who in some cases are old enough to be their fathers, for fear of being cut off from their families.

In some cases, when there is a drought spell in the country, parents marry off their daughters to affluent members of the community in exchange for money or grain. In extreme cases,

some fathers marry off their daughters to their debtors when they fail to repay their debts. Furthermore, in order to appease angry spirits following murder, a young girl (a virgin) is given to the wronged family as a wife. In all these cases, consent is not sought from the young women concerned but they are forced to comply with cultural traditions (United Nations High Commission for Refugees 2009).

d) Rape

Women's lack of control over their sexuality is also displayed through the rape of young girls by male relatives (Human Rights Monitor, 2001). Following the myth that sex with a virgin is a cure for HIV, promoted by sorcerers in many parts of Africa, young girls have been in many instances subjects for that experiment. Married women on the other hand cannot use contraceptives if their husbands do not want them to do so. Furthermore, even if they suspect their husbands of infidelity they may not be able to insist on safe sex because men always control the sexual encounter (Meursing and Sibindi, 1995). Often even prostitutes are unable to insist on condom use with their male clients and this scenario, illustrating African women's powerlessness, has no doubt fuelled the spread of HIV and AIDS in the African continent.

From the discussion above, a deeper understanding can be found on the cultural impact on sexual practices in Zimbabwe. In all fairness and for comparison sake, below is another discussion on sexual harassment at work in different parts of the world. To shed more light on the phenomenon in Zimbabwe, two case studies in the cities of Harare and Mutare are discussed next.

3.5 Some Published Sexual Harassment cases in Zimbabwe

a) Mutare, Zimbabwe

Green in (Africa University 2007) reported that a staff member of Africa University in Mutare had resigned following an investigation into allegations of sexual harassment and sexual misconduct toward female students and women related to the university. Benon Kigozi, the music lecturer and choir director, resigned on April 23 after being suspended

April 14 by the executive committee of the university's Board of Directors. Findings of an independent investigation had been presented to the committee during the board's annual meeting April 12-14.

The board guides policy and overall development of the private, pan-African and United Methodist-related University, located nearly 11 miles outside Mutare, Zimbabwe's fourth largest city. Allegations and complaints had been lodged against Kigozi over a two-year period, prompting the board's executive committee in November 2007 to authorize the investigation.

"The allegations that were received cover both sexual harassment and sexual misconduct," said Vice Chancellor Rukudzo Murapa, adding that the university's policy and position on sexual harassment is "very clear" (Africa University 2007).

b) Harare, Zimbabwe

According to *SW Radio Africa Zimbabwe news*, Karikoga Kaseke, a top Zanu PF official and Zimbabwe's tourism boss, was at the beginning of 2007 publicly accused of sexual harassment by former beauty queen Siphon Mazibuko, barely a year after he evaded charges of raping a minor.

Mazibuko who runs Strides Modelling agency and founded the Miss Rural beauty pageant, told journalists in Harare that Zimbabwe Tourism Authority (ZTA) chief Kaseke was now trying to block her business plans because she turned down his sexual advances. Mazibuko told stunned journalists at a press conference that Kaseke was blocking the hosting of her pageant's finals after she refused to sleep with him. She said: "I have called you so that you understand why we are postponing the finals of the Miss Rural Zimbabwe pageant. The ZTA is causing problems as it wishes to take over my pageant and is blocking the holding of the finals because I refused to be Kaseke's girlfriend and to sleep with him". According to the *Zimonline* (2007, p.5) news agency, Mazibuko was surrounded by more than a dozen burly bodyguards at the press conference.

3.6 Sexual Harassment in Banks

There have been reports of sexual harassment cases in banks in different countries over the years. Some cases are looked at below.

a) Sexual Harassment in a Bank in Mumbai

According to the Indian Express Newspapers (Mumbai) Ltd (2009), one of the three general managers, at the time running the Mumbai-based Dena Bank in the absence of a full-time chairman and managing director, was suspended by the bank board for his alleged involvement in a sexual harassment case. Investigations of alleged sexual harassment were reported to be also under way against other senior officials of the bank.

General Manager SK Tandon was part of a three-member committee which was looking after the day-to-day affairs of the bank, following the retirement of former chairman AG Joshi on December 31 2003. Mr Tandon had *prima facie* been found guilty in the incident involving a woman employee from Andhra Bank, said a source. The source further said the incident happened sometime in the previous November, but the issue came to the bank board in January 2004 through the bank's vigilance department.

b) Sexual Harassment in a Bank in Washington

Meritor Savings Bank v. Vinson 1986

According to EEOC (2007), in 1974, Michelle Vinson joined the Capital City Federal Savings and Loan Association, located in Washington D.C. Sidney Taylor hired and supervised her. Between 1974 and 1978, Vinson progressed from teller-trainee, to teller, to head teller, and then to assistant branch manager, all under Taylor's supervision. Vinson's promotions had been based exclusively on merit, according to court records.

In September 1978, Vinson took an indefinite sick leave. The following month, the bank fired her for her "excessive use of that leave." In 1980, Vinson sued Taylor and the bank, claiming that she had "constantly been subjected to sexual harassment" by Taylor in

violation of Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which bans discrimination against women and other groups. She sought injunctive relief and compensatory and punitive damages against the bank and Taylor, plus attorney's fees.

After being fired from her job at a Meritor Savings Bank, Michelle Vinson sued Sidney Taylor, the Vice President of the bank. Vinson charged that Taylor had coerced her to have sexual relations with him and made demands for sexual favors while at work. Vinson stated that she had intercourse with Taylor 40 or 50 times. Additionally she testified that Taylor had touched her in public, exposed himself to her, and forcibly raped her multiple times.

She argued such harassment created a *hostile working environment* and a form of unlawful discrimination under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Vinson sought injunctive relief along with compensatory and punitive damages against Taylor and the bank. The primary question presented was: "Is a hostile work environment a form of unlawful discrimination under the Civil Rights Act of 1964, or is the Act limited to "tangible economic discrimination" in the workplace"?

The Court held that Title VII was "not limited to 'economic' or 'tangible' discrimination," finding that the intention of Congress was "to strike at the entire spectrum of disparate treatment of men and women in employment. . ."The Court pointed out that guidelines issued by the EEOC specified that sexual harassment leading to no economic injury was a form of sex discrimination prohibited by Title VII. The Court recognised that plaintiffs could establish violations of the Act "by proving that discrimination based on sex has created a hostile or abusive work environment".

c) Sexual harassment in a bank in Monrovia

According to (The Mask Admin 2005) in Monrovia - speaking to *The News* on the basis of complete anonymity, the employees of an unnamed bank alleged that they had been threatened with dismissal if they refused to "give in" to the demands of the Vice President. The employees explained that since they joined the bank, the homosexual Vice President has persistently tormented them with sex and on refusal of his advances, threatened to fire them.

Two of the employees informed *The Mask Admin* newspaper that they had previously worked with this homosexual bank executive at a certain popular banking institution in Monrovia, where he is believed to have lured some young men with his homosexual activities. They disclosed that the bank executive was usually in the habit of hiring unqualified young men or giving promotion to those whom he had sodomized.

“We know this man to be a serious homosexual. He has been doing this for years. He entices young men with big money (US dollars) and offers attractive jobs to simply have sex with them. And now, we are his next targets and we want him stopped,” they explained. Asked whether they had reported the matter to other senior bank executives, the employees replied: “We are afraid, if we do, we might lose our jobs”.

However, they stressed that if the homosexual bank executive continued to harass or threaten them, they would take up the matter with prominent human rights organisations in the country. This research stresses that this case did not go to court and was thus not proven. The issue of homosexual activity is not new in Liberia. There have been reports that certain banking institutions are said to be full of homosexual staff members who harass other employees.

3.7 Sexual harassment at the workplace in different parts of the world

3.7.1 Introduction

According to the ILO (2008), between 15 and 20 per cent of women workers in the industrialised countries are reported victims. One third of complaints of sexual harassment go to court.

3.7.2 Netherlands, France, Britain and USA

The ILO estimates that more than one Dutch woman in two, nearly one Austrian woman in three and more than one French woman in four has been victims of serious incidents of sexual harassment. If all forms of sexual harassment are included, from the least serious to the most serious cases, reported cases amount to 74% of British women. In the United

States, one woman in two is subjected to one form or another of sexual harassment during her student years or working life.

3.7.3 Malawi

In Malawi, a study shows that (40%) of women questioned had been victims of sexual harassment at work. The problem is much more widespread than these figures show, however, because many victims never complain and in many countries there are no studies or statistics on the subject. The vulnerability of women in the labour market (high unemployment, limited employment opportunities) means that resigning from a job to escape sexual harassment is a decision many women around the world cannot afford to take (ILO, 2008).

3.7.4 Tanzania

In Tanzania, according to a survey by the Tanzanian Media Women's Association in 2007, 90% of women questioned see sexual harassment as "a threat to their jobs and their economic survival". About 8% said they felt they had no alternative and had to give in to their harasser's demands, in short, to go to bed with them. Headaches, insomnia, high blood pressure, toothache, nervous tension, fits of tears, bulimia, anxiety attacks, a feeling of vulnerability and humiliation... these are the typical mental and physical symptoms suffered by the victims.

Sexual harassment can also seriously affect their work, with deterioration in the working environment, unfair evaluations or accusations, shorter working hours, too much work, dismissal, disciplinary measures ...the harasser's vengeance knows no bounds. Even after the victim has left her job, the harasser can jeopardize her future employment prospects by giving her bad references. In many cases pressure is so strong it forces the victims to resign, if they are not simply dismissed (Davis, 2009).

The greatest risk is during the job interview, particularly in small enterprises and non-organised work places. New arrivals at the workplace are also easy prey, as are those in insecure jobs, lesbians and homosexuals. Women who work in industries where the

workforce is predominantly male are also more vulnerable and it is not unusual for male colleagues to use harassment as a tactic for discouraging women from applying for a higher position. Harassment can also be used as a weapon in undermining the authority of women in managerial and supervisory posts. Because of their isolation, domestic workers are also often victims of sexual harassment. This is the case particularly if they are migrants, in which case they risk being exposed to both sexual and racial discrimination, (Davis, 2009).

3.7.5 Mexico

“The women workers, who make up the majority of the workforce, say they have all been victims of sexual harassment at the hands of the president and directors of the Daewoo factory in San Luis Rio Colorado, in Mexico. They were often fondled and were offered money in exchange for sexual relations, while being threatened with dismissal if they refused.” This account of practices at a Daewoo plant in Mexico is typical of the many cases reported in the export processing zones where widespread sexual harassment is accompanied by many other serious violations of women workers’ rights (Davis, 2009).

3.7.6 Indonesia and Vietnam

Recently, some of the factories sub-contracted by Nike in Indonesia and Vietnam were accused of multiple violations of workers’ rights, particularly women workers’ rights, including invariably sexual harassment Davis (2009).

3.7.7 Ghana

Andhoh (2008) presented several policy briefs at the University of Ghana. Below is information from excerpts from the papers presented at the monthly in-house seminars organised by the Centre for Social Policy Studies (CSPS). Findings of these researches indicated that about 74% of female employees and 42% of male employees in Ghana experience sexual harassment within the working environment. The forms of harassment experienced include:

- unwanted repeated indecent proposals;
- unwanted sexual teasing, jokes, questions or remarks;
- pressure for dates;
- unwanted love letters, cards, or telephone calls;
- unwanted sexual looks, gestures or pornographic materials;
- unwanted touching of intimate body parts;
- pressure for sexual favours, e.g. kisses etc.;
- demand for sex in exchange for employment opportunities;
- demand for sex in exchange for employment-related benefits; and
- Attempted or actual sexual assault or rape.

Frequent Victims and Perpetrators of Workplace Sexual Harassment in Ghana (Andoh, 2008)

Although women generally are the frequent victims of sexual harassment in the workplace, the more frequent victims are specifically the single or unmarried women. This is also true in the case of men. This seems to suggest that, whether male or female, being single renders an individual very vulnerable to sexual harassment in the workplace. Coupled with the above, it is observed that the age group in which most female employees experience sexual harassment in the workplace for the first time is (21-25) years.

It is noted that over two-thirds of the perpetrators of sexual harassment in the workplace are males. By categorising male perpetrators according to their marital statuses and the positions they hold within organisations, it was found that married male superiors/employers are the most frequent perpetrators of workplace sexual harassment. About (68%) of the male perpetrators were men who were married and in influential positions within organisations. The second frequent male perpetrators happen to be married male peers or colleagues (Andoh, 2008).

3.8 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed detailed information on human rights violations in Zimbabwe. To give the reader a deeper understanding on these violations, relationship between them and women's rights in Zimbabwe was discussed.

Sexual harassment was then related to culture, the family, marriage, religion, the economy and politics in Zimbabwe. A deep discussion on patriarchal practices which lead to the control of female sexuality by males was then ventured into. Furthermore, some cases were presented on documented sexual harassment cases at the workplace in certain parts of Zimbabwe.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This purpose of this chapter is to explain the research design and methodology. It is presented by Babbie (2001) that social research is able to serve many purposes. These purposes include explanation, description and exploration of various social phenomena. In this chapter, the purpose of this study is explained by focusing on its research design and how the research process unveiled.

This chapter also provides the structured framework within which the research was conducted. The main aim of the research and its secondary objectives are also revisited, as well as an explanation of the research design employed, which included both quantitative and qualitative research designs. The reason for utilising both of these methods is elaborated on, i.e., the need to ensure trustworthiness and soundness of the research. This presentation then discusses the strengths and limitations of the research design that was applied.

Finally, we have an explanation of the research methodology, along with details of the sampling methods used for the selection and exclusion of participants; the data gathering instrument and data analysis methods were further elaborated on. The research process, including the limitations and, lastly, the overcoming of the ethical constraints identified for this study, was explored.

4.2 Research Aims and Objectives

4.2.1 Primary Aim

The primary aim of this research was to investigate the views of women working in the three international banks situated in Harare's Central Business District (CBD), regarding the causes and consequences of sexual harassment in their industry.

4.2.2 Secondary objectives

The following were the research's secondary objectives:

1. To explore participants' views regarding the causes and consequences of sexual harassment of women working in these banks.
2. To find out the differences and similarities in female employee's views on the causes and consequences of sexual harassment at the three different international banks in Harare's CBD so as to influence existing sexual harassment policy and thus better them.

4.2.3 Research Questions

- a) What are the views of female employees' working in Harare's international CBD-situated banks regarding the causes and consequences of sexual harassment from the below perspectives:
 - I. An individual/ subjective perspective;
 - II. A conceptual/behavioural perspective; and
 - III. A legal perspective.
- b) What are the differences and similarities in female employee's views on the causes and consequences of sexual harassment at the three different international banks in Harare's CBD?

4.3 Research design

4.3.1 Description of the research design

Punch (2004) described research design as the link between the research question and the data to be collected, from whom it will be collected, and how it will be collected and finally, interpreted to find the answers.

As previously mentioned in this chapter, the researcher's main aim was to investigate what women working in the three international banks situated in Harare's CBD viewed as

the causes and consequences of sexual harassment of women working in these banks. In order to elicit the required information from the research's main aims and its objectives, an appropriate research design that could elicit both qualitative and quantitative information was found to be most suitable. There was some information from closed ended questions in the questionnaire which needed a quantitative design for analysis, while there was information from open-ended questions in the questionnaire which needed a qualitative design for analysis.

Specifically for this research, it was observed that there was more qualitative information than quantitative. Thus the dominant-less dominant approach introduced by Creswell (1994) was incorporated. The dominant-less dominant approach is used when most of the data gathered is predominantly qualitative or quantitative, yet the less dominant data gathered is still very important to the research.

4.3.2 Rationale for the research design

a) The qualitative descriptive research design

The researcher also selected the qualitative descriptive approach due to an interest in describing in detail the views of female employees in the targeted banks.

These views relate to how women in the chosen banks regard the causes and consequences of sexual harassment, from a multi-perspective framework of sexual harassment; developed over 20 years of sexual harassment research by Tata and Bowes-Sperry (1999).

This framework categorises the phenomena (sexual harassment) as follows:

1. An individual/ subjective perspective;
2. A conceptual/behavioural perspective; and
3. A legal perspective.

One of the reasons for choosing such a research design in this study stems from the fact that it focuses on the generation of knowledge about a particular social phenomenon (views/perceptions of women on sexual harassment), rather than testing of theory or hypothesis. Where the nature of the research outcome is descriptive it indicates a depiction of behaviour or a domain.

It is presented by Swanepoel (2005) that, “a descriptive study presents a picture of specific details of a situation, social setting or relationship, focusing on how and why questions” (Swanepoel, 2005, p.155). Thus, what was important was for the study to elicit the participants’ perceptions and feelings about sexual harassment in the workplace. Consideration was given to Neuman (2000), who emphasised that the qualitative descriptive research, “utilises in-depth qualitative data, such as people’s subjective thoughts, perceptions, feelings and behaviours to present a picture of the specific details of a situation, social setting or relationship” (Neuman, 2000, p.133).

b) The dominant-less dominant approach

Furthermore, as a social scientist, the researcher was not interested in any general outcome, but both closed-ended and open-ended outcomes that could point to some of the subjective views on the topic investigated. The behaviours and emotions that could be evoked while collecting the data could not be observed and recorded using the quantitative research design only; nevertheless using a qualitative study such information could be valuable and recorded.

“It is seen as commonsense and has an interpretive perspective that allows for the exploration of new variables” (Terre Blanche, Durrheim and Painter, 2006). They allude to the subjective experiences of people which are interpreted in order to understand the social world we live in, by not only looking at variables, but also listening to the power of language (Terre et al, 2006).

A quantitative research approach is defined as “...the empirical research where the data is in the form of numbers” (Punch 2004, p. 3).

4.3.3 Strengths of the research designs

a) The qualitative descriptive research design

“Descriptive designs are designed to gain more information about a particular characteristic within a particular field of study. A descriptive study may be used to, develop theory, identify problems with current practice, justify current practice, make judgments, or identify what others in similar situations may be doing. There is no manipulation of variables and no attempt to establish causality” (Burns and Grove, cited by Cormack, 1991, p. 152).

Descriptive statistics can acquire a lot of information through the use of detailed description. The researcher managed to prove this through eliciting detailed information on the women’s expressions of their views, on the phenomenon researched. Some behaviours/situations cannot be studied any other way (Southern Utah University 2009).

The design is useful for identifying variables and hypothetical constructs which can be further investigated through other means. In addition, descriptions can be used as an indirect test of a theory or model. The theory that was relevant here which has been described in detail in preceding chapters was the multi-perspective framework of sexual harassment.

b) The dominant-less dominant approach

The following were the strengths of using a predominantly qualitative research design:

1. Social work as a profession has always strived to respect a ‘person-in-situation’. More predominantly, qualitative research allows this goal to be achieved well as quantitative research does not fully explain the individual in context, but rather seeks to establish average tendencies that are different from what social workers are often taught (Reissman, 1994).
2. According to Reissman (1994), social workers as qualitative researchers have an added advantage in that they can create a non-judgmental, open and safe

environment for participants to share intense emotional feelings and experiences. It also allows for creating an understanding of a person's social life rather than controlled measurements used in predominantly quantitative research (De Vos, Strydom, Fouche and Delport, 2002). For a sensitive topic such as sexual harassment where respondents may be victims of the abuse, this would be one of the best ways of achieving the best results.

3. The use of additional questions in the research tool that would lead to necessary quantitative information allowed for triangulation in this research (Terre et al, 2006).

The strengths of using a quantitative approach in comparison to a qualitative approach included:

- a) It was better structured;
- b) concentration was on specific questions rather than philosophy;
- c) measurements were scientific in nature;
- d) the researcher was more objective;
- e) the data collection tool was designed in advance and applied in a standardised manner;

In combining both quantitative and qualitative approaches, this provided the opportunity to use descriptive statistics and also explore the rich inner world of the experiences of the women at their workplaces. A further understanding of the meaning the women derived from their work experiences was also found. The reasons for the researcher combining the two approaches as derived from Punch (2004) are as follows:

4. Strengths of both approaches- the mixture of both approaches capitalises on the strengths of each and the weaknesses of each approach compensates for the other;
5. logic of triangulation - the findings can be validated by checking these findings against the approaches;

6. provide a general picture - the researcher cannot be in many places at once and combining the approaches allows for gaining a wider perception on a specific matter;
7. researchers' and subjects' perceptions - the researcher uses his/her own concerns and perceptions in quantitative research, where the subject's perceptions guide the quantitative research;
8. problem of generalisation - qualitative research uses smaller sample sizes and by using quantitative research as well, this assists with the generalisation of a problem; and
9. relationship between macro and micro levels- the combination of both approaches bridges the gap between macro- and micro-levels and allows the researcher to gain an understanding of a problem on these different levels.

4.3.4 Limitations of the research design

The limitations of a qualitative research design are as follows:

1. Qualitative research is more time consuming due to the intensity of gathering data through interviews; and
2. It is more difficult for the researcher to adopt the role of an objective observer than is the case when conducting quantitative research:

The limitations of using a quantitative research design are as follows:

1. The questionnaire can be manipulated or generalised by the participants in terms of providing expected answers and not necessarily answers that reflect their own opinions, thoughts or feelings.
2. Quantitative research does not record the emotions, feelings or nuances that might be observed with qualitative research;
3. The researcher limits the responses of participants with structured questions.

4.3.5 Soundness and Trustworthiness of the Qualitative Study

Padgett (1998) identified three main factors that affect the trustworthiness of qualitative research:

1. Reactivity - the distortions caused by the researcher being present in the participant's field;
2. Researcher biases - the researchers' own perceptions and opinions can influence the process;
3. Respondent biases - participants can withhold information or lie to protect them, or can offer answers that they think the researcher wants to hear.

Padgett (1998) identified six strategies to increase the trustworthiness of the study:

- Prolonged engagement - so that participants become more comfortable with the presence of the researcher;
- Triangulation - using a research tool/s that accommodated both qualitative and quantitative data and having more than one research tool.
- Peer de-briefing/support - for the researcher to ensure objectivity;
- Member checking - done by going back to participants to verify information and analysing the interpretation of the researcher;
- Negative case analysis - playing "devil's advocate" to predict the worse case scenario; and
- Maintaining an audit trail - by ensuring that every part of the process of data collection and analysis are kept such as field notes, raw data and interview transcripts.

The researcher used three of Padgett's (1998) four strategies to ensure transferability and the ability to generalise this study, namely triangulation, peer de-briefing/support and maintaining an audit trail.

De Vos et al., (2002) also suggest that researchers should use a theoretical framework and triangulation to provide the opportunity for qualitative studies to be re-produced in another setting or context. Both of their methods were used in this research.

4.4 Research Methodology

4.4.1 Introduction

A structured interview guide (appendix 7.3) was used. A major advantage of using an interview guide is that it allows personal contact between the researcher and the participants and, most importantly, the researcher has an opportunity to probe and seek clarifications where necessary (Grinnell, 1993).

4.4.2 Sampling procedure

“A sample is a portion selected from a population for a specific study” (Mark, 1996, p. 56). This was irrelevant in this study as the entire population of women working at Harare’s three international banks (Barclays, Stanbic and Standard Chattered) were approached to participate in the research and those who were willing, did so.

The researcher submitted a written request for access to the mentioned women from the banks’ Human Resources’ Departments and such permission was granted (see Appendixes E-F). The research and associated tools, including relevant ethical issues, were explained to all respondents prior to their participation in the research. All participants signed a consent form (appendix B). A pool of potential participants was found by confirming through human resources managers of the three international banks in Harare that there were a total of 250 female employees in these banks at the time permission was requested.

Each interview took approximately 45 minutes to an hour. Participants had to be interviewed outside working hours and hence, weekends were used for management of the research as the banks did not allow any research to take place during working hours.

a) Inclusion criteria

The criterion used to select participants was that they should be female employees of international banks located in Harare’s CBD. This sampling method is also referred to as

‘target sampling’ (De Vos et al 2002, p. 195). De Vos et al (2002, p. 195) define this form of sampling as “a non-probability sampling method done without any randomisation”.

b) Exclusion criteria

1. Men
2. Women working in local banks

Previous research had focussed on both men and women. This research intended to give women a voice due to the cultural/traditional restrictions that women in Zimbabwe face. Women in local banks were excluded because the local banking sector in Zimbabwe at the time was highly unstable with most Banks closing down or merging together to try and cope through the country’s economic turmoil.

4.4.3 Research instrument

a) Description of research instrument

This study used in-depth interviews as Rossouw (2003) says because they encourage participants to be talkative, to share opinions and their experiences openly. The use of an in-depth interview process avoided fixed questions and answers and allowed the participants to develop their own understanding and interpretations of the questions (Burton, 2000).

An interview schedule was used as the research instrument as it allowed for the answering of complex questions and giving of opinions that would not always have been possible with questionnaires (Fuller and Petch, 1999).

Bickman and Rog (1998) stipulated that the use of structured, semi-structured and unstructured interview guides is appropriate when the study uses descriptive and exploratory approaches to find new results. The interview, say Denzin and Lincoln (2003) and Rossouw (2003), also allows for a transaction and conversation between the researcher and the participant. This research tool complements the research design. The research instrument elicited both quantitative and qualitative responses well.

The interview schedule was divided into three sections, guided by the three categories of sexual harassment provided by Tata and Bowes-Sperry (1999):

1. An individual/ subjective perspective;
2. A conceptual/behavioural perspective; and
3. A legal perspective.

Each of these sections had open-ended and closed-ended questions that intended to elicit answers that would achieve the objectives of the research.

4.4.4 Rationale for Research instrument

Below is the reason for using an in-depth interview schedule for the research.

The researcher, being a social worker, was well equipped with the skills necessary to make the process successful. It is believed by Rubin (cited in Shaw and Gould, 2001) that clinical social work training prepares social workers for research interviewing. The main feature of research interviews compared to client interviews, according to Riessman (1994), is that research interviewing is more objective, scientific and controlled by one participant in the interview.

4.5 Pilot studies

The tools were piloted using a smaller group of ten participants working for Standard Bank in Fourways, Johannesburg, South Africa. Grinnell (1993) stresses that piloting the research instrument can give a true indication of how well the participants would understand the questions in the actual study. The researcher found it necessary to re-adjust the tool after the pilot study.

It was discovered during the pilot study that women were not willing to reveal their incomes in the demographics section of the questionnaire. This question had been added onto the initial questionnaire in a bid to be able to find out if there is a correlation between women's income and sexual harassment. Nevertheless, this information was still

sourced by analysing the correlation between women's level of employment and sexual harassment.

Moreover, in the initial questionnaire, certain closed-ended questions had four choices in the scale which included; "never", "sometimes", "often" and "most of the time". This scale was changed to three choices; "never", "sometimes" and "often" since during the pilot study, respondents commented that they understood "often" and "most of the time" as meaning the same thing and said in their view these two questions would yield the same responses.

4.6 Data Analysis

4.6.1 Introduction

According to Neuman (2000), data analysis refers to a process of searching for patterns in data; recurrent behaviours; objects or a body of knowledge. In analysing collected qualitative data, the researcher followed various steps in the methods for qualitative data analysis adapted from Neuman (1997) where data were analysed using different methods, namely: descriptive statistics, thematic content analysis and trend analysis. This was done so as to identify trends in the findings which would help in further identifying the themes occurring in the research.

The first step was familiarisation and immersion in the topic, which involved reading through, making notes, drawing diagrams and brainstorming to get an overall picture of the findings.

The second step was inducing themes, which involved inferring general rules or classes from specific instances in a bottom-up approach. The material was perused and the organising principles that underlie the material were identified. This is contrary to a top-down approach where ready-made categories are used and one simply looks for instances or examples fitting such categories.

The third step was coding. This involved marking different sections of data as being instances of or relevant to one or more of the researcher's themes. The researcher interchangeably used coloured marker pens to highlight pieces of text.

The fourth step followed was elaboration. Elaboration involved putting information in a linear sequence.

The fifth step used to analyse the data was interpretation and checking, which involved going back through all the steps to make sense of the data. This also included re-checking for misplacement of certain texts.

4.6.2 Descriptive statistics

Babbie (2001, p. 436) explains that descriptive statistics “present quantitative descriptions in a manageable form”. According to Trochim (2002), descriptive statistics are used to describe the basic features of the data in a study. Descriptive statistics were used in order to create an understanding of the data derived from the quantitative research tools so that the different views on sexual harassment of the respondents could be determined. Trochim (2002) further found that with descriptive statistics the researcher is simply describing what the data shows. Typically, researchers deal with large volumes of data and descriptive statistics provide a way for researchers to summarise the main properties of large amounts of data into just a few numbers.

Gayten (2000) also indicated that descriptive statistics are simply used to describe the sample with which you are concerned. Using descriptive statistics allowed the researcher to investigate the respondents' views on sexual harassment by making use of the multi-perspective framework of sexual harassment by Tata and Bowes-Sperry (1999), as mentioned previously.

4.6.3 Thematic content analysis

Thematic content analysis is defined as a standard methodology in the social sciences on the subject of communication content (Wikimedia Foundation 2009). In analysing the qualitative data the researcher made use of thematic content analysis. To find order in the myriad layers of qualitative data generated by various qualitative data collection methods,

a method generally known as thematic content analysis was developed (Libarkin and Kurdziel, 2003).

In conducting thematic content analysis Libarkin and Kurdziel (2003, p.197) assert that “themes are usually identified inductively, such that themes emerge naturally from the data. Once dominant themes have been identified in the data through open coding, the researcher links and reorganises themes in an attempt to develop a dominant structure”. For the analysis of the semi-structured interview schedules it was necessary for the researcher to find dominant themes surrounding the effects that traumatic events had on respondents. The themes identified by the respondents were used to identify a pattern or dominant structure. This dominant structure according to Libarkin and Kurdziel (2003, p. 197) will eventually “evolve into a conceptual framework of the systems under study”.

Libarkin and Kurdziel (2003) describe thematic content analysis as the most subjective of the qualitative analytical techniques, therefore when analysing the data from the interviews the researcher identified dominant themes around the respondents’ trauma experience, such as those evoked by sexual harassment.

4.7 Ethical Considerations

The following were ethical considerations that were taken into account upon conducting this study:

a) Confidentiality

From the previous research conducted nationally in Zimbabwe, participants feared that they would lose their jobs or promotions if they told the truth about the harassment. Participants were reassured of utmost confidentiality and that this research was for academic purposes only and did not seek to affect their working conditions practically but to satisfy the requirements for a study programme. They were also assured that participation in the study could not jeopardise their employment.

b) Self-determination

Ethically, respondents participated in the research voluntarily. Only those who wanted to take part in the research did so. Out of a possible 100 participants, 63 willing participants agreed to be respondents in the research.

c) Violation of privacy

De Vos et al., (2002) describe the right to privacy as the individual's right to decide when, where, to whom and to what extent his or her attitudes, beliefs and behaviour will be revealed. Taking this ethical principle into account the researcher was aware that some of the women might not have felt comfortable in sharing the effects that sexually harassing experiences had on them. Their right to privacy and refusal to participate was respected and women who were not comfortable to participate were not included in the study.

d) Informed consent

Informed consent was obtained from the banks and participants, as advised by De Vos (1998) and Terre Blanche et al., (2006). The banks' and individual participants consent forms were signed prior to the study. The participants were provided with information regarding the purpose of the research, the interview procedure, the possible advantages and disadvantages of being involved, as well as who the researcher was and what her credentials were.

e) Possible harm to the respondents

Sexual harassment is a sensitive issue; as a result, the research did trigger previous sexual harassment occurrences in the women and evoked feelings of emotional distress. A qualified social worker from the Zimbabwe Institute of Systemic Therapy (ZIST) had been contacted and helped to provide counselling for some respondents.

f) Publication of the Findings

The writing of the findings of the study is important and a copy of the research abstract will be made available to the participants and banks. De Vos (2004) explains that researchers have an ethical duty to provide feedback to research participants and update them on the results of the study. She adds that research can become a learning experience for the participants for future participation.

4.8 Limitations of the study

- 1 Given the fact that the researcher used individual interviews to collect data, participants may have been selective in disclosing information since the researcher was present with the participants during the process. Participants might have given information that they thought the researcher needed rather than what was genuine. De Vos et al., (2002, p. 305) argue that though valid, interviews are generally perceived as the weakest data collection methodologies because of the fact that participants are likely to provide the researcher with the 'official account'. In order to counteract this limitation, the researcher made use of interview guides, which allowed for both closed- and open-ended questions and probes. Through reflections and probing for further information, the researcher was able to obtain more in-depth data.
- 2 Another limitation is that the study was aimed at uncovering subjective psycho-social needs, and some participants might have found it difficult to open up and be honest in their responses. This might have skewed findings (self-report bias). The researcher dealt with this limitation by first acknowledging that it might be difficult for participants to share openly, but also encouraging them to share by creating a safe environment for them through assurance of confidentiality. The researcher also arranged professional counselling for participants who were negatively affected by some of the questions. Some questions may have reminded them of past personal experiences of sexual harassment, or during the period the interviews were being conducted. Almost a fifth, 12 (19%) participants used this service. All participants were given information about the study and the kind of questions they were going to

be asked. They had to sign a consent form for participation. In addition during the interview process, the researcher referred frequently to the research ethics.

- 3 An added limitation that presented itself was that there are also some questions that some respondents could not give answers to, or that they refused to respond to, or that evoked negative emotion which prevented them from providing responses. Thus the researcher found it insensitive to probe too much on these questions and referred the participants for counselling where applicable.

4.9 Conclusion

This chapter described how women's views on the causes and consequences of sexual harassment were elicited. A structured interview guide was administered to 63 women to determine their experiences and their views on the causes and consequences of sexual harassment in the workplace. The results are presented in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 5: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

5.1 Introduction

The results of this research are presented in five sections. The first section (5.1) of the presentation outlines an introduction to this chapter. The next section (5.2) presents a summary of the demographic details of the respondents. The third section of the presentation of findings (5.3) expands on the women's experiences of sexual harassment. In the section 5.3, findings from the study on the women's experiences of "sexually harassing behaviour", as adapted from Fitzgerald (1993), are discussed and presented in table 2. The fourth section (5.4) discusses findings on the causes of sexual harassment, using the Multi-Perspective Framework of Sexual Harassment by Tata and Bowes-Sperry in Powell (1999); while the fifth section (5.5), discusses findings on the consequences of sexual harassment. The sixth section (5.6), presents the observed trends and a correlation of the demographic information, sexually harassing behaviours and the causes and consequences of sexual harassment. Finally, the last section (5.7) presents a summary of the findings related to the objectives of the research.

5.2 The Participants' demographic information

5.2.1 Age

A third, 21 (33%), of the respondents fell in the age group 25-29. More than half, 35 (56%), of the respondents fell into the age group 30-34, while a minimal number, 7 (11%), of the respondents fell between the ages of 35-39 years of age.

5.2.2 Education level

Participants with O' Level qualifications consisted of slightly less than a third, 19 (30%), of the total. Similarly, participants with A' Level and degree qualifications, each also consisted of slightly less than a third (19 or 30% respectively) of the total. The fewest respondents were those with diploma qualifications, of which there were 6 (10% of the total number of respondents).

5.2.3 Marital Status

The majority of respondents, 37 (59%), were married whilst close to one-third (17 or 27%) were single. Seven (11%) of the respondents were separated and only 2 (3%) were divorced.

5.2.4 Level of employment position

Out of the total 63 respondents, 36 (57%), were from low-level positions; though about a quarter of them, 15 (24%), were from middle-level positions however, only 12 (19 %) held senior-level positions.

5.2.5 The International Banks where respondents were employed

The majority of the respondents, 25 (40%), worked for Stanbic Bank. Standard Chartered employees represented just over a third, 22 (35%), of the total number of respondents, while a quarter, 16 (25%), worked for Barclays Bank. A summary of the demographic details of the participants is presented on table 1 below:

Table 1: Summary of participants' demographic information (N=63)

CATEGORY	DESCRIPTION	PARTICIPANTS	
		Number	Percentage
Age	25-29	21	33
	30-34	35	56
	35-39	07	11
Education level	O' Level	19	30
	A' Level	19	30
	Diploma	06	10
	Degree	19	30
Marital Status	Single	17	27
	Married	37	59
	Separated	07	11
	Divorced	02	03
Level of employment position	Lower level	36	57
	Middle level	15	24
	Senior/higher level	12	19
Bank employed at	Barclays Bank	16	25
	Stanbic Bank	25	40
	Standard Chartered Bank	22	35

5.3 Participants' experiences of sexually harassing behaviour

a) Introduction

The following section unearths each of the sexually harassing behaviours experienced by the respondents. There were eighteen types of behaviour that were presented to respondents. The participants' results are extensively presented in the following paragraphs. For ease of presentation, the behaviour types were grouped into four clusters and the findings are represented in the figure below:

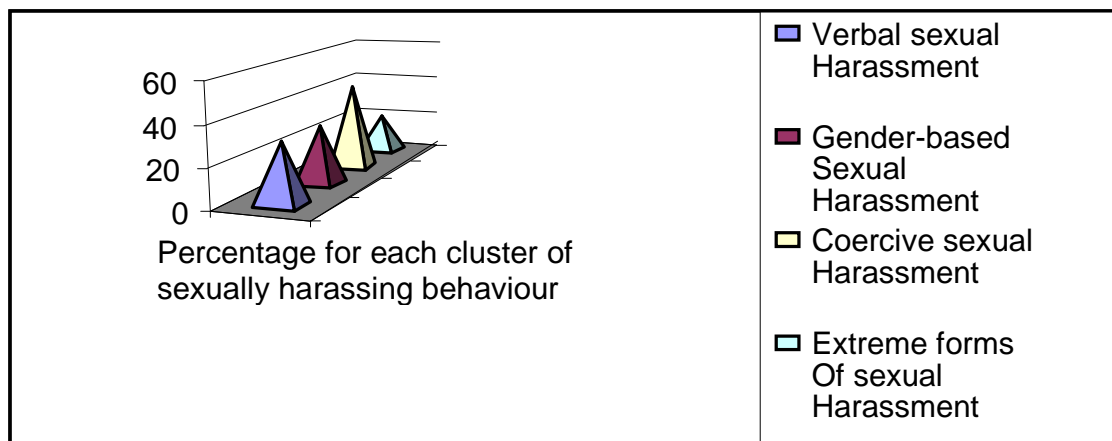


Figure 1: Participants experiences of clusters of sexually harassing behaviour (N=63)

b) Verbal Sexual Harassment

In this research, more than half, 38 (60%), of the respondents had been told suggestive stories. Moreover, a majority of respondents, 38 (60%), had been the victims of crude and offensive remarks (either publicly or privately in the office). These high results, when it comes to this form of sexual harassment, implies that sexual harassers in Harare's CBD banks do not just prefer verbal harassment, but also may find it easier to get away with it.

It is recorded by Khan and Mawire (2005) that in sexual matters, the law of Zimbabwe requires the victim to satisfy the courts and prove her innocence (with the assumption that the victim is virtuous); as a result, the onus is shifted to the victim by the law of evidence.

The person accused of sexual harassment that is aware of policies or Laws governing it may consequently take advantage of it, knowing the onus is on the victim to prove her case. It may be challenging for the victim to prove that she was verbally harassed if there were no witnesses or the witnesses are too scared to give evidence. Alternatively, the victim may have to record the harassment as it occurs, probably on an audio or video tape, meaning that she has to have the equipment at the time of harassment, if at all she can access them and that the recording is discreetly done so that the harasser is not aware of her intentions. The whole process may backfire or prove to be time and energy-consuming as well as stressful.

Victims of offensive jokes included 6 (10%) of the total number of participants, while only 5 (8%) of the respondents admitted to being victims of crude or offensive sexual remarks. The average percentage of women who had experienced verbal forms of sexual harassment was about a third (19 or 30%). The figure below presents an example of the prevalence of verbal sexual harassment:

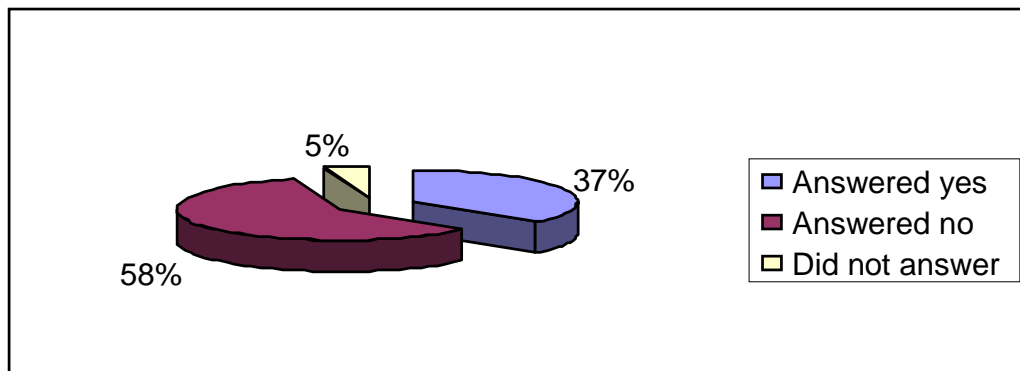


Figure 2: Participants' experiences of being told a suggestive story (N=63)

c) Sexually harassing behaviour that was gender-based

On a different note, sexual harassment involves conduct that is sexual, but conduct does not have to be sexual for it to constitute sexual harassment. Treating a person “differently” because of their gender may constitute sexual harassment. The ultimate question is whether members of one sex are exposed to disadvantageous terms or

conditions of employment to which members of the other sex are not exposed” (Runkel, 2005, p.1). It was found that less than a fifth (12 or 19%) of the respondents had been treated differently because of their gender.

It is possible that some perpetrators may not have been aware that conduct does not have to be sexual for it to qualify as sexual harassment, or they may have known, but assumed that the victim was not aware of it. Since both Standard Chattered and Barclays Banks had sexual harassment policies in place, the researcher telephonically inquired from the Human Resources Departments on Tuesday 14 April 2009 to confirm these policies. Both departments confirmed that employees had not been trained on these policies.

On the other hand, Stanbic Bank did not, at the time the research was conducted, have a sexual harassment policy in place. Sexually harassing behaviour may easily have occurred as there were no repercussions for employees created by the employer.

More evidence on the prevalence of sexual harassment in the workplace is revealed by Chitsike (1995) who gave her own personal experience as part of her research: “Several times in my professional life when I have been working with male colleagues, they have expected me, as a woman, to serve them. For example, after a long day working with partners in the rural areas when the meal is served in the village, my male colleagues often expect me to fetch water to wash their hands and to divide the food for them. Their work is only to put food in their mouths. “It never occurs to them that we have all been doing the same work and that we are all tired” (Chitsike, 1995, p.1). This gender-based practice remains in place Zimbabwe up to this day.

Twenty-five (40%) of the respondents revealed that someone at their workplace had made them feel inferior, or was condescending to them because of their sex/gender. It was discovered that around a third of these victims (22 or 35%) were women who held lower-level positions. The rest (41 or 65%) were those who held middle-level positions. It seemed therefore that the position one held at work had a direct correlation with this particular experience of sexual harassment, especially as none of the women occupying

higher level positions were victims of this kind of harassment. It is possible that highly educated women who occupied better/higher positions in the bank were found by harassers to be more confident and assertive. Another possibility may be that the possible interaction with women who occupied senior positions in the banks were less frequent compared to the other women.

There was also a direct correlation between this finding and the age of the women. It was noted that older participants, who occupied lower-level positions, were more likely to be victims of this kind of sexually harassing behaviour, than younger women in the same level of employment. One explanation may be that most of these older women were at the time of the research restricted in terms of their career growth. The opportunity for self-development within the banks was limited and a potential harasser may have felt or thought that such a woman was an easy target as she may more easily comply with sexual harassment. Women who experienced gender-based sexual harassment comprised of a close to a third (18 or 29.5%) of the total number of respondents. Below is a presentation of an example of gender-based sexual harassment:

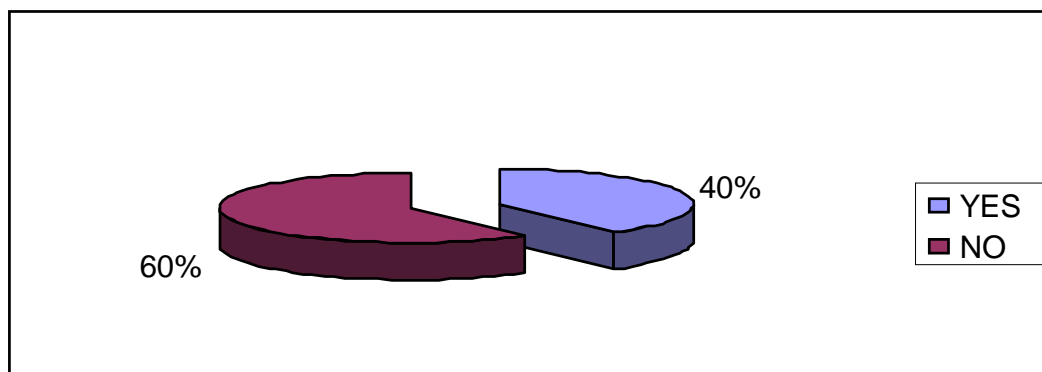


Figure 3: Participants experiences of the harasser being condescending to them because of their sex/gender (N=63)

d) Sexually harassing behaviour that was coercive

Pursuing a different line of thought, 12 (19%) of the respondents admitted to being drawn into a discussion of personal or sexual matters where the intention was to make them

discuss or comment on their own sexual life. Menard et al., (2003, p.1) gave a possible explanation for the frequent occurrence of sexual harassment, saying “men were three times more likely to be as sexually coercive as women”. Such coercion would require more privacy and input of resources, especially as demonstrated by the use of the word “draw” which is synonymous with words such as attract, pull and entice. They wished to ‘draw out’ sexual information.

A low 16% of women in this study said they had been bribed with rewards or special treatment to coerce them into sex. Rewards or special treatment will usually be used by harassers who may have access to these promised things. These may include a majority of men in superior positions. These men may have thought that they had more to lose career-wise and thus would rather have avoided getting caught up in a sexual harassment suit, therefore there were fewer incidences.

Twenty-seven of the respondents occupying higher and middle-level positions, (managers, tellers, cashiers, etc) (43%) spend most of their time directly and mostly with clientele, in comparison to employees occupying lower-level positions who at times may be working alone in an allocated area. This may have helped to reduce the number of possible targets/opportunities for the harasser, leaving the more likely target for this type of sexually harassing behaviour to be mostly lower-level employees who constituted 57% of the employees.

The above discovery ties in with findings that all 36 (100%) of those who had been victims of being ‘drawn into discussion of personal or sexual matters in an attempt to make them discuss or comment about their sexual life’, fell into the lower-level group of employees such as cleaners, messengers, guards, etc.

It was not strange to find out that 42 (67%) of the women revealed that someone at their workplace had attempted to establish a romantic and/ or sexual relationship with them, despite their efforts to discourage them; and a third, 19 (30%) had experiences of being continuously asked for dates, even though they had previously said no to the harasser’s

demands; while 20 (31%) of the respondents reported to being offered faster promotions or better treatment in exchange for sexual favours as in Zimbabwean culture women are meant to be submissive, as indicated by Kamabrami (2006).

Kamabrami (2006, p. 5) reports that, “married women are expected to be sexually passive and submissive to their husbands; men are the initiators of sex and also set the conditions for the sexual encounter”. Nevertheless, this submissiveness is extended even to single women who are being approached by men. Lightfoot-Klein (1989, p. 47), cited by Okome (2003, p. 71), records that “over the years, customary practices have been incorporated into religion and ultimately have come to be believed by their practitioners to be demanded by their adopted gods, whoever they may be”, adding that, “custom in Africa is stronger than domination, stronger than the law, stronger even than religion”. Zimbabwean men culturally have been socialised to believe that when women say “no”, they mean “yes”, or they are simply playing hard to get.

Coercive sexual harassment was the most popular form of sexually harassing behaviour, experienced by 27 (42.8%) of the women. Next is a figure presentation of an example of coercive sexual harassment behaviour.

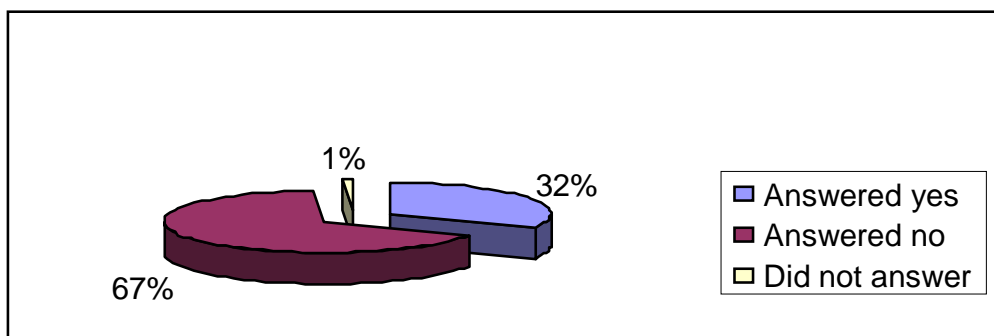


Figure 4: Participants experiences of the harasser attempting to establish a romantic sexual relationship with them despite their efforts to discourage him (N=63)

e) **Sexually harassing behaviour that was of an extreme nature**

This study revealed a substantial number of women, i.e., 44 (70%), admitted to being victims of unwanted sexual attention. Many of the women revealed that they would rather

ignore this attention. This may be since Zimbabwean culture has over time trained women to be subservient when it comes to interactions with men, leading to men expecting a non-confrontational position with women. In fact, Brown et al., (2009, p.16) give evidence of this as, “most of the women noted that one of the strategies they used to gain support of, or overcome resistance from, husbands was to humble themselves and continue to play the expected domestic role”.

A high number of the women (33 or 52%) said they had been physically touched in a way that made them feel uncomfortable. This figure is high especially considering that some form of force may have been used by the harasser. Most of these victims, 26 (80%), were from Stanbic bank branches where there was no sexual harassment policy in place. Such an act can possibly lead to more extreme forms of sexual abuse, such as rape. There seems to be some level of violence in these banks, especially at Stanbic Bank, as is also supported by the finding that at least 3 (6%) of the respondents said they had experienced unwanted attempts to have sex with them that resulted in pleading, crying or struggling with their attacker.

McAuslan et al., (2001) revealed that in their comparison with men who are not perpetrators, those who were, were more accepting of traditional stereotypes around rape myths, gender roles, male dominance and similar stereotypes.

Some other types of sexually harassing behaviour also revealed low scores. For example, 8 (14%) of the women reported that an attempt had been made to stroke or fondle them, while less than a tenth, 5 (8%) of the women reported that they had been treated badly for refusing to have sex with the perpetrator. Just above a tenth (8 or 14%) said they had been threatened for not co-operating with the perpetrator.

It was revealed that 26 (80%) of the victims who had been harassed regularly were from Stanbic Bank branches. Furthermore, Stanbic Bank did not have an internet filter system to block pornographic sites from being accessed by employees, while both Barclays and Standard Chattered Banks used these systems. Confirmation of this information was

accessed telephonically from the Information Technology (IT) departments of the banks on Tuesday 14 April 2009. This may explain the low incidence of 14 (22%) of the respondents who had received sexist or suggestive materials, e.g. pictures, stories or pornography, displayed to them and also explain why most, (12 or 90%) of respondents who had experienced this form of sexually harassing behaviour were from Stanbic bank.

Close to a fifth of the women (12 or 19.7%) experienced an extreme form of harassment. Below is a figure presentation of this finding:

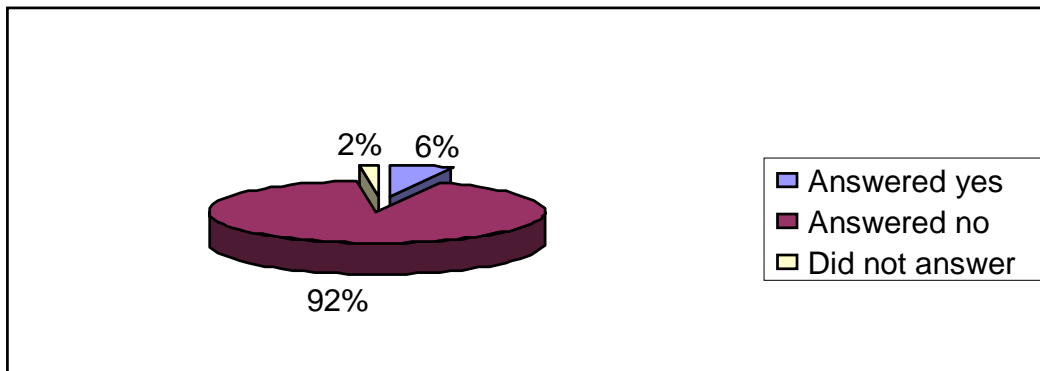


Figure 5: Participants experiences of attempts being made to have sex with them that resulted in pleading, crying or physically struggling (N=63)

f) Women who did not experience sexual harassment

Only 4 (6%) of the total number of respondents did not admit to experiencing sexual harassment in the workplace.

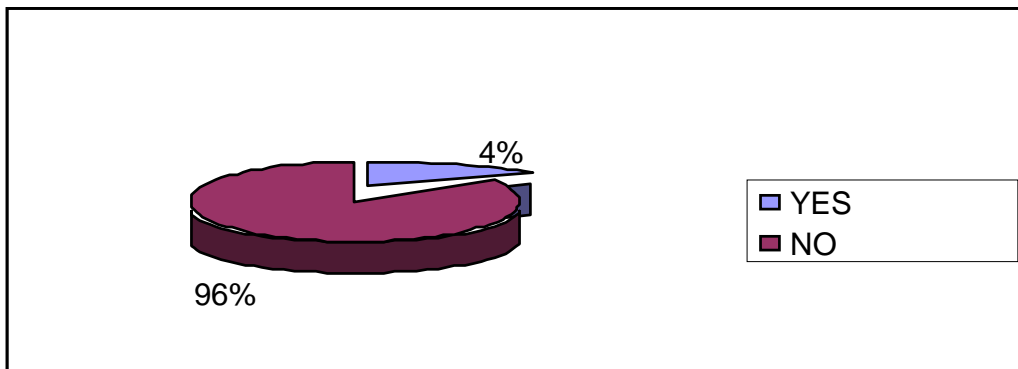


Figure 6: Total participants' who answered to not experiencing sexual harassment (N=63)

5.4 Women's Views on the causes of sexual harassment

5.4.1 Introduction

According to the Multi-Perspective Framework of sexual harassment by Tata and Bowes-Sperry in Powell (1999), sexual harassment is categorised into the following three views:

- a) An individual/ subjective perspective,
- b) A conceptual/behavioural perspective,
- c) A legal perspective.

The causes and consequences of sexual harassment that were elicited by the research will thus be presented using the above three mentioned categories.

5.4.2 Women's individual causes of sexual harassment

a) Introduction

Tata and Bowes-Sperry in Powell (1999, p.56) explain that from the individual/subjective perspective, sexual harassment is “any behaviour of a sexual nature that an individual subjectively perceives to be offensive and unwelcome (whether or not it is legally or conceptually defined as such)”.

A woman may feel that being stared at is sexually offensive to her and view this as sexual harassment, while another woman may not be offended by such behaviour and thus not view it as sexually harassing. According to the findings of this research, women viewed the causes of sexual harassment to fall under the following categories discussed below and presented in the figure below.

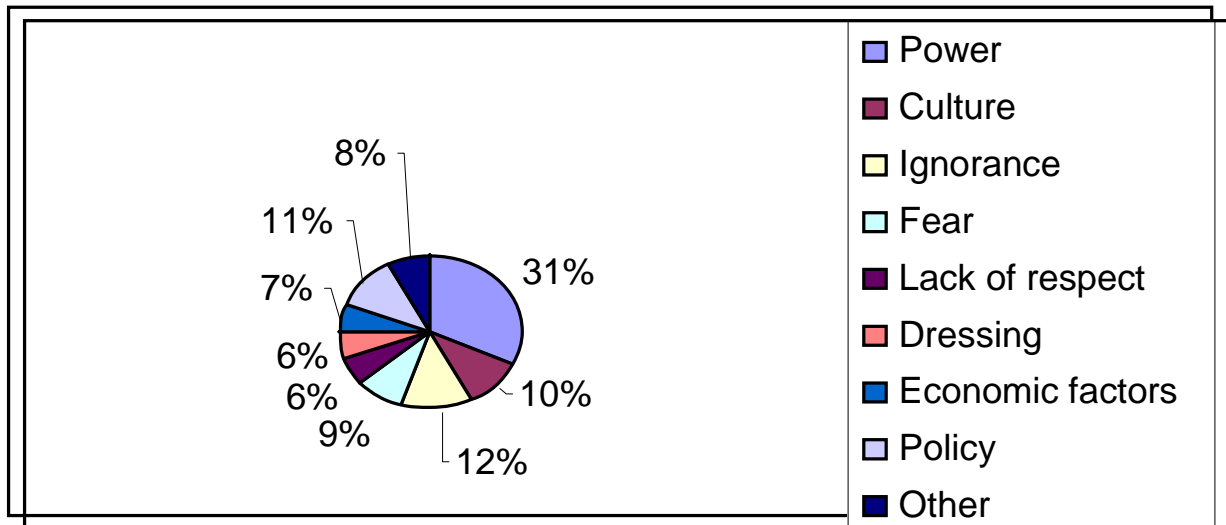


Figure 7: Women's views on subjective causes of sexual harassment (N=63)

b) Power/ Employment Position

A third (31%) of responses from this research mentioned that men were using their seniority and power in the organisation to take advantage of women and thus harassing them sexually, or accepting/condoning this kind of behaviour by other men in the organisation.

The results of this research coincide with similar sexual harassment research by Dougherty (2007) who examined the question, “why does sexual harassment occur?” “Power”, she said, was the common answer and “it came up repeatedly”. Dougherty discovered that “women often perceive all members of an organisation as possible harassers - thinking it can be initiated by any person who is perceived as having power”. She also noted that “the female co-worker is likely to see the sexual comments as a quest for power and label it as sexual harassment” (Dougherty, 2007, p. 2).

Aryeetey (2004, p.45) also ascertained that, “sexual harassment represents part of a culture of male power and masculinity and the pursuit of women as instruments of sexual gratification”. Furthermore, McLaughlin (2005) wrote that their research provided the strongest evidence at the time supporting the theory that sexual harassment is less about sexual desire than about control and domination. She concluded, “Male co-workers,

clients and supervisors seem to be using harassment as an equaliser against women in power” (McLaughlin, 2005, p.56). In Peru, a similar scenario is presented by Tamwa (2004) who reports that, “girls are often awarded jobs in the *quimbaleta* (stone crushing) and in radio communications by men who are given the expectation of achieving intimate relations with them” (Tamwa, 2004, p.9).

The top management of Zimbabwe’s international banks that comprises of mostly males would have the power to implement or give directives when it comes to sexual harassment at these banks. It is arguable that these managers have allowed sexual harassment to take root in their organisations by allowing an enabling environment where appropriate consequences are not faced by harassers and training on sexual harassment policy is not taken as seriously as it should be.

“Men’s desire to exploit or dominate women sexually may not be the exclusive, or even the primary motivation for harassing women at work, instead, a drive to maintain the most highly rewarded forms of work as domains of masculine competence underlies many, if not most, forms of sex-based harassment on the job. . . .contrary to many prevailing assumptions, workplace harassment is not a mere reflection of unequal gender relations that have already been created elsewhere, such as in the domestic sphere. . . .the problem . . . is, instead, that by portraying women as less than equal at work, men can secure superior jobs, resources, and influence - all of which afford men leverage over women at home and everywhere else” (Shultz , 1998, p.1683).

c) **Culture / Tradition**

One-tenth of the responses perceived culture/tradition as playing a major role in promoting or enabling sexual harassment at their workplace. Some of them felt that men used traditional beliefs and culture to justify sexually harassing behaviour. Bennett et al, (2007, p. 46) reports that “in virtually every study carried out between the year 1990 and 2001, there is mention of confusion and anger concerning the relationship between challenges to certain forms of sexual abuse and the meaning of “cultural” norms concerning heterosexual masculinities”. According to their findings, “practices such as men touching women without their permission through bottom-patting, palm-scratching,

shoulder-rubbing, are defended as men's perceived 'right' to pursue women aggressively with overt interest in sexual liaison, regardless of the women's expressed disinterest" (Bennett et al, 2007, p.48). All this is pursued in the name of culture.

These findings correlate with research done by Kambarami (2006) who discovered during her interviews with Shona women who visited the Harare Central Hospital's Social Work Department that there was a dependence on males by females which she reports was totally influenced by the Shona culture. Bennett et al., (2007, p.49) argue that, "the histories of colonial and racist discourses concerning the "immorality" or illegitimacy of African peoples' (diverse) social and cultural systems can make such defences difficult to tackle where alleged harassers identify themselves as embedded within the histories of colonialism as victims. Those who challenge these harassers may find themselves dismissed as "new colonisers", "white people", "westerners", or "those who have abandoned their roots", indicating that fear may have been instilled in men to force them to sexually harass women or risk stigmatisation by other men.

d) Ignorance of women regarding sexual harassment

Compared to those who attributed the cause of sexual harassment to be power or culture, a much lower (12%) of responses mentioned that the ignorance of women about what actions constitute sexually harassing behaviour played a role in sexual harassment at their workplaces. This was unexpected considering all (100%) of the respondents revealed that they were not aware of existing sexual harassment policies at their workplace, or put in place by the Law. Perhaps some of them had other avenues of knowing about sexually harassing behaviour, apart from workplace training or public education on sexual harassment Law. It is also assumed that Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) in Zimbabwe, such as Women of Zimbabwean Arise (WOZA) a powerful women's rights organisation and the Musasa project, well known for protecting the rights of the girl child, were already playing a role in educating women on their rights.

e) Fear of job loss

An additional reason that was cited by the women as a cause of sexual harassment was the fear of job loss, which was yielded from 6 (9%) of the responses. Fear of job loss may also prevent the harassed women from reporting. This may be exacerbated by nothing being done about the harassment by management after reporting it and /or experiencing difficulty in dealing with the pain caused by the harassment itself, especially if the perpetrator is not disciplined. The victim may feel embarrassed and self-conscious about it at the workplace.

In Zimbabwe particularly, the opportunities for employment have been very narrow due to the harsh economic crisis, forcing 3 million citizens to leave the country and source basic needs such as food in other countries. *Zimbabwe-people* (2010, p.1) an online publication, reports an “(80%) unemployment rate”. A woman who is looking for a job may be more vulnerable to *quid pro quo* forms of sexual harassment in the promise of a job. Women who already have jobs may tolerate sexual advances in order to put food on their families’ tables because they would fear losing their jobs. “This is not due to the factor of job commitment, but rather because it is very difficult to secure another job elsewhere”, explains Noah (2008, p. 124).

f) Lack of respect for women

Lack of respect for women usually begins at a young age in school and or at home, alleges Morewitz (2009). Three of the responses to this research indicated lack of respect to be a cause of sexual harassment. Women may have felt that men lacked respect for them for various subjective reasons. It may have been due to socio-economic conditions of either the men or the women involved. For example, women occupying high-level positions such as managers found it disrespectful when approached romantically by men occupying low-level positions such as messengers or drivers. By the same token, younger women who occupied low- to middle-level positions found it disrespectful when older, married men in managerial positions romantically approached them.

g) The way women dress

The way that women dress was perceived by 3 (6%) of the respondents to be a cause of sexual harassment at their workplace. Zimbabwean female dressing is still very conservative. Culturally, short skirts or dresses and tight clothes are shunned. With the introduction of internationally fashionable clothes such as tight jeans and short skirts/dresses, bust/back revealing clothing, men may have assumed that women were trying to provoke them with their clothes when they are just dressing according to worldwide fashion trends.

In common with most other forms of sexual violence all over the world such as rape, there is a tendency to blame the victim and excuse the assailant. There is no denying of course that there are women who dress provocatively to attract male attention. In addition, research carried out by Bennett et al (2007, p. 40) revealed that “some men (students and staff) are suspicious of campus-women’s sexuality and thus blame sexual harassment on things like women’s dressing (especially among the student population), resenting their potential “bedroom power”, or “bottom-power” and blaming them for provoking and seducing male lecturers, for example.

Finally, sexual harassment research carried out in Egypt also revealed that about 53.8% of men said that women were to blame for being sexually harassed. The reasons they gave were inappropriate dressing, enjoying the attention, or initiating the harassment. Some Egyptian women agreed that women bring it upon themselves when, for instance, they wear tight clothing (Kinoti, 2009). Women should of course dress appropriately they should not have to dress in traditional attire in order to avoid being sexually harassed.

h) Economic factors

Economic factors were cited by 4 (7%) of the respondents as another reason for sexual harassment at their workplaces. Schultz (1998) explains that the subordination of women, a form of sexual harassment, is fuelled by economic considerations which may also play a role in harassment by a supervisor. Aside from female bank employees, Zimbabwean

female employees have become very desperate over the years, with many women opting to prostitute themselves to supplement their income.

In the majority of cases, the salary one received would have lost value to the constantly rising inflation rates through the day and sometimes hour. The long queues of people shown world-wide in the media lining up for bread and other basic needs for longer than 24h hours, demonstrates the extremity of the situation (British Broadcasting Corporation 2009). These desperate circumstances may force women to accept sexual harassment as a means to ensure job security.

This situation is not exclusive to Zimbabwe, as indicated by Tamwa (2004) on sexual harassment in the mining industry. Tamwa revealed that girls were working in environments of sexual intimidation and exploitation. It also revealed that some were paid so little that they only made money through offers of sex with their male customers, employers or other associates. For example, it was reported in the United Republic of Tanzania that in desperate economic environments, girls normally do not refuse sex, even at a young age, because they think it is the way to secure funds or small payments, or to potentially find a husband. “The mining zone creates an influx of men who can offer rural women and school girls food and clothing in exchange for sexual favours. The pressures of poverty and the lack of sexual health education push women to see sex as their only option”, elaborates Tamwa (2004, p.9).

i) Policy inadequacies and other factors

A further cause that was cited for sexual harassment was policy inadequacies. This was referred to by 7 (11%) of the respondents. It has been evident from this research that Stanbic bank’s lack of a sexual harassment policy has been a major cause of the phenomenon. For Barclays and Standard Chartered banks, despite the laws being there, this research has found that harassment still continues because no evidence of sexual harassment policy training was discovered during data collection. Roberts and Mann, (2010, p.1) insist that, “employers may protect themselves from liability by taking

immediate and appropriate corrective action. To do so, companies need to institute comprehensive, detailed, and responsible sexual harassment policies”.

Other reasons that the women mentioned, as causes of sexual harassment included; among others a woman having higher education than her peers, women being unassertive at the workplace about their rights, men’s disregard for professional ethics and moral degradation in society. These contributed to 5 (8%) of the responses.

In Table 2 are some quotations of responses on subjective causes of sexual harassment by women.

5.4.3 Behavioural/conceptual causes of sexual harassment

a) Introduction

There are three explanations given by researchers for sexual harassment at the workplace from a behavioural/conceptual perspective. The section below explores the results of this research in relation to these three explanations of sexual harassment:

Table 2: Women’s quotes on individual/subjective causes of sexual harassment (N=63)

Women’s individual/subjective views on the causes of sexual harassment	Examples of responses given by participants on /subjective individual views on causes of sexual harassment
<i>1. Power and/ or the employment position of the perpetrator.</i>	<p>“Some men think they have a right to do what they want with us just because we are their juniors”.</p> <p>“Men who dominate management positions ignore its existence”.</p>
<i>2. The culture and traditions of the perpetrator or the society.</i>	<p>“Culturally-tolerated beliefs downplay sexually harassing behaviours as innocent and acceptable”.</p> <p>“Men assume that women have no problem with such behaviours since our culture accepts them”.</p>
<i>3. Ignorance of women on sexually harassing behaviour.</i>	<p>“Lack of knowledge among women on what sexual harassment at the workplace is”.</p> <p>“Low awareness levels on all aspects constituting harassment, and men in the organisation taking advantage of this”.</p>
<i>4. Fear, including fear of job loss.</i>	<p>“Fear of unfair dismissal among women”.</p> <p>“Fear that if I raise a sexual harassment issue with management, I may lose my job and not be able to look after my family”.</p>
<i>5. Lack of respect for women by the perpetrators.</i>	<p>“Disrespect for women caused by beliefs that see some aspects of sexual harassment as normal and acceptable”.</p> <p>“Lack of respect for women at the workplace due to male socialisation”.</p>

Table 2 continued

Women's individual/subjective views on the causes of sexual harassment	Examples of responses given by participants on /subjective individual views on causes of sexual harassment
<i>6. The way women dress.</i>	<i>"Inappropriate wear or revealing clothes". "Inappropriate dressing by some women".</i>
<i>7. Economic and monetary needs of the woman.</i>	<i>"Seeking a quick buck or promotion and this being picked up by a senior who uses it to his advantage". "A way to gain monetary rewards or promotions for some".</i>
<i>8. Policy inadequacies.</i>	<i>"Inadequate protection of women by company procedures because they are not clear on what harassment is and what its punishment is". "There is no avenue for reporting and seeking justice".</i>
<i>9. Other factors.</i>	<i>"A woman having higher education than her peers". "Women being unassertive at the workplace about their rights". "Men's disregard for professional ethics and moral degradation in society".</i>

b) Sexual arousal as an explanation for sexual harassment

Eight, (12%) of the respondents considered sexual arousal to be the cause of sexual harassment from a behavioural perspective. It was evident that fewer women accepted the belief that sexually harassing behaviour could be excused as a "weakness" in some males. Johnson, (1982, p.14 in Powell, 1999, p.40) purports that from the natural/biological model of sexual harassment, "sexual harassment results from biological sex drives or sexual arousal".

Sexual arousal is central to Stockdale (1993)'s *misperception theory* that says that certain sexual harassment behaviours may result due to men misperceiving women's friendliness as a desire for, or want of, a sexual relationship. The initiators in such cases

may not perceive their actions as harmful to the targets, but as pleasing. Abbey (1982) and Johnson et al.,(1991) concur that men are more likely than women to not perceive friendly behaviour as sexy. These authors believe that men are more likely than women to initiate sexually harassing behaviour and thus may have a biological weakness to sexually harass women at work.

c) Power differences as an explanation for sexual harassment

About one-third, 20 (32%), of the women attributed sexual harassment at their workplace to power differences. This explanation for sexual harassment at work shows that when there is a vast difference in power that is held by men in organisations, women are more likely to be sexually harassed (Johnson et al, 1991). In all the banks women reported there was a majority of male employees who occupied most of the influential and powerful positions.

d) Integrative explanations of sexual harassment

According to the findings of this research, the majority of respondents, (35 or 56%), attributed integrative explanations of sexual harassment to its cause at their workplaces. It is true that due to past academic imbalances, men occupy higher positions at organisations such as banks, as it is only recently that women were beginning to penetrate into most areas of employment.

Traditionally, women have been mainly employed in nursing, teaching, social work and in other caring and helping professions. Sectors such as banks still have a majority of males trained in financial subjects, which may make women feel that this imbalance in their representation is a major cause of sexual harassment. Research by Lafontaine and Tredeau (1986) showed that sexually harassing behaviour occurs more often in firms that are not perceived as having equal employment opportunities for women. Research by Schneider et al., (1997) also revealed that women entering into a new job class where they had not been well integrated increased their vulnerability to sexual harassment.

Table 3 Behavioural/ Conceptual causes of sexual harassment (N=63)

EXPLANATION OF HARASSMENT	SEXUAL AROUSAL	POWER DIFFERENCES	INTEGRATIVE EXPLANATIONS (HOW MEN AND WOMEN ARE INTEGRATED AT WORK)
Percentage of respondents	12	32	56

5.4.4 Legal causes of sexual harassment

a) Introduction

From a legal perspective, breaking sexual harassment laws or policies in a given country, system or workplace will result in one being liable for sexual harassment. This may take the form of employer liability as discussed in section (2.5.1) of the literature review, or consequences as stipulated in the sexual harassment Laws of a country. Zimbabwe's Sexual Harassment Law is in section (2.6.2 c) of the literature review.

b) Legal causes of sexual harassment in relation to company policy

All (100%) of the respondents in this research said they were either not aware of their company policies on sexual harassment, or that their companies did not have a policy. They thus could not personally attribute causes of sexual harassment to shortfalls in their own company policies.

It is possible that there may have been fewer occurrences had there been a sexual harassment policy at Stanbic bank, or had the management of both Barclays and Standard Chartered banks trained their employees on their sexual harassment policies and on Zimbabwean Sexual Harassment Law.

Regardless, Jackson and Newman (2004) disclosed that despite companies having a sexual harassment policy, a grievance-handling mechanism and compulsory sexual harassment awareness training, (60%) of respondents in their study had experienced a sexually harassing incident in the 24 months prior to the research - suggesting that reactive measures (such as policy, grievance-handling mechanism, and sexual harassment awareness training) may not be sufficient in managing sexual harassment.

AWARE (2006) exposed that out of 500 respondents, only 115 (23%) said they were aware of the existence of company policies on sexual harassment and a person/department to approach or make a report of sexual harassment. The result does not vary much with the findings of this particular research where none of the respondents were aware of these policies existing at their workplaces.

c) Legal causes of sexual harassment in relation to National Law

If a harasser is reported in a Zimbabwean Court of Law and tried, he or she will be tried under Section (8) of the Labour Relations Amendment Act 17\2002 of Zimbabwe. All 63 (100%) of the respondents in this research were unaware of the National Laws on sexual harassment. This also shows that the government and local human rights/civil society Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) have not done enough in educating the public on sexual harassment law.

5.5 Consequences of sexual harassment

5.5.1 Introduction

Individual and subjective/conceptual consequences given by the respondents' found were grouped into three scientific categories of consequences of sexual harassment by Tata and Bowes-Sperry in Powell (1999), which are; job-related, psychosomatic and organisational.

5.5.2 Individual/Subjective consequences of sexual harassment

Almost half (31 or 49%) of the respondents said consequences of sexual harassment at their workplaces were job-related. In addition, thirty-five (56%) of the respondents said that they were absent from work more often due to sexual harassment. They had considered quitting their jobs but due to the harsh economic conditions they did not have the opportunity to move jobs, resign or request for transfers as these opportunities were minimal. At the same time, many people were continuously being retrenched. Most of these women continued to hold on and suffer at work, which also affected their performance levels and led to a variety of psychosomatic consequences, due to the sexual harassment.

About a fifth (14 or 22%) of the respondents referred to psychosomatic consequences of sexual harassment, followed by job-related effects of sexual harassment. They reported increased headaches; diagnosis for conditions such as high blood pressure and diabetes due to increased stress levels; the onset of addictive behaviour such as excessive alcohol consumption; and fatigue. These conditions ultimately affect the organisation and its performance at large, leading to the finding that close to a third (18 or 29%) of the respondents mentioned organisational consequences of sexual harassment.

Usually, once the harassed employees found it too challenging to deal with the job-related and psychosomatic consequences of sexual harassment, the individuals and organisations then began to experience the organisational effects of sexual harassment - such as employees finally resigning, excessive absenteeism and being fired for misconduct. The 12 respondents who requested counselling services had reached the point of giving up after experiencing all the three consequences of sexual harassment. One respondent shared with the researcher that as a result of sexual harassment she would often get ill.

5.5.3 Behavioural/Conceptual consequences of sexual harassment

Almost half (27 or 43%) of the respondents attributed job-related consequences to sexual

harassment at their workplaces. A third (20 or 31%) reported psychosomatic effects. Sixteen (26%) respondents agreed that there were organisational consequences to sexual harassment.

5.5.4 Legal consequences of sexual harassment

In this particular research, because none of the respondents were either aware of their company sexual harassment policies or the law on sexual harassment, they could not attribute actual experiences of legal consequences of sexual harassment at their workplaces, as they had never attempted to legally address the behaviour.

5.6 Discussion of trends

5.6.1 Women's employment positions and sexual harassment

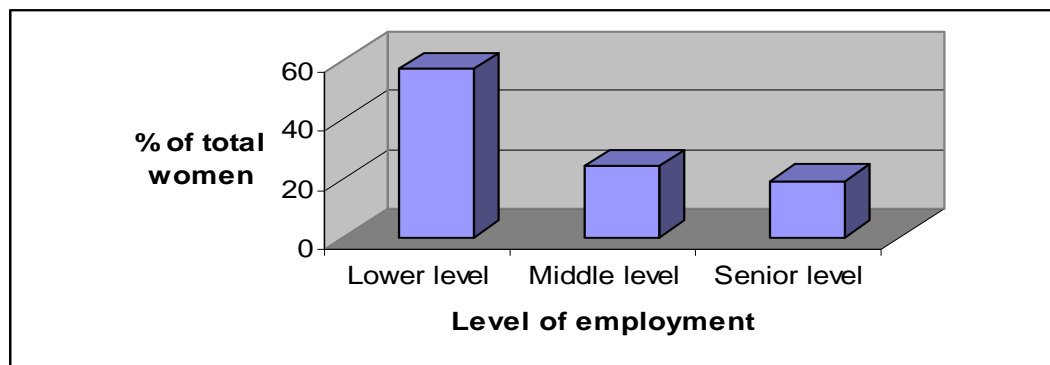


Figure 8: Correlation between women's employment positions and experience of sexual harassment (N=63)

Almost all (53 or 94%) of the respondents who said they had been sexually abused on a regular basis were lower-level employees, which presented a correlation between experiences of sexual harassment and one's position at the bank. If an employee occupied a much lower position, such as cleaner, receptionist, personal assistant, etc, they were more likely to be harassed than if they occupied a more senior position, such as a human resources or investment manager.

Research conducted in Zimbabwe at the University of Zimbabwe by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in 2003 reveals that secretarial staff was very vulnerable to sexual harassment from both staff and students. They attributed this finding to these women occupying middle-level and administrative positions, which also exposed them to threats of job loss by their superiors if they failed to respond to demands of sexual favours.

In contradiction to these findings, research by McLaughlin et al., (2005, p.26) in the US demonstrated that women who hold supervisory positions were the ones who more likely to be sexually harassed at work. The variation in these findings may be attributed to cultural differences between the US and Zimbabwe as discussed in section (5.4.2) of this chapter.

5.6.2 Sexual harassment and the level of women's education

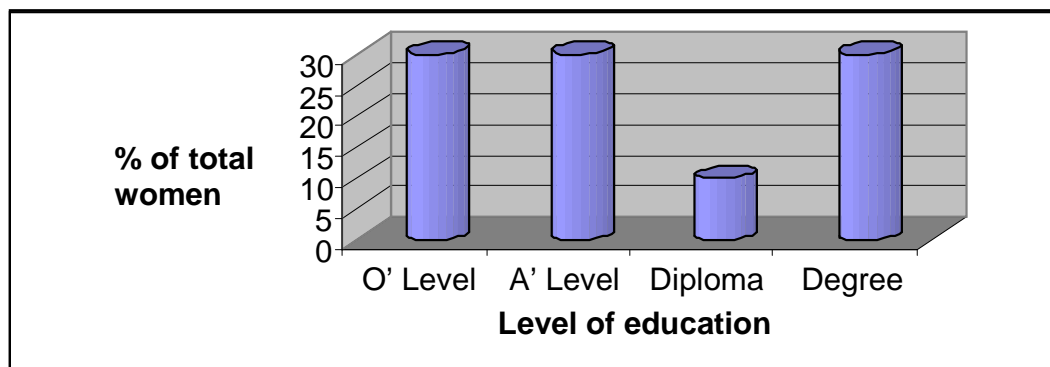


Figure 9: The correlation between education levels and experiences of sexual harassment (N=63)

A high number of respondents with O' level qualifications (11 or 59%) confessed that they had been victims of sexual harassment often, while slightly less than a third of employees with A' Level qualifications had experienced sexual harassment often. Only one respondent with a degree qualification admitted that she had been a victim of sexual harassment often, revealing a correlation between the women's educational qualifications and their sexual harassment experience.

The more educated, the less one was vulnerable to harassment. Factors that could be attributed to this include the probability that more highly educated women had more knowledge/awareness on sexual harassment, thus being able to recognise when a sexually harassing behaviour was directed at them and enabling them to take appropriate measures to prevent further abuse in the future. It is also possible that potential harassers respect women with higher academic qualifications more than those with lower academic qualifications. In addition, women occupying higher positions yield more power.

In contrast to this theory, research by ILO (2008) in Latin America revealed that “...those with more education (56.2%) were more likely to be targets of sexual harassment than those with less education (43.5%)” says (ILO, 2008, p.21).

5.6.3 The age of women and sexual harassment

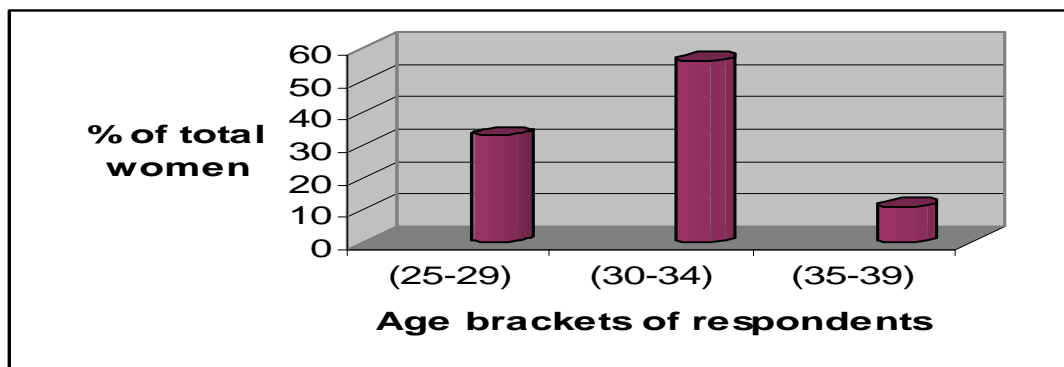


Figure 10: The correlation between the ages of the women and their experiences of sexual harassment (N=63)

Ohse and Stockdale (2008) reported that they also sought to fill a research gap, by determining whether “sexist attitudes mediate relations between age and sexual harassment perceptions, and whether relations between gender, sexist attitudes and perceptions are moderated by age”. Their results from an age-stratified sample of 965 students and staff employees at a US Midwestern university found a positive relationship between age and sexual harassment perceptions, as was discovered in this particular research. “Hostile sexism partially mediated this relationship, but age did not moderate

correlations with gender or sexist attitudes. College-aged samples are less sensitive to harassment than older-aged samples, but the validity of other predictors of sexual harassment perceptions, such as gender and sexist attitudes, remains intact regardless of sample age” (Ohse and Stockdale, 2008, p.253).

Women in their forties and older may have decided not to take part in the research as most of them were the ones who held higher positions at the workplaces, compared to the younger women and thus may have had to be more accountable to the results of the findings, possibly jeopardising the careers that they had worked for much longer to earn. This may be caused by a “fear of job-loss” discussed in section (5.4.2.e).

These women may also still be influenced largely by Zimbabwean culture, which was discussed in section (3.3) of the literature review and determined to be extremely powerful in shaping how men and women relate, in Zimbabwe, even in the workplace. They may not have wanted to appear immoral by admitting to having been involved in a sexual harassment case, or even research. Such an employee may feel this may affect her not just at work, but also at home. An added factor could also be the avoidance of emotions that may be unearthed when taking part in the research.

ILO discovered that younger age groups were most likely to experience both sexual harassment (64.9%) of the total participants and sexual aggression (73.6%) of the total number of respondents. This may also point out that older women who chose not to participate in the research may have already experienced various forms of sexual harassment at their workplaces during their younger years. Studd and Gattiker (1991, p.263) furthermore explain that “younger women are either more likely to be subject to more severe forms of sexual harassment or are more likely to respond negatively to similar forms of harassment by filing complaints”.

The largest age group of respondents in this particular research (56 or 89%) were those falling in the bracket between the ages of 30-34 and 25-29. This corresponds with the 2008 ILO research results mentioned in the previous paragraphs where those in these age

brackets were more likely to experience harsher forms of sexual harassment at work and thus may explain their high interest in taking part in the research.

Likewise, analyses of the U.S. General Social Survey and the Japanese Survey (2008) on Working Women's Consciousness show how younger cohorts entering the labour force following equal opportunity legislation report more sexual harassment than older cohorts. Younger women are thus more proactive when it comes to securing their sexual harassment rights and it seems this includes participation in sexual harassment research. It is interesting to note that those falling in the cohort of 35-39 years of age comprised of slightly over a tenth of the participants in this research (7 or 11%).

Furthermore, according to Baber and Monaghan (2004, p.189), "Women who desire to both work and parent are faced with the dilemma of how to integrate potentially conflicting roles and responsibilities". At this age, most of these women would be focused on raising a young family and trying their best to look after this family. They may thus be willing to sacrifice certain rights and the participation in the promotion of these rights (such as taking part in a sexual harassment research) and concentrate on stability and security of their jobs/careers.

It is at this time also when most people (men or women) will start to fully take off and occupy positions they have been dreaming of at their workplaces as they would have acquired the relevant experience and /or education demanded by their employers. These women may thus be in a position where they are beginning to reap the fruits of their long years at school and work experience and as a result, sacrificing this by demanding sexual harassment rights may jeopardise future opportunities, from their perspective.

Finally, Blackstone and Houle (2006, p 55) conclude thus from their research, "In summary, we find that despite relatively little attention to it in the literature on sexual harassment, age is a fundamental dimension of power that shapes individuals' perceptions of sexualised interactions at work".

5.6.4 Women's marital status and sexual harassment

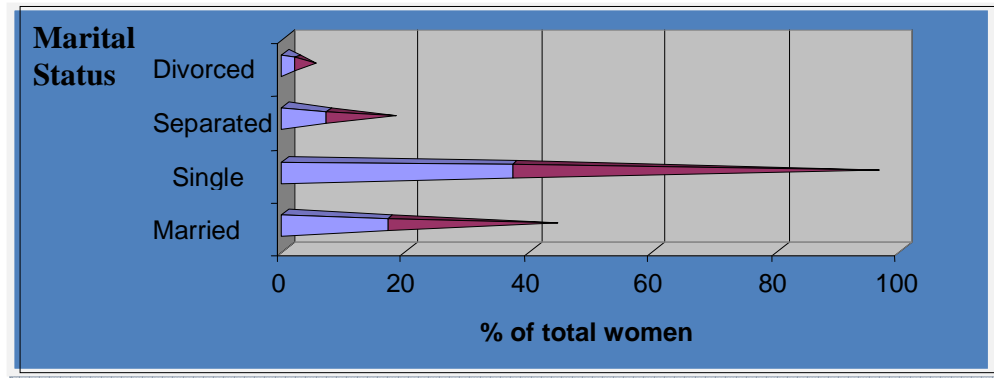


Figure 11: Correlation between marital status and experiences of sexual harassment (N=63)

Findings from this research revealed that 24 (90%) of the single women interviewed had been sexually harassed often, while 8 (75%) separated women had been sexually harassed often. Similarly, two women who had been divorced admitted to experiencing sexual harassment often, while 21 married women admitted to experiencing sexual harassment often (35% of the total number of married women).

There is obviously a correlation between women's marital status and sexual harassment. Those who are single are the most prone. They are followed by married, then separated women, and lastly divorced women. Perhaps single women are deemed as still seeking partners and thus more approachable. While this study discovered that almost half, 26 (42%) of married women were sexually harassed, on the contrary, research by Gutek (1985) found that (79.4%) of the cases of sexual harassment in their research involved single, separated and divorced women while only (20.6 %) involved married or engaged women double the number in this research. In correlation with findings on single women but also and also in disagreement to the findings about divorced women of this research, a Work Fact Sheet produced by ILO reported in 2007 that "single or divorced women that are young, financially dependent and with migrant status, are the most vulnerable to sexual harassment" (ILO, 2007, p. 2).

Even more recently, research by ILO (2008, p.38) conducted in different Latin American

countries revealed that, “marital status, age and education impact on sexual harassment and aggression in that those who are not married are more likely to be sexually harassed than those who are married (65.7%:34.3%) but those who are married are slightly more likely to experience sexual aggression than those who are not married (51.5:48.5%)”.

The Human Rights Monitor (2001) reported that Zimbabwean women experience lack of control over their sexuality and that this was displayed through the rape of young girls by male relatives following the myth that sex with a virgin is a cure for HIV (promoted by sorcerers in many parts of Africa).

5.6.5 Sexual harassment and its relationship with the banks women worked at

Most of the women (45) who declared that they had been harassed often were from Stanbic bank branches, who made up 80% of the total number of participants who had had experienced sexual harassment. Standard Chartered and Barclays bank branches each had five (8%) participants who confessed that they had been sexually harassed often at their workplaces. This links to the finding that Stanbic bank branches in Harare’s CBD did not have a sexual harassment policy at all. There was thus no guideline for employees on sexually harassing behaviour at these banks. In addition, there were no venues for the victims to seek redress apart from via formal Zimbabwean sexual harassment laws which, as revealed, none of the respondents were aware existed.

Nevertheless, a keener look at the sexual harassment policies available for both Barclays and Standard Chartered banks reveals that a lot more needs to be done to make them more effective. For example, the policies of both banks are very general. They are actually guidelines provided by the international headquarters of these banks that need to be refined to make more specific to the banks in Zimbabwe. The lack of adequate policy could be affecting the performance of sexually harassed employees in the international banking sector, in turn affecting the performance of the general Zimbabwean economy.

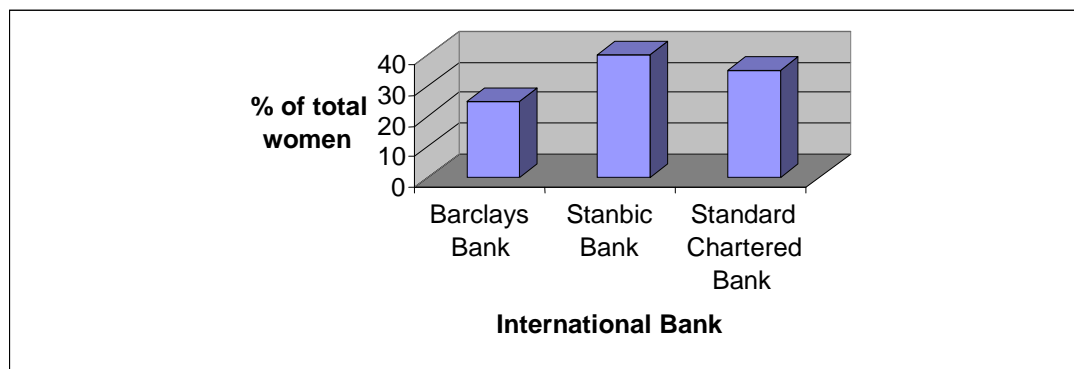


Figure 12: Correlation between banks women worked at and sexual harassment experiences of women (N=63)

5.7 Conclusion

In Christianity, Islam and other religions and traditions in the world, a woman would be expected to keep quiet where men were talking. For example, for those who use the Bible for reference, 1 Corinthians 14:34 reveals, “let the women keep silent in the congregations, for it is not permitted for them to speak, but let them be in subjection, even as the Law says”. In Zimbabwe in particular where the equality of human beings is so unbalanced between whites and blacks, heterosexuals and homosexuals, etc, women continue to be denied the chance to give their opinions. This research gave women a voice. They got the opportunity to safely share their views on sexual harassment and bring to light that there is a great need for the international banking sector to address the causes and consequences of sexual harassment at their workplaces, for the benefit of employees and also for the good of the banking sector.

Most key is the efficient establishment of sexual harassment policy, relevant for the protection of Zimbabwean women and made available and publicised through compulsory training of all employees. New employees need to be educated on sexual harassment policies in the workplace. The management of these banks should also take the initiative to help their affected employees heal from the effects of sexual harassment. Other organisations should also learn from this and protect their employees and their businesses. Finally, women should also become more proactive about their rights, which

may also be achieved by joining trade unions and active involvement in civil society initiatives.

CHAPTER 6: MAIN FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

The world has been grappling with difficult economic times since the recession began in December 2007, confirms Andrews (2008). Amnesty International's Secretary General, Irene Khan, warned, "the world is sitting on a social, political and economic time bomb fuelled by an unfolding human rights crisis", as she launched Amnesty International Report (State of the World's Human Rights, 2009). "Underlying the economic crisis is an explosive human rights crisis", added Irene Khan, "The economic downturn has aggravated abuses, distracted attention from them and created new problems. In the name of security, human rights were trampled on. Now, in the name of economic recovery, they are being relegated to the back seat".

Zimbabwe in particular has been going through an extremely harsh economic and political crisis since the highly publicised political invasion of white farms in 1998 (Wikimedia Foundation 2009). These conditions were further aggravated by the worldwide economic crisis, with women and children becoming the majority of victims.

In consideration of the plight of women in such difficult times, the focus of this research is on the views of women regarding sexual harassment. A lack of information on sexual harassment in many organisations, particularly the banking sector, shows there is a need for further research. As more people will be competing for fewer and fewer resources the research gave women, a vulnerable sector of society, a voice to air their experiences of sexual harassment and their views on its causes and consequences in a harsh competitive environment.

6.2 Summary of main findings and conclusions

6.2.1 Introduction

The main aim of this research was:

To investigate what women, working in the three international banks situated in Harare's CBD, view as the causes and consequences of sexual harassment in their workplace.

The secondary objectives of this research were:

1. To explore participants' views regarding the causes and consequences of sexual harassment from:

An individual/ subjective perspective;

A conceptual/behavioural perspective; and a

Legal perspective

2. To determine the differences and similarities in female employee's views on the causes and consequences of sexual harassment at the three different international banks in Harare's CBD.

The findings of this research were presented in order to answer the above main aim and the secondary objectives of the research.

6.2.2 Women's experiences of sexually harassing behaviour

This study revealed a substantially high percentage of women (70%) admitting to being victims of unwanted sexual attention (44 in total). More than half (60%), i.e. 38, of the respondents, had been told suggestive stories. The majority of respondents (38 or 60%) had been victims of crude and offensive remarks, either publicly or privately in the workplace. It was also found that less than a fifth (12 or 19%) of respondents had been treated differently because of their gender. A high number, 45 (80%), of victims who had been harassed were from Stanbic Bank branches.

A much lower incidence, 19 (22%) respondents, had received sexist or suggestive materials, e.g. pictures, stories or pornography displayed to them; and most (51 or 90%) respondents who had experienced this form of sexual harassment were from Stanbic bank.

In relation to sexual innuendo, 12 (19%) respondents admitted to being drawn into a discussion of personal or sexual matters that was intended to encourage them to discuss or comment about their personal or sexual life; whilst all (100%) of those who had been victims of being drawn into such a discussion fell into the lower-level income group of employees such as cleaners, messengers, guards, etc.

A high number, 42 (67%), of women revealed that someone at their workplace had attempted to establish a romantic and/or sexual relationship with them, despite their efforts to discourage it; and a third, 19 (30%), had the experience of being continuously asked for dates, even though they had refused the harasser's demands. Meanwhile, 20 (31%) respondents reported to being offered faster promotions or better treatment in exchange for sexual favours.

Twenty-five (40%) respondents revealed that someone at their workplace had made them feel inferior, or was condescending to them due to their sex/gender. It was discovered that around a third of these victims (22 or 35%) were women who held lower-level positions. The rest, (41 or 65%) held middle-level positions. A low number, 10 (16%), of women in this study said they had been bribed with a reward or special treatment to coerce them into sex; while a higher number (33 or 52%) of women said they had been physically touched in a way that made them feel uncomfortable. Less than a tenth (3 or 6%) of respondents said they had experienced unwanted attempts to have sex with them that resulted in pleading, crying or struggling.

Other types of sexually harassing behaviour received low scores. For example, 9 (14%) women reported that an attempt had been made to stroke or fondle them, while less than a

tenth (5 or 8%) of the respondents reported that they had been treated badly for refusing to have sex with the perpetrator. Nine women (14%) said they had been threatened for not co-operating with the perpetrator, while only 5 (8%) of the respondents admitted to being victims of crude or offensive sexual remarks.

6.2.3 Individual causes of sexual harassment

There were eight main individually perceived views of sexual harassment given by respondents. (Although eight (12%) women claimed to be ignorant as to what constituted sexual harassment and therefore what the causes could be).

1. Power or position of the harasser within the organisation - mentioned by 20 respondents (31%).
2. A tenth, 6 (10%), of the respondents blamed the cultural/traditional beliefs of the harasser, which they said influenced his belief system and his perception of women.
3. Five respondents claimed that the fear of job loss if they reported sexual harassment was a reason for its continuation.
4. Policy inadequacies was mentioned by 5 (8%) of respondents as a cause of sexual harassment.
5. Economic reasons were suggested by 4 (7%) of respondents as a cause of sexual harassment.
6. The manner of dress of some women was perceived by 3 (6%) of the respondents to be the cause of sexual harassment at their workplace.
7. Lack of respect for women by the harassers was mentioned by 5 (8%) of the women as a cause of sexual harassment.
8. Other causes include; a woman having higher education than her peers; women being unassertive at the workplace about their rights; men's disregard for professional ethics; and moral degradation in society in general, which was mentioned by 5 (8%) respondents.

6.2.4 Conceptual causes of sexual harassment

Slightly more than a tenth (8 or 12%) of the responses considered sexual arousal to be a

cause of sexual harassment; one-third, 21 (32%) of women interviewed attributed sexual harassment at their workplace to power differences; and lastly, the majority of respondents, i.e., 35 (56%), attributed integrative explanations.

6.2.5 Legal Causes of sexual harassment

All 63 (100%) of the respondents in this research said they were either not aware of their company policies on sexual harassment, or said that their companies did not have a policy. They thus could not attribute causes of sexual harassment from a legal perspective in relation to shortfalls in their own company policies. The same was found when they were asked about their knowledge of National Law on sexual harassment.

6.2.6 Individual consequences of sexual harassment

These were presented in three categories, as stipulated by Tata and Bowes-Sperry in Powell (1999);

- I. Job-related
- II. Psychosomatic
- III. Organisational

Close to half, 31 (49%), of the respondents said consequences of sexual harassment at their workplaces were job-related, whilst just over one-fifth, 19 (22%), of the respondents gave psychosomatic consequences of sexual harassment. Close to a third, 18 (29%), of the respondents mentioned organisational responses as a consequences of sexual harassment.

6.2.7 Conceptual consequences of sexual harassment

The respondents who attributed job-related consequences to sexual harassment at their workplaces comprised of 27 (43%) of the respondents. Around a third, 20 (31%), of the consequences were reported to be psychosomatic, while 16 (26%) of the respondents agreed that there were organisational consequences to sexual harassment.

6.2.8 Legal consequences of sexual harassment

As none of the respondents were either aware of their company sexual harassment policies, or the law on sexual harassment, no legal cases were tried at their banks or in court.

6.2.9 Conclusions

It was discovered during the research conducted that sexual harassment is rife in Harare's CBD-located international banks. The types of sexually harassing behaviour that were most prevalent were: verbal - such as being told suggestive stories of which more than half 38 (60%) were victims; receiving offensive or crude remarks - also 38 (60%) were victims. In addition to verbal forms of sexual harassment, a substantial number (44 or 70%) of women admitted to being victims of unwanted sexual attention; while 33 (52%) women said they had been physically touched in a way that made them feel uncomfortable.

Nevertheless, 'extreme types' of sexual harassment occurred less. For example, less than a tenth, 3 (6%), of the respondents said they had experienced unwanted attempts to have sex with them that resulted in pleading, crying or struggling. In addition, 8 (14%) women reported that an attempt had been made to stroke or fondle them; while less than a tenth, 5 (8%) of the women, reported that they had been treated badly for refusing to have sex with the perpetrator. Eight (14%) said they had been threatened for not co-operating with the perpetrator. Only 4 (6%) of the total number of respondents did not admit to experiencing any sexual harassment.

The majority of the women subjectively felt that an abuse of power by men at their workplace was a major cause of sexual harassment. A third (31%) mentioned that men were using their seniority and power in the organisation to take advantage of women and thus harass them sexually, or they turned a blind eye and condoned this kind of behaviour by other male colleagues in the organisation.

The lowest scores for women's views on the subjective causes of sexual harassment were grouped under the category "other reasons" and included: a woman having higher education than her peers, women being unassertive at the workplace about their rights, men's disregard for professional ethics and general moral degradation in society. These contributed to 5 (8%) of the responses. Legally, it was interesting to discover that all 63 (100%) of the respondents were not aware of their banks' sexual harassment policy, or the Zimbabwean sexual harassment policy.

When it came to consequences of sexual harassment, almost half (31 or 49%) of the respondents said consequences of sexual harassment at their workplaces were job-related. These included absenteeism due to avoiding the person who had sexually harassed them, lower performance of their Key Performance Areas and more requests for transfers. More than half (35 or 56%) of the respondents said that they were absent from work more often when they had experienced sexual harassment at work. A correlation between a women's employment position and her sexual harassment experience was discovered - almost all (53 or 94%) of the respondents who said they had been sexually harassed on a regular basis were lower-level employees.

It was also unearthed that higher education led to lower vulnerability to harassment. Only one respondent with a degree qualification admitted that she had been a victim of sexual harassment, while a higher number of respondents with only O' level qualifications (11 or 59%) confessed that they had been victims of sexual harassment.

When it came to age, women in the age bracket of (30-34) were most sexually harassed, compared to other groups. They comprised of 56 (89%) of the total population interviewed. Findings from this research showed that 24 single women had been sexually harassed often, while 21 (35%) of the total number of married women had gone through a similar experience. A correlation was found between marital status and experiences of sexual harassment, which showed that single women were more likely to be sexually harassed than married women.

In conclusion, it was discovered that victims of sexual harassment in Harare’s CBD-situated banks are mostly single, occupy lower-level employment positions, have O’ level educational qualifications, work at Stanbic bank and fall in the age bracket of (30-34) years of age.

Table 4: Women most likely to be sexually harassed (N=63)

Age bracket she falls under	(30-34)
Her marital Status	Single
Bank where she works	Stanbic Bank
Her level of employment position	Lower-level position
Her highest level of education	O’ level qualification

6.3 Recommendations

6.3.1 Recommendations for practice

AWARE (2008) advises that more social workers, especially social workers in private practice should provide sexual harassment services, which should target individual therapy for the abused, the harasser, and should offer resolutions between the two parties and counsel for other colleagues who may have been affected by harassment in the organisation. This is an area where occupational social work can make a great contribution sexual harassment as its area of expertise affects targets productivity and profitability of organisations as much as it targets the needs of employees.

The same professionals should provide services for organisations to help them formulate appropriate policies that curb sexual harassment at the workplace and in the wider social spectrum of association. Social workers in general can also be involved as activists to lobby against this form of abuse, working alongside trade unions so as to enforce appropriate national laws that help protect employees and ordinary citizens from sexual harassment.

Social Action, a key area of social work, needs to be revived among social workers to champion the rights of victims of sexual harassment. More non-profit organisations should be created and run by these professionals.

6.3.2 Recommendations for organisations

It is recommended by AWARE (2008, p 28) that there are several actions that employers can take to provide support and protection for their employees to ensure that they enjoy a safe and conducive working environment:

1. “Establish a policy that explicitly prohibits sexual harassment in the workplace.

This can be a stand-alone policy or integrated within broader policies on harassment in general” (Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission 2008).

Each bank should develop a comprehensive sexual harassment policy which should be developed through considering all employees’ inputs. This may be done anonymously through a suggestion box placed in a private place and through focus group discussions with employees. An external consultant should preferably be hired to oversee the process. Stanbic bank, which does not have a sexual harassment policy in place at all, will have the opportunity to ensure that they follow all the steps necessary in order to set up adequate sexual harassment policies.

2. “Establish a no-tolerance culture towards harassment – ensure that all employees are made aware sexual harassment, not only about what constitutes sexual harassment, but of possible disciplinary action that may be taken against harassers, or against those who make false reports of harassment”.
All harassers should be made to face the consequences of their actions when sexual harassment has been reported to encourage victims to report and stop future sexual harassment from occurring.

3. “Managers and supervisors should be made responsible for ensuring that their employees are protected from sexual harassment. Training should be provided for managers and supervisors to help develop their skills and sensitivity to deal with complaints effectively”.
New managers in particular should be made to understand from the beginning that they have an obligation to keep their workplaces harassment-free. Management could be offered sexual harassment training by an external provider who is an expert in the field.

4. “Establish clear procedures to tackle grievances and complaints of sexual harassment – includes identification of a department or person to whom the report should be made, and a description of the process that will be followed, including disciplinary actions that will be taken if necessary” (HREOC, 2008, p.8). The person to whom the sexual harassment report needs to be submitted must be chosen with utmost care. Preferably, they should have studied a profession that teaches the upholding of ethical responsibility towards clients - such as social work, nursing, psychology, or similar professions.

5. “Ensure strict confidentiality and impartiality in the treatment of complaints of sexual harassment – confidential reporting channels should be made available; staff appointed to conduct investigations should come from other departments and not be related in any way to the complainant or alleged harasser; assurances should be given to the complainant and any witnesses that neither will suffer any

reprisals as a result of making a complaint, or providing information about a complaint” (Khan and Mawire, 2005, p.20).

The workplace should be place where employees feel that they can trust their employers and those put in authority. Employees with the responsibility of ensuring that sexual harassment does not occur in the workplace need to demonstrate their commitment. They should also give continuous feedback to employees and employers.

6. “Extend the definition of workplace sexual harassment beyond the physical office space and beyond staff directly employed by the company – protection should be provided for any work-related incident of sexual harassment, no matter the time or place it occurs, and whether the harasser is a co-worker, client, customer or vendor”. Workplace policy must take into account all persons who interact with the particular workplace. This interaction must consider non-physical forms, such as telephonic conversations, internet and email communication, among others.

6.3.3 Recommendations for individuals

Individuals need to be proactive when it comes to addressing sexual harassment, not just at their workplace, but everywhere where people associate. Parents, for example, should be concerned about how their children are treated by other children, as well as teachers and other employees, as children learn what they see and are likely to carry out discriminatory behaviour into the workplace when they grow up.

There should be more individuals committed to eradicating sexual harassment at the workplace. Websites could be set up that encourage people to sign up and make a commitment to stopping or managing sexual harassment. This may lead to the formation of organisations and movements which can be assisted to develop an educational media campaign against sexual harassment, through sourcing of funding for advertisements and publication of relevant material.

Both males and females should set good examples to the rest of society to increase the number of people practising humane behaviour. This will help people become more aware of the effect of their actions and also to teach those who have not yet entered the workforce to learn that they need to respect all people regardless of their differences. Harassers need to be assisted to get help in the form of counselling and other assistance so that they can be understood and they can receive the assistance they need to help reduce sexual harassment.

6.3.4 Recommendations for Occupational Social Work

Occupational social workers should make more effort to set up their own private practices as their exclusive services are clearly needed in organisations. In terms of sexual harassment, they can take control in addressing matters such as sexual harassment policy formulation for organisations that do not have such policies; provide mediation services between parties at a sexual harassment dispute; and also provide individual and group therapy.

An occupational social worker can take it upon him or herself to be a technical expert when it comes to sexual harassment and provide much needed services to individuals, groups and organisations in private organisations, government, corporate organisations, non-profit organisations and others. A powerful career may be built around managing the phenomenon and volunteer opportunities, such as giving educational talks, may also be created.

The financial benefits of such an expert, when it comes to sexual harassment, need to be researched by the association so that they can provide accurate information to companies. For example, it should be clear that if a sexual harassment policy is in place, the company would save on the negative psychosocial effects on victims of sexual harassment, which include ill health and absenteeism. A research at the particular company should be able to determine how much money the organisation could save if sexual harassment is eradicated and if policy structures are in place.

6.3.5 Recommendations for Policy Makers

Policy makers within government departments who have the mandate of influencing sexual harassment should fulfil their obligations to society by ensuring that sexual harassment Law is well administered and marketed in the country. They should also ensure that these Laws are updated as often as necessary and that the courts become proactive in ensuring that justice is done.

6.3.6 Recommendations for Trade Unions

Trade Unions and Civil Society should use the power of numbers they have with their employee membership to hold peaceful demonstrations against acts of sexual harassment at the workplace. They should also create awareness among their membership and through press conferences about sexual harassment in the workplace.

6.3.7 Recommendations for further research

Much more work is needed to understand the scope and extent of workplace sexual harassment and identify the best possible solutions or avenues of redress. There is certainly a need for greater research into the prevalence rates and scope of workplace sexual harassment in Zimbabwe. This includes research into its occurrence and impact as experienced by specific groups, including gays and lesbians and other minority groups.

Further study would be useful on the feasibility of specific legislation to deal with sexual harassment, as well as the possible establishment of administrative mechanisms to handle complaints. Future researchers may also focus on sexual harassment of male employees. In addition, investigation needs to be done on why there are challenges with sexual harassment policy formulation, existence and implementation.

Other sectors, apart from banking, need to be given exclusive focus in terms of general and specific sexual harassment research so that comparative information can be produced which will be able to influence general policy better.

Research should look at why men in banks sexually harass fellow employees. The motivation behind the behaviour of sexual harassers needs to be understood so that a solution to the problem may be found.

6.4 Concluding comment

Workplace sexual harassment in Zimbabwe is clearly a social challenge that warrants attention. Greater public advocacy is needed to raise awareness about the issue and bring it out of the shadows. There are actors at different levels that can play a role in its prevention and who can offer protection and support for victims. It is important to identify these actors, not only at the company or organisational levels, but also at state level. In addition, every individual has a part to play in helping to create a no-tolerance environment for sexual harassment at the workplace, whether it is providing support to recipients of sexual harassment, or speaking up against it.

The government can lead the way by implementing policies and programmes that define the problem and enforce clear guidelines on preventative and remedial measures. This would help create a no-tolerance climate for sexual harassment at the workplace and encourage more employers to be socially responsible and to create and maintain a safe environment, conducive to ensuring productivity among their employees.

Employers should consider establishing policies that firmly prohibit sexual harassment, institute clear mechanisms to address complaints and provide training for managers and staff to recognise and deal appropriately with the problem.

Zimbabwe is going through a very challenging time economically, politically and socially. The environment is in great need of human rights advocacy and lobbying, as abuse needs to be identified and controlled before it becomes ingrained in society. Social workers in Zimbabwe should be willing to offer more when it comes to social justice.

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APPENDIXES:

APPENDIX A: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR RESPONDENTS

RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE- WOMEN'S VIEWS ON SEXUAL HARASSMENT AT THEIR WORKPLACES

RESEARCH TITLE- WOMEN'S' VIEWS ON THE CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT: THE CASE OF 3 INTERNATIONAL HARARE BANKS

This Questionnaire is for purposes of satisfying the demands of an academic study only and does not seek to affect the respondents' workplace circumstances. In case you ran out of space when writing your answer, the researcher is available to give you more paper or you can collect paper from the questionnaire drop-off box at any time.

Respondent's Personal Details

- a) Age of respondent.....
- b) Highest level of education qualification achieved.....
- c) Marital status of respondent.....
- d) Position respondent holds at the bank/job title.....

Section A: Questions about your views on the Causes and consequences of sexual harassment from an individual perspective (your personal/individual views on sexual harassment)

- 1) As an individual give a list of things you personally feel cause sexual harassment of women at your workplace.
.....
.....
.....
- 2) As an individual, give a list of things you personally feel are the consequences of sexual harassment of women at your workplace.
.....
.....
.....

Section B: Questions about Causes and Consequences of sexual harassment from a behavioural perspective (these are behaviour/s that constitutes sexual harassment, whether or not they are legally defined as sexual harassment or whether or not one sees them as sexual harassment)

- 1) Have any of the following sexually harassing behaviours been directed at you by a man you at your current workplace? (Please tick next to the appropriate sexually harassing behaviour that has happened to you at your workplace.)
 - a) Being told a suggestive story? (This is a story that suggests you should involve yourself romantically/sexually with him).
 - b) Being told an offensive joke? (This is a joke that makes you feel uncomfortable sexually).
 - c) Being treated "differently" from males because of your sex/gender? (E.g. mistreated or ignored).

- d) Drawing you into a discussion of personal or sexual matters (e.g. **attempted to discuss or comment on your sex life**)?
- e) Making crude and offensive sexual remarks (e.g. **referring to certain parts of your body**) privately or in front of others?
- f) Giving you unwanted sexual attention?
- g) Displaying used or distributed sexist or suggestive materials (e.g. **pictures, stories, pornography even via e-mail**)?
- h) Making sexist remarks at you (e.g. **suggesting that women are too emotional to be scientists or to assume a leadership role**)?
- i) Attempting to establish a romantic sexual relationship with you despite your efforts to discourage him?
- j) Been condescending to you because of your sex/gender? (E.g. **put you down because you are female**)
- k) Continued to ask for dates, drinks, dinner etc even though you have said no?
- l) Bribed you with some sort of reward or special treatment to engage in sexual behaviour? (E.g. **being given money, opportunities or presents**).
- m) Threatened you with some sort of retaliation for not being sexually co-operative (e.g. **the mention of an upcoming evaluation, salary review etc**)?
- n) Touched you (e.g. **laid a hand on your bare arm, put an arm around your shoulders**) in a way that made you feel uncomfortable?
- o) Made attempts to stroke you or fondle you? (E.g. **stroking your leg or neck, touching your breast, etc**)
- p) Treated you badly for refusing to have sex with them?
- q) Implied faster or better promotions if you were sexually cooperative?
- r) Made attempts to have sex with you that resulted in you pleading, crying or physically struggling?

2) In your view, how often do you any, some or all of the sexually harassing behaviours mentioned in question

1) occur at your workplace?

Never Often
 Sometimes

3) In your view, what would cause a man or men at your workplace to harass a woman or women at you workplace using the sexually harassing behaviours mentioned in question 1?

.....
.....

4) In your view, what would be the consequences to women at your workplace if they were sexually harassed by men at your workplace using the sexually harassing behaviours mentioned in question 1?

.....
.....

Section C: Questions about the causes and consequences of sexual harassment from a legal perspective

1) Does your workplace have a sexual harassment policy in place?

Yes No I do not know

2) If you answered yes to question above, what would be the cause/s of your employer to demand sexual favours/s from you as a condition **of any** of the following despite knowing that it is against the policy of your workplace?

- a) as a requirement for employment
- b) creating, classifying of abolishing a post or improving remuneration or other conditions of employment
- c) choosing the person for the job or post
- d) any other matters relating to employment

.....
.....

3) If you answered yes to question 1, according to your organizational policy, what would happen to your male employer if he demanded sexual favours/s from you as a condition **of any** of the following despite knowing that it is against the organizational policy?

- a) as a requirement for employment
- b) creating, classifying of abolishing a post or improving remuneration or other conditions of employment
- c) choosing the person for the job or post
- d) any other matters relating to employment

.....
.....

4) Are you aware that the current Zimbabwean Law protects you against sexual harassment at your workplace?

Yes No

5) In your view, what would cause your employer/s to engage in unwelcome sexually determined behaviour towards you whether verbal or otherwise, **(such as making physical contact or advances, sexually coloured remarks or displaying pornographic materials in the workplace)** even though they knew it was against the law?

.....
.....

4) In your view, what would happen to your employer/s if they engaged in unwelcome sexually determined behaviour towards you whether verbal or otherwise even though they knew it was against the law?

.....
.....

THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION.

APPENDIX B: PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Participant Information Sheet

Good day

I, Patricia Kariaga, am studying towards the degree, Master of Arts in Occupational Social Work at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa. I am inviting all 225 women at international banks who work in Harare's Central Business District to participate in this research about sexual harassment in the workplace.

The purpose of this information sheet is to ensure that your rights as a participant in this research are upheld. Please read the following.

- 1) Your participation is voluntary. If you refuse to participate, there is no penalty.
- 2) You may discontinue participation at any time or leave out any questions that you do not feel comfortable answering.
- 3) This questionnaire will take an average of 50 minutes to complete. Take your time if you need to. You will have 48 hours to drop the questionnaire in the drop-in box provided at your bank.
- 4) There are 3 sections of the questionnaire; A, B and C. You will answer the questionnaire on your own but the researcher will be available (please see contact details below) if you do not understand anything in the questionnaire, or have any queries.
- 5) In case at any given time you feel uncomfortable or are emotionally or psychologically affected during this research, I will arrange counseling for you through a qualified social worker at no cost to you. The social worker's name is Fadzai Chapawanasa, and she can be contacted at Catholic Relief Services (CRS) 97 Livingstone Avenue. She is not affiliated with any of the banks but is simply assisting with this research.
- 6) I can be contacted on this contact number: 091 709 737 on weekends should you have any queries about the research.

Thank you for participating
Patricia Kariaga
Social Worker and Researcher

APPENDIX C: APPROVAL OF PROPOSAL

Faculty of Humanities - Postgraduate

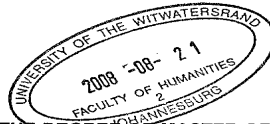
Private Bag 3, Wits 2050, South Africa • Tel: +27 11 717 4002/8 • Fax: +27 11 717 4037 • E-mail: Julie.Poyser@wits.ac.za



MS P KARIAGA
205 CPA Place
19 Loveday Str
MARSHALLTOWN
2001

Student Number: 0512409E

Dear Ms Kariaga



21 August 2008

APPROVAL OF PROPOSAL FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS BY COURSEWORK AND RESEARCH REPORT

I am pleased to be able to advise you that the readers of the Graduate Studies Committee have approved your proposal entitled "*Women's views on the causes and consequences of sexual harassment: the case of 3 international banks in Harare*" and you have now been admitted to full candidature. I confirm that Dr F Davies has been appointed as your supervisor in the Department of Social Work.

The research report is normally submitted to the Faculty Office by 15 February, if you have started the beginning of the year, and for mid-year the deadline is 15 August. All students are required to RE-REGISTER at the beginning of each year.

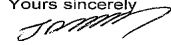
You are required to submit 2 bound copies and 2 unbound copies (loose pages) of your research report to the Faculty Office. The 2 bound copies go to the examiners and are retained by them and the 2 corrected unbound copies are eventually sent to Archives and to the Library.

Please note that should you miss the deadline of 15 February or 15 August you will be required to submit an application for extension of time and register for the research report extension. Any candidate who misses the deadline of 15 February will be charged fees for the research report extension.

Kindly keep us informed of any changes of address during the year.

Note: All MA and PhD candidates who intend graduating shortly must meet your ETD requirements at least 6 weeks after your supervisor has received the examiners reports.

Yours sincerely


Julie Poyser
Postgraduate Division
Faculty of Humanities
Private Bag X3
Wits, 2050
Tel: +27 11 717 4008
Fax: +27 11 717 4037

APPENDIX D: ETHICS CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

Division of the Deputy Registrar (Research)

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (NON-MEDICAL)

R14/49/1 Kariaga

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

PROTOCOL NUMBER H080501

PROJECT

Women's views on the causes and consequences of sexual harassment: A case study of Harare's international banks

INVESTIGATORS

Ms P Kariaga

DEPARTMENT

Social Work

DATE CONSIDERED

16/05/2008

DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE*

Approved Unconditionally

NOTE:

This ethical clearance is valid for 2 years and may be renewed upon application

DATE 23.06.2008

CHAIRPERSON 

(Professor R Thornton)

cc: Supervisor : Ms F Davies

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR(S)

To be completed in duplicate and **ONE COPY** returned to the Secretary at Room 10004, 10th Floor, Senate House, University.

I/We fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to resubmit the protocol to the Committee. **I agree to a completion of a yearly progress report.**

This ethical clearance is valid for two years from date of approval.

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER IN ALL ENQUIRIES

Signature

APPENDIX E: STANBIC BANK PERMISSION LETTER

stanbic.com
topkariaga@gmail.com

date25June 2008 1152
subjectResearch permission letter
mailed-byaol.com

hide details 2506/2008

Stanbic Bank of Zimbabwe
59 Samora Machel Avenue
PO Box 300
Harare
Zimbabwe
Switchboard: +(263) (4) 759471-9
Fax: +(263) (4) 751324
25 th June 2008

Dear Miss Kariaga,

RE: Letter to grant permission for research

It is with pleasure that we have agreed to allow you to conduct your masters degree research of University of the Witwatersrand at Stanbic Bank branches in Harare's CBD. We hope this knowledge will benefit both you and our bank

Yours sincerely

HR Administrator:

APPENDIX F: BARCLAYS BANK PERMISSION LETTER

barclays@aol.com
topkariaga@gmail.com

date23 June 2008 10:52
subjectResearch permission letter
mailed-byaol.com

hide details 23/06/2008

Barclays Bank of Zimbabwe Ltd
Barclay House
PO Box 1279
Corner First St & Jason Moyo Ave
Harare
Zimbabwe
Switchboard: + (263) (4) 758280-9
Fax: + (263) (4) 752913
23 rd June 2008

Dear Miss Kariaga,

RE: Letter to grant permission for research

This email is to inform you that you are given permission to come to our branches and conduct your masters degree research on sexual harassment for academic purposes only. We hope to be of every help we can to you.

Yours truly,

Contact: Winnie Nyambiya

APPENDIX G: STANDARD CHARTERED BANK PERMISSION LETTER

Standard chartered zimbabwe <standardcharteredzimbabwe@gmail.com>
topkariaga@gmail.com

date23 June 2008 10:33
subjectResearch Permission Letter
mailed-bygmail.com

hide details 23/06/2008

Principal Office
2nd Floor Mutual Centre
Cnr Third st../Jason Moyo Ave
P.O.BOX 373, Harare, Zimbabwe
Tel: +263 (4) 752852-8/ 253 801-8
Fax: +263 (4) 263 (4) 752 609

23rd June 2008

Patricia Kariaga
205 CPA Place
19 Loveday Street
Marshalltown (2000)
Johannesburg, South Africa

RE: REQUEST TO CONDUCT RESEARCH AT STANDARD CHARTERED BANK

Dear Madam,

My apologies for the late response. This is to let you know that you now have permission to conduct the research you requested for in our branches.

Yours Truly,
Donald Hussein