

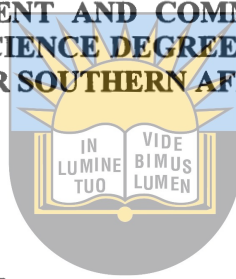
GENDER AND EMPLOYMENT IN POST-INDEPENDENCE ZIMBABWE.

BY

MOREBLESSINGS NCUBE

200188224

**SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF FORT-HARE, FACULTY OF
MANAGEMENT, DEVELOPMENT AND COMMERCE IN FULFILMENT
OF A MASTER OF SOCIAL SCIENCE DEGREE IN SOCIAL POLICY AND
DEVELOPMENT STUDIES FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA.**



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YEAR: 2003.

Abstract

The study is premised on the basis that in the Zimbabwean labour market there is occupational discrimination among men and women. The labour market reveals that men and women are employed in different occupations, where women are concentrated in the administrative and clerical jobs, while men represent the executive and managerial jobs. It is therefore necessary to understand the contemporary situation of the employment status historically, hence the study analyses the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods of Zimbabwean history. Although women have made considerable inroads into executive and managerial jobs, the rate is not convincing enough considering that women constitute more than 52% of the population. Women still do not have equal influence in political and decision-making bodies as well as in education. They continue to be marginalised in the economy and in the enjoyment of legal and human rights.

Therefore, there is need to investigate further into why occupational inequalities remain despite all the equity measures that have been adopted by the government and non-governmental organisations. It is only through the removal of the limiting factors that there could be a contribution towards gender equity so as to upgrade the human development of the employees. It is against this background that the study seeks to examine gender trends in the Zimbabwean labour market, investigate the factors that create the trend and analyse how the factors have contributed to the employees' human development, then consequently suggest recommendations or alternatives for change.

Acknowledgements

First and for most, my most heartfelt gratitude goes to my Supervisor Professor A. Rahim for every contribution that he made to this work.

To Professor Oloyede and Mrs. P. Monyai, thank you very much for your valuable criticisms.

To Dr. M. Ncube, thank you so much. ~~Your assistance~~ was highly appreciated.



To my family members, I am so grateful for having you, more especially my sister Colleen. T. Ncube.

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To my Mum and Dad, your advice will always be in my heart. "There is no better medicine in life than education."

Precious, your moral and social support was exclusively out of this world. Octavia, thank you very much for the spirit of encouragement that you gave me throughout this work. Susan, Khanyile, Cikizwa and Zandi, thank you so much.

Lastly, to the Lord my God, you have always been with me in good and bad times. I will give you all the praise now and forever.

Dedication...

To my Mum and Dad.



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Declaration

I Moreblessings Ncube declare that this dissertation is my own original work. It has not been submitted to any University for a degree.



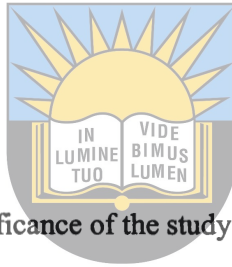
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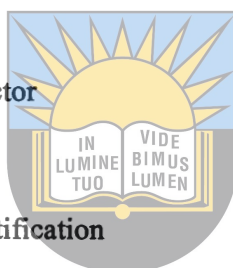
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List of abbreviations

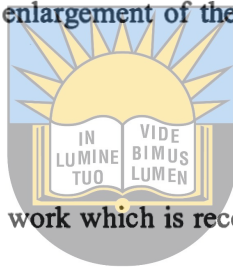
AIDS	Acquired Immuno Deficiency Syndrome
CSO	Central Statistics Office
EMCOZ	Employers Confederation of Zimbabwe
EPZ	Export Processing Zones
ESAP	Economic Structural Adjustment Programme
GNP	Gross National Product
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GDI	Gender Related Index
GEM	Gender Empowerment Measure
HIV	Human Immuno Virus
ILO	International Labour Organisation
LRA	Labour Relations Act
MCDWA	Ministry of Community Development and Women's Affairs
MLMPSW	Ministry of Labour, Manpower, Planning and Social Welfare
NEC	National Employment Council
NSSA	National Social Security Authority
SADC	Southern African Development Community
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
ZCTU	Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions

Definition of terms

Gender ----- socially and culturally determined attributes, which include male and female roles that define social and economic inequalities between them.

Sex ----- Physical and biological differences between men and women

Human development ----- The enlargement of the range of people's choices and capabilities.



Formal employment----- Paid work which is recognized, regulated and recorded in National Statistics. Work is usually paid in monetary terms.

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Informal employment----- Small-scale units producing and distributing goods and services of independent self-employed producers.

CHAPTER I

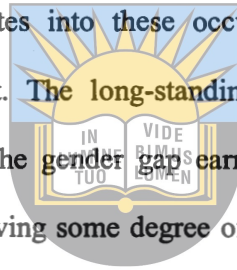
The problem and its background

Introduction

This study examines the composition or concentration of men and women in the Zimbabwean labour market. It seeks to analyse whether there are different patterns in such compositions or there is always a typical direction. From any of the patterns derived, the study then investigates the causes of the pattern or trend. However, before the problem is dealt with in greater depth, it is important to have a general understanding of the country being studied. Zimbabwe is a landlocked country of about 390 000 sq km, bordered by Mozambique on the East, Botswana on the Southwest, Zambia on the north west and the Republic of South Africa on the south. It has a population of 11.9million (1999 estimate), and an annual population growth rate of 3.4%, but however being slowed down by the HIV/AIDS prevalence. Since independence in 1980, the country's economy has improved with the Growth Domestic Product (Hereafter GDP) at \$7.2billion, 5.5% growth rate, \$520 per capita GDP and the inflation rate above 50% (2001 estimate – World Bank Background notes on countries of the world 2001:2). After independence, there was the restoration of per capita consumption levels of the black population, which had been severely eroded in 1974; the implementation of a programme of rapidly expanding access to basic social services, especially in education and health; the restoration of peasant agricultural production through the introduction and expansion of more and better quality land; and the generation of wage employment to match the growth of the population. Lower incomes, wages and salaries rose sharply between 1980-1984, both

through deliberate statutory adjustments and the expansion of access to employment through the elimination of all forms of discrimination (Batezat and Mwalu, 1989: 27).

The argument in this dissertation is that although anti-discrimination laws and legislations have been adopted in Zimbabwe, they have had their own limitations and as such, have not fully improved the position of women in the labour market. Hence, women in Zimbabwe continue to be discriminated and subordinated against. The present study therefore investigates into these occupational differences amongst women and men in employment. The long-standing presumption has been that occupational segregation affects the gender gap earnings, the likelihood of career mobility, and the possibility of having some degree of autonomy over one's work or of exercising authority over the work of others.



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Workplace studies have suggested that gender plays a role in defining jobs either as “women’s” or “men’s jobs” and in the construction of the division between full-time and part-time work. Gender stratification has also been found to affect the forms of authority and supervision within the workplace; to have an impact on women and men’s experience of work and their orientation to work; to influence their hours of work and their views about the future organisation of working time; to have an impact on their capacities to participate actively in trade unions and affect their experiences of redundancy and unemployment. This is done so as to transform the gender relations into more equitable ones and to improve their access to development opportunities. In Zimbabwe, although efforts have been made to consolidate gains made to attain

equity and social justice in all sectors of the society, some policies and strategies need to be revisited.

Background to the problem

In Zimbabwe, despite the fact that 52% of the population are women, men continue to have a higher human development index as compared to their female counterparts.

Women still lag behind men in political and decision-making positions as well as in education. They continue to be marginalised in the economy and in the enjoyment of legal and human rights (Kunaka, et al 2000:74)

Women's access to employment both in the public and private sectors of Zimbabwe is lower than that of men. Occupational segregation and concentration between women and men which is qualitatively in favour of men may be attributed to several factors which include among others inequalities in access to education and training, productive resources, reproductive responsibilities and stereotyping of gender roles.

In order to understand the background to the problem, it is important to give the political history of Zimbabwe and its gender employment status, because the gender employment status has been largely shaped by the political history of Zimbabwe.

A transition from one period to the other is characterised by drastic changes in the political and socio-economic situation of the people at large, while other changes are unique to males and females respectively. Zimbabwean history fits into three distinct eras, which were predicted by the political events- the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial. The pre-colonial phase in Zimbabwe is characterised as having been

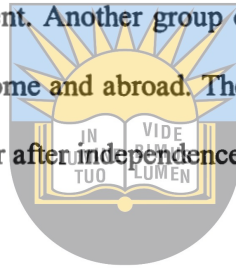
patriarchal, with women having no direct voice in public affairs and no control over social resources. It is important to note that division of labour was predicted by the differential biological make-up between men and women, and most importantly by women's physiologically determined role – reproduction and nursing.

The colonial era spanning a period of 90 years from 1890-1980 is characterised by the land alienation effected by the White settlers (Mhloyi, 1998:13). The land alienation was legalised by the Land Apportionment Act of 1930, which was superceded by the Land Tenure Act of 1969. The former- allocated 50% of the land to the 5% of the population, which was comprised of Whites. The Black population was pushed into the so-called native reserves, which were, and remain the least productive and the driest areas of the country. Such factors forced men to sell their labour for cash in the rapidly developing modern sector in the urban areas. This was the birth of migratory labour system characterised by split families. The woman, who was the wife and mother, remained a de facto head of the household supplementing the man's meagre wages through subsistence production.

The lack of training among African women during the colonial period meant immense problems in getting employment. It is all reported that in towns, women resorted to illegal activities of petty trading, like beer brewing and setting amongst others. Even if women managed to survive with the income generated from these activities, there was a stigma attached to that form of livelihood- this was the birth of stigma attached to working-women. Consistent with migrant labour, men trained and acquired skills that could make them marketable in the labour market. Education increasingly

became a vehicle for the acquisition of such skills hence, parents preferred to educate sons more than girls, a development which again widened the status gap between males and females.

The liberation struggle of 1966-1980 created a new twist in the role of women as some women, fewer though, joined the armed struggle. Most of the women who had high positions in the liberation struggle remain the few women enjoying political leadership in the current government. Another group of women found themselves in institutions of higher learning at home and abroad. The women too found themselves holding jobs and positions of power after independence.



Where pre-colonial society treated women as both reproducers and producers, colonial policy makers tended to treat them primarily as mothers, whose proper role was to care for children while their husbands supported the family. This was the rise of domesticity, which provided the rationale and justification for the exclusion of women from many areas of the paid labour force and the under-remuneration of those women working in the wage economy (Seidman, 1984: 57). In other words the domestication of African women has been a recurring theme in studies of gender, and it is the one, which is central to the analysis of the changes in the sexual division of labour that accompanied the colonial incursion and the penetration of capitalism (Mama, 1996:61). Colonial officials tended to visualize women in terms of a Victorian image, equated 'male' with 'breadwinner' and as a result, introduced technologies to men and recruited men for paying jobs. Throughout the colonial

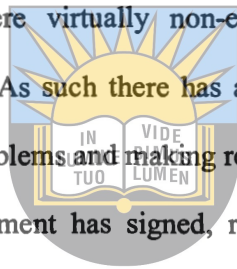
period, African women were almost completely excluded from all other areas of waged employment (Snyder and Tadesse, 1995:22).

The achievement of self-government has not by and large resulted in substantial changes in the gender division of labour. This is not to say that there have not been any changes at all, but that by and large gender discrimination has persisted. At independence, the Zimbabwean government was determined to build an egalitarian society which draws on the energies and abilities of all its people, this also meant addressing the traditional and historical imbalances between men and women. The double-edged exploitation of women deriving from the traditional culture and reinforced by the colonial policies was articulated and targeted for reversal. The contemporary situation (post-colonial) is not very different, except that after independence there has been an increase in the number of both men and women in the employment sector.

The number of working women almost quadrupled from 1980 to 1990 jumping from 5.3% to 16,3% of the total workforce (United Nations, 1995). In the early 1981, the government created a new ministry for women's affairs (later named the Ministry of Community Development and Women's Affairs - MCDWA), which stressed the changes in the traditional and colonial vision of women as mothers. Despite the fact that there has been considerable increase in the size of women employment in the country, the rate of employment is not that high considering that women constitute over 52% of the population. Even the leadership structures at national and local government including the private sector do not reflect this position. For example, of

Zimbabwe's 33 ambassadors/high commissioners only 4 are women. In parliament in the year 2000, there was a substantial increase though not encouraging as compared to the men. In 1980-1984 they were 8%, in 1995-1990 they were 11.3% and in 1990-1995 they were 14% (Kunaka et al, 2000:16).

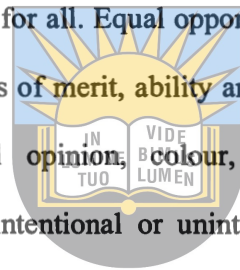
Legally, women were minors, passing from the guardianship of their fathers (or brothers, uncles or such other guardian) to that of their husbands upon marriage. In politics or public life, they were virtually non-existent. They had very little participation in decision-making. As such there has always been a responsibility of looking at women's status and problems and making recommendations for change. As a result the Zimbabwean government has signed, ratified and acceded to several declarations, conventions and protocols aimed at creating or enabling environment for the attainment of equity between women and men.



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These include the Southern African Development Community Declaration on Gender and Development and its addendum on the Prevention and Eradication of violence Against Women and Children; Universal Declaration of Human Rights; Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women and the Beijing declaration and Platform for Action. Zimbabwe acceded to the convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination in May, 1991. The government undertook, in terms of the convention, to establish equity for women in the political, economic, social and cultural spheres.

Government has taken several steps to remove discrimination against women workers through legislation. In 1981, the Equal Pay for Equal Work Regulations was introduced. In 1985, government introduced the Labour Relations Act (Hereafter LRA), which in its Section 5 states that “ no employer shall discriminate against any employee on the grounds of race, tribe, place of origin, political opinion, colour, creed or sex” in relation to advertisement, recruitment, job classification, wages, salaries and benefits, or any other matter related to employment. The stated objective of the Act is to ensure equal opportunity for all. Equal opportunity is defined as the right of all persons to advance on the basis of merit, ability and potential, regardless of race, tribe, place of origin, political opinion, colour, creed or sex. Employment discrimination is defined as all intentional or unintentional employment practices which have an unequal effect on the employment opportunities of persons or a group of persons (MLMPSW Memorandum, 1987).



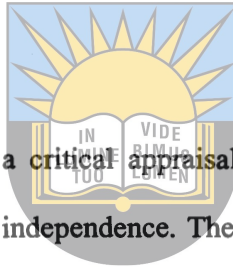
To balance the notion of motherhood for women in employment, maternity leave and breast-feeding regulations were introduced in 1980 and the Labour Relations Act (LRA) of 1985 improved the maternity leave at 75% of normal salary. Article 11(b) on the Convention of the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women in the field of employment, states that there is no law in Zimbabwe that prevents a woman from taking up employment or pursuing a profession she desires because men and women are entitled to the same employment opportunities. However, statistics show that women tend to be concentrated in professions that reflect their roles as mothers and child carers, which pay the lowest income. Despite government’s effort to remove discrimination on the basis of both race and sex, indications are that

women's participation in formal employment has not significantly increased since 1981. While many equal opportunity and affirmative action laws are designed to open up opportunities for women in the labour market, state intervention also comes in the form of 'protective' legislation, which inhibits women from doing certain types of work because it is deemed unsafe or otherwise unsuitable for women. McCormack (1981:28) calls such affirmative action laws and legislation, a necessary but not a sufficient condition. It is a political principle that puts women on the offensive rather than on the defensive. It is rightly a matter of concern that legislation formulated to protect women workers could have negative impact on equality. It could deny women entry into certain jobs and contribute to a gender-segregated occupational structure. It could also limit employment opportunities and promotion prospects for women, by raising employer's cost of hiring them or by making it illegal for women to be employed in certain types of activity (Kalbaugh, 1992:137). Laws protecting women must honour effectively the fine line between ensuring safe working conditions for all workers, including women in the informal sector and providing equal opportunities for all workers seeking employment (Lim, 1996:162).

It is important at this juncture to note that gender is socially and culturally constructed, whilst sex is biological and unchangeable. Sex is biologically determined, in other words, we are born either male or female, and there are certain biological attributes, which are associated with being male or female. Gender on the other hand recognizes that boys and girls are brought up differently, or are socialized to play different roles in accordance with the norms, attitudes, practices and expectations of their societies. Therefore 'gender' is about men and women and refers

to the social and cultural structure that defines what it is to be a 'woman' and what it is to be a 'man' in a given social and cultural setting. An important aspect of gender-based analysis is that it moves away from 'women's issues' to considering structures that affect and are affected by both men and women. Because gender is a social construct it means that it can be changed or challenged and ultimately transformed (Bullock, 1994:1).

The problem to be investigated



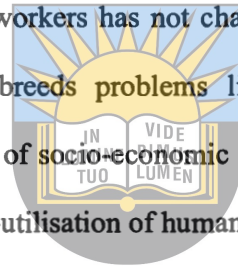
The aim of the study is to give a critical appraisal of the gender question in the Zimbabwean labour market since independence. The study will enquire into reasons why the equity measures adopted by the government have not been able to bring about significant changes in the conditions of the majority of women in paid work.

By examining the gender and employment statistics from 1980 to the present situation at five-year intervals, the study analysed the pattern or trends that existed, and then investigated the causes of the trends. Although there have been increases in the number of women entering the employment sector, as well as government intervention, gender differences still persist. Hence, there is need to investigate further into the reasons for persistence.

The study examines the gender composition of the Zimbabwean labour market (males and females in occupation) and then investigates and analyses the factors that create the composition. The study goes on to investigate how these factors tend to disadvantage one group over the other and consequently how the disadvantaged

group's well being is affected. This includes the notion of human development, which seeks to upgrade the people's capabilities and opportunities.

Human development is about being capable to lead a long and healthy life, educated and enjoying a decent standard of living. Some choices include political freedoms, guaranteed human rights and self respect. Basically it involves capabilities, that is, what one is or is not able to do. Kalbaugh (1992:83), is of the opinion that because the employment position of women workers has not changed considerably, this type of socio-economic situation often breeds problems like poverty, low productivity, unemployment, low consumption of socio-economic services and lopsided growth of human resources as well as under-utilisation of human capital.



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The study then attempts to suggest alternatives or recommendations, which could assist in bringing about gender equity in the Zimbabwean labour market. It is only through the removal of the factors limiting women's participation that there could be a contribution towards gender equity. Crompton (1996:427) views equity amongst men and women in the world of paid work as a major feminist objective. Given that work in the 'public' sphere has historically been shaped on the assumption that the 'worker' will be male, then national employment systems, which facilitate masculine employment patterns might be expected to be more likely to generate gender equity. Since World War II, women have made considerable progress towards equity, in that they have achieved formal equality of rights and access to paid work and educational standards just to mention a few. Nevertheless, gender discrimination in the workplace still persists.

Mazumdar and Sharma (1990:185) note that scholars differ widely on the origins of the male-dominated sexual division of labour. Some claim that its origins are biologically based and rooted in pre-historic cultures. Others argue that the subordination of women by men is the basis on which early civilisation was formed and that the sexual division of labour has maintained a reciprocal state of dependency between the sexes. Marxists attribute the origins of women's subordination to the emergence of social differentiation and patriarchy caused by shifts in models of production. The study has at its base the hypothesis that the labour market is not neutral; rather it favours men against women. Hence most women occupy the low paying jobs, which consequently affect their lives economically, socially and politically. In order to have balance in the labour market the study takes on the assumption that gender equity is the remedy to all the differences.

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Justification and Significance of the study.

This study attempts to add knowledge or make contributions and fill in gaps that have been left by some scholars. Scholarly works and official and unofficial reports have been published which focus on gender trends and employment, but gender discrimination still persists. Portrayal of attitudes by individuals still makes it look so difficult to understand the whole equity issue. Although there have been efforts made by the government and non-governmental organisations in the elimination of discrimination, the disparities still persist.

Most works have dealt specifically with women issues, but this study will encompass both men and women, despite the fact that women are usually the disadvantaged. However, women feature the most, because in studying gender matters, power relations between the two genders cannot be ignored. It is here that subordination and dominance take a lead. Since the study is basically on gender trends it becomes important to study the two (men and women), since trends or patterns are liable to change either in favour of women or men. Although the study focuses on the gender differences in the Zimbabwean labour market, emphasis will be put on how it affects the disadvantaged employee's lives and well-being, hence the study will link employment differences with human development.



Unanswered questions can only be answered after carrying out a detailed and valid study, hence the need to carry out this kind of study. Since the study follows a set hypothesis, there is need to prove or disapprove the hypothesis. This could only be done through engaging in practical research.

It is against this background, that the objectives of the study seek to examine gender trends in the Zimbabwean labour market. In investigating the factors that create gender trends, the study makes an analysis of how the factors have contributed to the employees' human development and consequently suggests recommendations on gender empowerment measures.

The results of the study, will not automatically conclude that what has been studied is the final say of the gender problem. However, some of the findings could be used as a foundation for further investigation to other similar works.

In undertaking such a study it may not be easy especially if one is to do a survey of the whole of Zimbabwe by collecting data from each and every town. Hence for cost and time efficiency, a historical research is more efficient.

Methodology.



The study adopts a historical approach, which is defined by Cohen and Manion (1989:48) as the systematic and objective location, evaluation and synthesis of evidence in order to establish facts and draw conclusions about past events. It is an act of reconstruction undertaken in the spirit of critical enquiry designed to achieve a faithful representation of previous age.

Researchers sometimes explore the past in order to gain a better understanding of the events and motivations, which precede the current state of affairs. Such explorations often help them in identifying a pattern of behaviour of which the present merely represent a point on a continuum of development. It is through exploring the past that a researcher is able to identify a pattern and continuum that may help him or her in projecting or predicting the future. Often historical research is not concerned so much with the collection of new information, but with the explanation or the interpretations

of information already known. The researcher in no way interferes or intervenes with the events and typically does not observe them directly, but describes, analyses and interprets those, which have already taken place.

Historical research is important and necessary for this kind of study, because it provides insight into some developmental issues that could not be gained by any other technique. Gender and development studies in Zimbabwe is a complex phenomenon and as such it does not require a regression approach as this will not examine the casual relationship between a set of independent and dependent variables (Gavaki 1977:32). Therefore laboratory schemes like the experimental design whereby experiments will be formulated to test the hypothesis derived from theory or prior research, would not be suitable for such a study since the social world does not operated in an organised order. Hence such methods may not encompass all the very important social relations. As a result, the historical approach becomes a more ideal method to use.

Cates, (1985:105) notes that in historical research, the researcher systematically investigates and analyses documents and other sources of facts about a given problem, behaviour, or event in the past. This is done principally to determine how such history influenced current practices, to predict future trends, or suggest ways in which current practices should be modified in light of events of history. Modern historical research tends to emphasise interpretation over mere reporting.

The study employs the historical approach so as to trace the history of the structures that caused the underdevelopment of women in the pre-colonial and colonial phases, then find out how these structures were reproduced in the post-independence era and how they have continued to affect women's positions in the labour market.

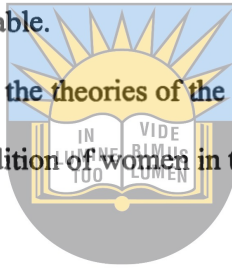
A major concern of researchers who wish to conduct historical research is whether they will be able to obtain information from a sufficient number of reliable and informed sources. Since the study does not use experimental or case study designs that rely on survey data, it therefore, relies on information based on social history, oral tradition and archival material. Thus the information used here is obtained from both primary and secondary sources. Primary sources are items that are original to the problem under study. Sometimes they are individuals who were present at an event or played a prominent role. The primary sources used in this study include Human development reports, governments and official documents and statistical reports. Secondary sources do not bear a direct physical relationship to the event being studied, but they are related to the event through some intermediate process. These sources include journal articles and books on gender and employment or related field. The information obtained from both the primary and secondary sources helped to explain why the situation of women in the employment sector was what it was in the past and how the past experiences have transformed into their present situations.

Delimitations of the study.

Gender analysis is involved in all political, social, economic and cultural aspects of life; as a result not everything concerning gender can be analysed in a single study.

The major restriction has been time and finance, hence the use of the historical approach, as a data collection method. Because of this type of methodology adopted, there is a possibility that the evidence that is considered may not provide critical insights. For example, literature which accounts for women's subordination in the labour market and which is presented by women themselves could have some biases, especially if the writers have been victims of oppression, emotions could somehow guide their work, hence misrepresentation of facts. Similarly, evidence from male writers may not be completely reliable.

The following chapter will discuss the theories of the labour market segmentation that have been used to analyse the condition of women in the Zimbabwean labour market.



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CHAPTER II

Towards a theory of labour market segmentation: An overview of literature.

Introduction

People entering the labour market face a differentiated job structure and their position within that structure depends not only on industrial and commercial factors, but also on socially determined criteria, which serve to circumscribe the job choices available to some. Various attempts have been made to explain inequalities in the labour market, but because scholars differ widely on the origins of the male-dominated gender division of labour, there is need to review some of the works that are related to gender discrimination in the employment sector. The long ignoring of women makes women's studies absolutely necessary as a corrective to the gender-blind and biased work of mainstream in Social Sciences. For most of those working in this field according to Schlegel (1977), the studies are two-pronged. They ask not only how equality and inequality came to be, but also how the identification of the critical determinants can provide the knowledge needed for initiating change. This chapter will discuss the different theoretical explanations of the labour market segmentation according to their typological classification beginning with the functionalist theories, then the neo-weberian theories and the radical theories respectively. Consequently,

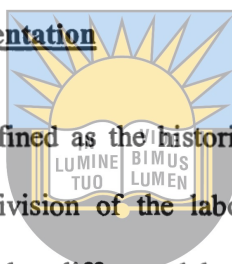


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there is an attempt to work towards formulating a theory of labour market segmentation that focuses on equity and human development as a way of bridging the differences between men and women in employment. But, before these discussions are made there is need to understand the evolution of labour market segmentation so as to have an understanding of the explanations made by different theories of labour market segmentation.

Evolution of labour market segmentation

Labour market segmentation is defined as the historical process whereby political-economic forces encourage the division of the labour market into separate sub-markets, segments, distinguished by different labour market characteristics and behavioural rules. Segmented labour markets are thus the outcome of segmentation process. Segmentation evolved during the transition from competitive to monopoly capitalism (economic system which is controlled by private owners for profit). During the preceding period of competitive capitalism, labour market developments pointed towards the progressive homogenisation of the labour force, not toward segmentation. The factory system eliminated many skilled craft occupations, creating large pools of semi-skilled jobs. Production for a mass market and increased mechanisation forged standardised work requirements. Large establishments drew greater numbers of workers into common working environments. Reich et al (1980:234) note that the increasing homogeneous and proletarian character of the work force generated tensions, which were manifest in the tremendous upsurge in labour conflict that accompanied the emergence of monopoly capitalism. At the same time that the work



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was becoming more homogeneous, these corporations that dominate the economy today began to emerge and to consolidate their power.

The new needs of monopoly capitalism for control were threatened by the consequences of homogenisation and proletarianisation of the workforce. To meet this threat employers actively and consciously fostered labour market segmentation in order to divide and conquer the labour force. Moreover, the effects of monopolistic corporations to gain greater control of their product markets led to a dichotomisation of the industrial structures, which had the indirect and unintended, though not desired, effect of reinforcing their conscious strategies. Thus labour market segmentation arose both from conscious strategies and systematic forces. With such a background in mind, it is necessary to understand how the different theories explain the labour market theories according to their typological classification.

Typologies of labour market segmentation

As the preceding historical analysis has argued, labour market segmentation is intimately related to the dynamics of capitalism. Labour market segmentation arose and is perpetuated by the fact that it is functional- that is, it facilitates the operation of capitalist institutions. Segmentation is functional primarily because it helps reproduce capitalist hegemony. First, as the historical analysis makes quite clear that segmentation divides workers and forestalls potential movements uniting all workers against employers. Second, segmentation establishes 'fire trails' across vertical job ladders and to the extent that workers perceive separate segments with different

criteria for access and workers limit their own aspirations for mobility. Less pressure is then placed on other social institutions- the school and the family for example, which reproduce the class structure. Third, division of workers into segments legitimises inequalities in authority and control between superiors and subordinates. From what has been discussed so far the characteristics of the functionalist theories fit well here, hence the discussion that follows will explain how the functionalists explain labour market segmentation.

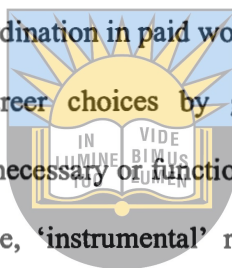
Functionalist theory



The best known theories about segmentation and the labour market are derived from the functionalists. Accordingly, the function and social institutions inculcate social values and skill into the individual, so that they will be able to perform their social roles in society (Durkheim 1956i; Parsons 1959). Central concerns include how large numbers of individuals can be organised to function and how this organisation can be smoothly perpetuated from one generation to another so that order is maintained. Socialisation maintains social order primarily because people internalise appropriate behaviour patterns and the desire to confront them. Through internalisation people have a role and it becomes part of them and part of their identity. Playing a role becomes not merely a set of learned behaviours or doing what is expected, it becomes a duty.

This socialisation perspective therefore considers that the social system is essentially just and that all deviations from 'desirable' conditions-educational equality included-

are due to lack of information about the problems facing women and the lack of adequate legislation to deal with them. Such a theory tends to assume that individuals exercise free will in choosing their career paths and that for the most part society as a whole benefits from these choices. The model individual, rational, economic man is seen as maximizing his satisfaction by ruthlessly pursuing his self-interest within the market place. Inequality is viewed as useful because it is thought to encourage competition, although systematic gender (and other) inequalities tend not to be fully recognised. In fact, women's subordination in paid work has often been presented as a result of free, but irrational career choices by girls and women. Hence the socialisation process was deemed necessary or functional, as it required specialisation of labour with men in aggressive, 'instrumental' roles and women in nurturing, 'expressive' roles in the home. Another basic assumption of functionalism, besides that of socialisation is that of meritocracy.




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The functionalist theory of stratification begins from the basic observation that no society is classless. Hence there must be a universal necessity for such stratification. It must perform some function so crucial that no society can do without it. A social system must distribute members into social positions and must instil in members the desire to perform the attached duties once in position (Hale, 1990:355). Hale further argues that the roles differ enormously in the demands they place on people. If all roles were equally important and everyone was able to do all of them, then placement would be no problem. However, since jobs are more agreeable, some serve more important social functions, some require that duties be performed more diligently, therefore, a differential reward system is crucial. These different inducements form

part of the social order and produce stratification. These rewards are built into positions and constitute the rights that are related to the duties of the roles. Inequality is thus necessary, inevitable and justifiable. In summary functionalist argue that stratification is justified on the basis of merit (Hale, 1990:356). The human capital formation theory can therefore be discussed under this functional approach, because it views the link between education and occupational status a sharing a trend towards entry into the labour market.

Human capital formation



Schultz (1977) in a bid to explain the human capital formation argues that education in addition to being a form of consumption is also individually and socially productive investment. Low earnings, especially those of members of the minority groups reflect according to Shultz inadequate investment in their health and education. Shultz notes that labourers have become capitalists not from a diffusion of the ownership of corporation stocks, but from the acquisition of knowledge and skill that have economic value. Because differentials in earnings correspond closely to differentials in education, they strongly suggest that the one is a consequence of the other. However, not all investments in human beings are of this kind. There are other important activities that improve human capabilities, such as health facilities and services, on the job training, formally organised education, study programs for adults and migration of individuals and families to adjust to changing job opportunities.

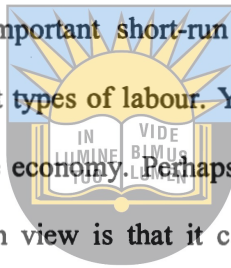
Investment in formal education has been associated with both higher individual earnings and growing societal wealth. This perspective is built on the intellectual

foundations of neo-classical market theory and the general optimistic assumptions of the evolutionary progress paradigm. It reflects the post-WWII conditions of simultaneous expansion of employment and education fairly well. The core thesis of the human capital formation is that people's learning capacities are comparable to other natural resources involved in the capitalist production process, when the resource is effectively exploited, the results are profitable both for the enterprise and for the society as a whole. From this inception, human capital formation tended to equate workers' knowledge levels primarily with the levels of formal schooling and estimating individual returns to learning, and to infer that more schooling would lead to higher productivity and macro economic growth. Karabel and Halsey (1977) note that what has to be remarked about the theory of human capital, is the direct appeal to pro-capitalist ideological sentiment that resides in its insistence that the worker is a holder of capital (as embodied in skill and knowledge), and that he/she has the capacity to invest in him/herself. Thus in a single bold conceptual stroke, the wage earner, who holds no property and controls neither the process nor the product of his labour, is transformed into a capitalist.

Boserup (1990), develops the same idea, as she realises that since men usually monopolise the use of improved techniques, economic development gradually creates a widening gap between skill levels of men and women. Boys get systematic training as apprentices in family enterprises, while girls continue to be taught only simple household and agriculture operations by mothers. When large-scale enterprises appear, male craftsmen and apprentices are recruited for skilled and supervisory jobs while women and foreigners are excluded from learning anything, other than routine

skills in simple, specialised operations. By denying women access to training, men prevent them from getting better jobs and higher incomes, supervisory work and management jobs. Much job discrimination in recruitment and advancement is made inevitable by the traditional sex discrimination in training.

Empirically, education has not been having the equalising impact that the rate of returns calculations lead one to expect. The theory assumes a labour market where wage competition is the most important short-run method for equilibrating the supplies and demands for different types of labour. Yet the real world reveals wage adjustments in most sectors of the economy. Perhaps the most devastating problem with the simple wage competition view is that it cannot explain the existence of unemployment.



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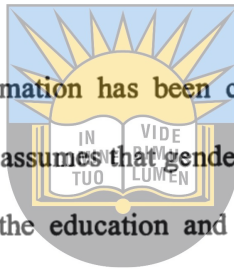
Thurow (1977) identifies the human capital formation as using the wage competition as a driving force of the labour market. It assumes that people come into the labour market with definite, pre-existing set of skills and that they compete against one another on the basis of wages. Hence education is crucial because it creates the skills, which people bring into the market and each individual is rewarded according to merit. Despite the seeming confirmation, there is reason to doubt the validity of this view of the labour market and the importance of the economic role it assigns to education.

Critics frequently point to one of its unrealistic assumptions- that perfect competition prevailing in labour markets ensures that greater earnings reflect greater productivity.

Wages, they point out are not determined in the real world. This is not to say that the supply side of the wage and employment process is irrelevant. The characteristics of workers in a given industry affect that industry's wage scale. But many other factors besides workers' characteristics determine wages; among them are unionisation, the existence of minimum wage, traditions of status, customary differentials and dual labour markets.

Livingstone (1999) criticises the human capital formation and emphasises the need for retooling. Adherents to the original human capital thesis have attempted to defend it against critiques that it has failed to take account of changing aggregate level conditions, by focusing quite narrowly on documenting continuing relative economic benefits, especially the lower unemployment rates and relatively high earnings of those with higher formal credentials. But the narrowing of the empirical target to relative individual benefits simply ignores the biggest challenge to human capital formation that is the evident societal underemployment of credentialed knowledge. All of these efforts to repair the human capital formation remain in jeopardy because of their failure to account for the growing general gap between people's increasing learning efforts and knowledge bases on the one hand, and the diminishing numbers of jobs to apply their increasing knowledge investment on the other. The 'learning for earning' thesis is increasingly reduced to a strategy for relative individual advantage and decreasing marginal returns. The human capital formation appears to have reached its limit as a rationale for the increased social investment in education.

Bluestone (1977)'s argument lies in the fact economist overlook the glaring fact that the economy does not create enough good jobs and that consequently many people with adequate skills are denied adequate employment. The important point is not that man-power training is irrelevant in improving the condition of the economically disadvantaged, but that for many workers, the major problem is the lack of good jobs. The major policy thrust must be in the direction of creating adequate jobs for people to fill, not training people for non-existent jobs.



Therefore, the human capital formation has been criticised on the basis of three underlying assumptions. Firstly, it assumes that gender-based wage differential can be largely overcome by improving the education and training of women. A second assumption is that men and women have equal access to the labour market and compete on equal terms for job opportunities. This ignores the gender-based segregation of the labour market, which exists in all countries and does not appear to decline as gender differences in education levels even out. A third underlying assumption is that women's labour force participation is of necessity intermittent because of their 'natural' childbearing role. Yet only pregnancy and breastfeeding are biologically restricted to women. As a result therefore, the human capital formation does not fully explain the differences that exist in the labour market, since there are many hindrances to the free choice of profession. This meritocracy thesis is rejected by the conflict (Marxist) theory because rather than questioning the structure of the system within which people are forced to compete, blames the individuals who do not get to the top of the reward system. The function of focusing on credentials is to divide and rule workers by artificially stratifying them. This argument gives room for

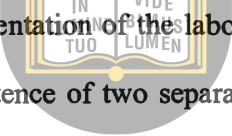
discussing the division of the labour market into segments, so that people are fitted into these segments according to their credentials or due to sex socialisation that has been discussed earlier on.

The dual and segmented labour market.

This approach emphasises the structure of the labour market in explaining sex inequalities in employment. The dual labour market theory distinguishes two-labour markets- primary and the secondary markets. The former offers high wages, good working conditions, security of employment and opportunities for promotion. Jobs in the secondary sector, by contrast, tend to be low paid, heavily supervised, with poor working conditions and little chance of advancement. The majority of women tend to be allocated here and this is seen as an explanation for their lower pay. However, this model does not offer much precision, since there are large numbers of men on the periphery, while some women are also in the primary labour markets. The segmented labour market suggests that different labour markets arise as employers seek to divide and rule workers from one another. Hence labour markets are segmented by sex, age, race and ethnic origin. This account creates space for treating gender as central to the structuring of labour markets.

One of the propositions put forward by dual labour market theory, which is of particular importance for women, is that certain workers become trapped in the secondary sector because of the existence of mobility barriers between the two sectors. An internal labour market operates within the firm or company and wages and

job allocations are governed by a set of administrative rules and procedures. Within the internal labour market, job-specific skills and knowledge have become increasingly important relative to transferable occupational skills. Thus employers in order to retain skilled workers, develop career ladders. The result is that not only do workers who are in the primary sector have secure future in terms of career progression and wage increments, but they also have the opportunity for further training provided by the employer, which will enhance their initial advantage by maximising their long run investment in 'human capital'.



Momsen (1991) explains the segmentation of the labour market basing the argument on gender. She notes that the existence of two separate labour markets for men and women tends to restrict women's occupational choices, to such an extent that if there is an oversupply of candidates for women's job, it may maintain lower pay levels in this segment of the labour market while restricting competition within the male dominated segment and thus keeping wage rates relatively high for men.

Although the world-view of the dual labour market or internal market theories is much less oriented toward individual choice and market process than is neoclassical economics, these theories also locate the source of occupational segregation in employer's behaviour. Employers create segments in the labour market, either to take advantage of profit opportunities (the view of the non-Marxist theories) or to prevent the development of worker solidarity (the view of the Marxists among the dual labour market theorists).

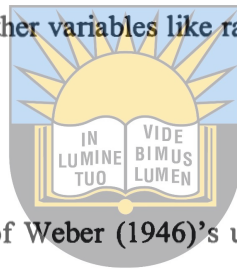
The weakness of the functionalists lie in its rigidity, the tendency to assume that existing structures are necessary and it typically fails to recognise the essential fluidity and creativity in people's relations to each other. At the system level, functionalism can be faulted for failure to deal adequately with issues of power, conflict and exploitation in society. This has marked functionalism as conservative ideology in the eyes of more critical theorists (Hale, 1990:319). When considering issues of power, social classes and status groups in explaining the labour market segmentation, the neo-Weberian theory, which is discussed below, takes the issues into consideration.



Neo-Weberian theory

Schlegel (1977)'s theory of sexual stratification can be classified under this theory, and it explains that inequalities result when statuses and roles are characterised by greater rewards, prestige or power than others. The question of differential rewards between the sexes arises when individuals rather than composite units control marketable skills or property; and it is here that the distinction between male skills or property on the one hand and female skills and property on the other can become critical in determining which sex, if either, receives greater rewards. Considering the differences between social classes, rewards and property ownership per se is important because income determines feature life styles that distinguish one class from the other. However, rewards only become important to the degree to which it can be translated into prestige or power. Prestige can be measured behaviourally by the amount of deference granted an individual, a role, or a category. However, the power dimension is the most critical. The status of men and women within the dimension of power derives from the ability to control their own persons and

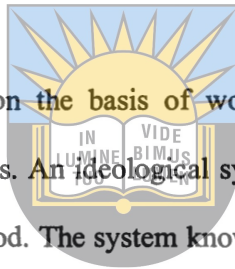
activities and the persons and activities of others. Sexual inequality or equality in the power dimension is not a simple phenomena but rather composite phenomena of power, authority and autonomy, operating within social spheres. In discussions about the relative position of sexes, two terms that frequently arise are dominance and subordination. Thus already there is a precedent for framing the problem of inequality in terms of differential control of one sex by the other. Although Schlegel's theory does manage to use the three variables to explain the segmentation of the labour market, there are however some other variables like race, culture and tradition, which she does not focus on.



Schlegel's works features much of Weber (1946)'s understandings of power, social classes and status groups; as a result, she can be called a Weberian feminist. Weber notes that stratification by status goes hand in hand with the monopolisation of goods or opportunities. In the enclosure of the status group, the conventional preferential opportunities for special employment grow into a legal monopoly of special offices for the members. An occupational group is also a status group, for normally, it successfully claims social honour only by virtue of the special style of life which maybe determined by it. Schlegel, like Weber also acknowledges that dimensions, such as power, classes, status-groups, rewards and prestige, characterise statuses and roles. Thus Schlegel argues that in assessing sexual status, it is important to define the context of sexual status, and the widely applied way of looking at male and female sphere has been to divide the context of action into the domestic and public domains. However, even if one may wish to subdivide the organisation of society into systems of institutions, the question to ask is how and to what extent the two sexes participate

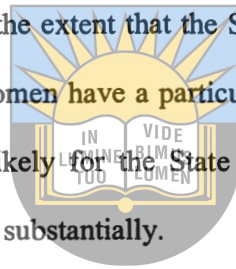
in them and how power and authority within them are allocated to men and women. Hence, the radical theorists emerge in attempt to account for the specific character of the subordination of women within the stratification system. These theories consider that the main cause of women's subordination originates from power relations based on sexual differences.

Radical feminist theories



Radical feminist theories argue on the basis of women's biological reproduction features that set women as mothers. An ideological system is constructed around the notions of sexuality and motherhood. The system known as patriarchy defines men as superior to women and is defended and maintained through the intricate web of values, norms, laws and institutions. These approaches tend to see the interaction between the reproductive and productive roles of women as key issues rather than a fixed condition. Momsen (1991) argues that the allocation of housework and childcare to women persists in most societies even though women's participation in the labour market is increasing. According to her, sexual harassment maybe an even greater problem. Men who are not used to having women in the work place, may fall back on gender-based social expectations and treat their workplace colleagues as sexually available. Those women most in need of paid employment maybe victimised by sexual harassment and as a result the only option would be to resign from the job as a way of escaping the problem. The argument is that, although the profit motive may explain employers' desires to augment the division of labour, it does not explain why that division turns into one based on gender.

The radical feminist perspective would see the State as a key agent in perpetuating women's subordination via the strong defence of the family as core unit of society. This perspective would argue that the family, as currently defined acts as the main locus for the production of the sexual division of labour. The defence of the family by the State then is associated with the identification of women as mothers and housekeepers, thus creating an artificial but over-whelming 'private' realm for women and a 'public' world for men. To the extent that the State needs the family to play a specific mission and given that women have a particular role in the family, it would follow that it would be very unlikely for the State to initiate a process in which women's conditions would change substantially.



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Eisenstein (1979)'s theory of capitalism and patriarchy falls under this approach, because patriarchy assumes that relations between men and women are unchanging and universalistic. There is an interdependence of capitalism and patriarchy, although patriarchy existed before capitalism. Therefore, their present relationship must be understood if the structure of oppression is to be changed. Capitalism is the entire process of commodity production. In examining the exploitation inherent in this process, Marx developed his theory of power. Power or powerlessness derives from a person's class position; hence oppression is a result of capitalist organisation and is based in a lack of power and control. Therefore, patriarchy is the male hierarchical ordering of society. As a result patriarchy and capitalism operate within the sexual division of labour and society rather than within the family. Within a capitalist-patriarchal economy, where profit, which necessitates a system of political order and

control, is the basic priority of the ruling class, the sexual division of labour and society serves a specific purpose. It stabilises the society through the family while it organises a realm of work, domestic labour, limited pay (paid house workers), or unequal pay (in the paid labour force). This last category shows the ultimate effect on women. Their positions as paid workers is defined in terms of being a woman, who is a direct reflection of the hierarchical sexual divisions in society organised around the profit motive. Walby (1986) develops the point, by saying that patterns of women's employment can be adequately explained only if the history of overlapping rounds of restructuring in employment is examined. Capitalist relations in industry, and patriarchal relations in the household, workplace organisations and in the state chiefly influence this restructuring. The forms of control include: non- admittance of women to forms of training; the non-admittance of women to certain occupations; discrimination in hiring practices which reduces or eliminates the number of women in particular occupations; the ejection of women from an occupation, or the reduction in their rights to remain in it on marriage. These form of exclusionary practice maybe seen as a form of social closure. They are a product of, and themselves create highly significant divisions amongst paid workers.

Therefore social conditions need to be created to facilitate the participation of the most disadvantaged group, thus filling the existing 'gender gap'. Since relations are a social construct, they can also be changed. Although societies are based on traditions and customs, these eventually change with time; the same could be true for gender relations. Patriarchy takes account not only of the complexities of gender, but also of the subtleties of the interconnections of patriarchy and capitalism. She defines

patriarchy as a system of interrelated social structure through which men exploit women. The definition refers to a system of social relations rather than individuals, since it is presumed that it is at this level of a social system that gender relations maybe explained, not that of individual men nor that of discrete social institutions.

Radical feminist theory extends the analysis of stratification to emphasise differentiation between workers within internal labour markets as well as between the secondary primary sector. The lowest stratum of workers may either be attached to the bottom of the job hierarchy within a particular firm or industry, or be employed in secondary sector industries or occupations located outside the internal labour market sector. Those groups most subject to discrimination and prejudice would be concentrated in these low paid, menial occupations. This segmentation serves two purposes; first the existence of a lower stratum increases the status and status orientation of those in the higher strata. Second, workers in the upper strata are unlikely to identify with the interests of those concentrated in the menial occupations and thus low wages can be paid to these workers without risk of opposition.

Overtime, the need to control the labour force has come to be considered the major determinant of stratification in the labour market and indeed a conflict has been identified between the system of work organisation which may be efficient for technology and that which affords capitalists' the most control over the labour force.

The main criticism is that the development of the economic structure is viewed from only one perspective that is, through the motivations and actions of the capitalists.

Workers in these theories play little part in the formation of structured labour markets.

A basic premise of radical theory is that the development of a homogeneous labour force would maximise the benefit to workers and the disadvantage to capitalists. Homogeneity of the labour force would allow workers to develop their organisation and carry out their battles over wages and control of production, unhampered by divisions. This proposition however ignores the practical problems for workers of establishing a bargaining position, which perhaps can only be established and maintained through the development of a structural labour force.

Feminists have viewed all of these theories as inadequate, largely because the theories have paid insufficient attention to the centrality of gender relations in the society at large. In recent times though, equal employment opportunity legislation and affirmative action orders have served to increase women's choices and decrease the scope of men's exclusionary behaviour. Because participation involves greater freedom, I propose for a theory that focuses on equity and human development for the good of the employees.

Towards a theory of labour market segmentation

The theories explained so far cannot answer the questions concerning the gender designation of an occupation, its origin, its maintenance and its change if any. Yet each of the theories and many of the explanations contain threads of truth.

Sociological and economic theories of occupational segregation by gender in the labour market stem from remarkably divergent worldviews and locate the causes of segregation in a variety of different actors with diverse motivations. Status attainment

theory in sociology and human capital formation in economics pinpoint women's own behaviour as the primary cause of their segregation into occupations with low status and low pay. Women's own values, behaviours, aspirations, attitudes, sex-role expectations (status attainment theory), educational credentials and interrupted work histories (human capital formation) are seen as the causes of their occupational designations and low pay rates. Matthaei (quoted in Strober, 1982:194) argues that job segregation exists because "...women wished to work in jobs done by women." Employment in women's work preserved women's sense of their femininity. Economic theories of discrimination and statistical discrimination on the other hand locate the source of inequality of earnings and occupational distribution in employers and their 'taste' for discrimination (discrimination theory) or their wish to minimise the risk associated with employing women (statistical discrimination theory). Discrimination theory, however, recognises that the tastes of workers and customers may be important factors contributing to the formation of employers' tastes. The 'overcrowding' explanation for occupational segregation builds the theory of discrimination and points out that, as a result of employers' operationalising their tastes for exclusion, women are crowded into certain occupations. And women's wages in these occupations are thereby depressed.

The critical areas of concern according to Lim (1996) that are related to the discrimination and or disadvantaged positions faced by women in the economy can be traced into three underlying related sets of factors. (1), the supply factors which determine the quantity and quality of women workers in the labour market. (2), the specific structures of the economy and labour market which condition the demand for

women workers and (3), the implicit and explicit policies regarding the inclusion or exclusion of women, and their treatment in the economy and the labour market. Some of these factors have already been looked at, but the study postulates for a theory which views equity as an important factor in achieving human development.

Equity and human development.

Human development is not only concerned with basic needs satisfaction, but also with human development as a participatory and dynamic process. This broad definition makes it possible to capture better the complexity of human life- the many concerns people have and the many cultural, economic, social and political differences in people's lives throughout the world. This makes it possible to work towards equity amongst human beings. Income has been the main factor to be investigated since it is used in the human development index as a proxy for a decent standard of living. However, although income could be an extremely important factor- it is not the sum-total of human existence. Health, education and a good physical environment and freedom- to name some components of well-being may also be just as important.

Growth in income and an expansion of economic opportunities, are necessary preconditions of human development, but the aim should be growth that is participatory- allowing for private initiative and people involvement, as well as benefiting all people in the form of even distribution (equity). The purpose of human development is to increase people's range of choices. If they are not free to make choices, the entire process becomes a mockery. Human dignity is also a major factor

to consider, as developed by Nussbaum (2000). Nussbaum develops the capabilities approach as an approach that focuses on human capabilities in a way informed by intuitive idea of a life that is worthy of the dignity of the human-being. The intuitive idea behind the approach is twofold: First, that certain functions are particularly central in human life, in the sense that their presence or absence is typically understood to be a mark of the presence or absence of human life and second, that there is something that has do with these functions in a truly human way, not a merely animal way. Frequently a life may be judged as being so impoverished that it is not worthy of the dignity of the human being, that it is a life in which one goes on living, but more or less like an animal, unable to develop and exercise one's human powers (Nussbaum, 2000:71). Nussbaum further argues that the core idea is that of the human being as a dignified free being, who shapes his or her own life in co-operation and reciprocity with others, rather than being passively shaped or pushed around by the world in the manner of a 'flock' or 'herd' animal. A life that is really human is one that is shaped throughout by these human powers of practical reason and sociability (Nussbaum, 2001:72). Hence freedom is more than an idealistic goal- it is an important component of human development. In the study, human development is used as a process that expands the real freedoms that people enjoy, consequently leading to a better living standard instituted by income through employment.

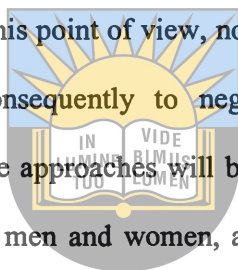
This study uses contributions of the equity model by Adler and Izraeli (1989), which assumes that women are identical, as professionals, with men and therefore equally capable of contributing in ways similar to those of men. From the perspective of this model the primary question is one of access. Given the emphasis on access (to the

currently male dominated management world), the process of women entering management becomes one of assimilation: women are expected to act, dress, and think like men who currently hold aspired-to management positions. Effectiveness is then understandably measured against male norms. The potential for women to make a unique difference but equivalent contribution remains outside the logic of the equity model and therefore invisible.

The complementary model is based on the assumption of difference not similarity, it assumes that men and women differ and therefore capable of making different but equally valuable, contributions at work. Unlike the equity model, fair treatment is assumed to be a question not of statistical representation, but rather of equivalent recognition of men's and women's different patterns and styles of contribution. From this second perspective, change strategies revolve around identifying the unique contributions of men, creating enabling conditions for both types of contribution to be made and rewarded within the organisation and looking for synergy-ways in which men's and women's contributions can be combined to form new and more powerful managerial processes and solutions to the organisations' problem.

Progress as measured by the equity model tends to be quantitative- a statistical accounting of the relative number of women in the organisation by rank, salary and status. Progress as measured by the complementary model tends to be qualitative- an assessment of the extent to which the organisation allows, encourages and rewards men and women for making unique contributions and for building synergistic conditions of those contributions based on their very uniqueness.

Interestingly, each model tends to be labelled heresy when viewed through the eyes of the other. From the perspective of the equity model, seeing women as different is tantamount to seeing them as inferior. From this point, there is one best way to manage and women should be given equal access to that way. By contrast, from the perspective of the complementary contribution model, there are many equally valid, yet different ways to manage, the best way being based on recognising, valuing and combining the differences. From this point of view, not to see women's uniqueness is to negate their identity and consequently to negate their contribution to the organisation. Therefore, alternative approaches will be discussed which consider the effectiveness of equality between men and women, and consequently improve their human development.



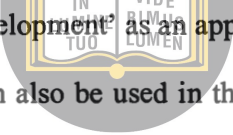
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McCormack (1981), acknowledges that the old sexual divisions of labour in the household, factory and field still persist with only slight modifications as wage and educational differentials reappear. Hence, when issues about equality of these sexes were raised, some of the research findings supported the view that no change or only very small change might be preferable, at least for women. Hence it looks like even though equality is envisaged for, it is only applied in the form of small change, thus women like generals are always fighting the last war. Development with equity stresses the distribution of the economic pie, rather than its mere growth. It uses equity as a way of balancing any differentials that lies amongst men and women at work. She goes on to explain that it is a question of attitudes and ways of organizing social life that determine problems of equality. Affirmative action then becomes the

common element in all programs for equality. "... it is to social equality what income transfer payments are to economic equality, a necessary, but not sufficient condition. It can unify women throughout the world without indicating which substantive forms of inequality are more important than others. However, as a political principle, it puts women on the offensive rather than on the defensive."

Blumberg (1981) backs up the theory adopted by McCormack, by emphasising that the theory does not only stress economic growth, but has the people at heart. It stresses distribution on equal grounds. The theory according to Blumberg, has signalled the gradual eclipse of the 'modernisation' approach to development. This development stressed capital-intensive projects, used gross national product as the measure and goal of Third World advancement. Because women have been seen as "...objects of change, rather than agents of change, coping rather than initiating, bystanders rather than participants." McCormack, therefore advocates for an approach 'development with equity for women', that uses the means and the actions of women in directing their own history. Hence she believes that women should be engaged in planning as well as the plan. However, McCormack can be discredited for failing to come up with solutions to the problems that she has identified. And most importantly she seems to dwell so much into women per se, as if women live in their own world. Therefore, her theory should acknowledge the existence of men, which is why there are these gender relation problems. She could however, put her emphasis on women since they have been the most disadvantaged, and even today, despite the interference by the government, through anti-discrimination laws and legislation, they are still at a disadvantage compared to their male counterparts.

Clark (1991) develops 'just development' as the possible strategy to development. This kind of development demands that equity, democracy and social justice be of paramount importance. Just development encompasses the following: development of infrastructure, economic growth, poverty alleviation, equity, natural resource base protection, democracy and social justice. According to Clark, equity means a shift in the development model so as to invest in poorer members of the society through the redistribution of wealth and incomes. It also involves rights in the form of freedom.



Although Clark proposed 'just development' as an approach or strategy of eliminating factors which cause poverty, it can also be used in the study, because it realizes that equity, democracy and social justice be paramount objectives, alongside the need for economic growth. It must combat vulnerability and isolation. It must ensure the sustainable use of natural resources and combat exploitation, particularly the oppression of women, and it must make the institutions of society accountable to the people (Clark 1997:26).

Clark realises that while some governments and official aid agencies have recognised the importance of poverty alleviation, few have done no more than just talk about equity from the word of mouth. Yet equity is of great importance, and in this instance gender equity is of critical importance. In most countries women comprise at least half of the workforce. Any development strategy, which fails to recognise this, is guilty of denying this sector the chance to achieve its full potential. This is not only bad for women, its bad for the country as well (Clark, 1997:28). As a result women

too should benefit from the economic pie, in the same way as their male counterparts. Therefore women's involvement in political and economic issues of a country means that there will be achievement of a politically and economic stable society.

Conclusion

Having considered the different theoretical approaches used in the study of gender and employment in the Zimbabwean labour market, the study will now address the status of women in the labour market by analysing the occupational composition in the labour market. The chapter reveals that instruments like the legal system, the education and various employment policies, regularised and standardised the discrimination against women. Most of the policies designed to remove these discriminatory practices against women have promoted and advanced them, instead of removing them. The ultimate aim will be to show which occupations are occupied by which gender and then highlight some of the causes of the trend in the labour market, including the reasons for persistence of that trend.

Chapter III

Gender and Employment in Zimbabwe

Anti-discrimination laws have been passed in the employment sector and while the passing of such acts reflects changes or the desire for change in the values and perceptions of a nation, it also takes time for such values to filter into the normal practice and attitudes of the people. However, there is no denying that huge changes in attitudes and practices have occurred since 1980. This chapter will begin by reviewing the laws and legislations of employment that have been formulated by the government with the hope of eliminating the disparities that exist in the Zimbabwean labour market. The chapter will then present the structure of the Zimbabwean labour market and the gender employment status as well as the unemployment status. This will include both the formal and the informal labour markets of Zimbabwe. Consequently, it will discuss the persistence of the gender disparities in the labour market.

The labour market structure

The labour market in Zimbabwe may be divided into the urban formal, urban informal and the rural labour markets. The formal labour market consists of the urban elite and wage earners in the modern sector, while the rural labour market comprises mainly of wage labourers in plantations as well as the self-employed non-agriculture workers. The formal sector generally employs men, pays better, offers more security and better conditions of service. This clearly lays out the segmentation of the labour market. The

informal labour market, which draws its workers from both the formal and rural labour markets, is characterised by 'bad' jobs, low wages, employment insecurity, high labour turnover, absence of internal training and poor promotional prospects and this is where most of the women are concentrated. Workers in the formal sector tend to be more unionised and organised than those in the informal sector. Because labour market plays an important part in economic development, there is need to discuss the government's anti-discrimination laws and legislation in order to understand how they have shaped the labour market structure.



Anti-discrimination laws and legislation

In the early 1980s, the labour market in Zimbabwe was characterised by skewed incomes and skills distribution, which were in favour of the white labour force. The colonial regime saw the use of the labour market in pursuing policies of racial discrimination. Therefore, the government used the labour market to try and achieve equal distribution of incomes and also to alleviate poverty. Thus, the labour market policies revolved around the issue of promoting equality and reducing poverty. The government policy can therefore be described as interventionist. The intervention took two forms. First, government intervened in the wage determination process, where it set minimum and maximum wages. Second, the government intervened in employment issues where equity could not be achieved in the face of gender biases and low female participation in the labour market. As a result, the government made steps through legislation to achieve its goal and help increase female participation in the labour market.

In the 1980s, the main actors in the labour market were the government through the Ministry of Labour, the Employers Confederation of Zimbabwe (Hereafter EMCOZ) and the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (Hereafter ZCTU). The EMCOZ and the ZCTU represent employers and workers respectively. Workers committees and work councils were the other active bodies in the workplaces and especially where consultations were held between management and workers representatives. The Tripartite Wages and Salaries Advisory Board was also an important institution in the labour market as it made recommendations on income awards. Various legislations were adopted with the aim of rectifying disparities that existed in the labour market. The most important of these were the Minimum Wages Act (1980), the 1981 Employment (conditions of service) Act and the 1985 Labour Relations Act. The Minimum Wages Act stipulated minimum wages by industry for each year up to 1989. Massive retrenchments followed the introduction of this act and subsequent minimum wage stipulations and as a protective measure, government introduced the Employment Act (1981), which prohibited all dismissals except in situations where the employee was guilty of misconduct, disobedience to lawful orders from the employer, lacked skills, negligent of duties and absent from work without the employer's permission.

The most significant of the labour laws enacted by the new government was the Labour Relations Act (LRA) of 1985. This Act, gave workers many rights, especially the female labour force. Previously, female employees were entitled to maternity leave, although it was unpaid for. The LRA (a) criminalises discrimination on the

basis of sex in employment matters; (b) provides for partially paid maternity leave; (c) entitles nursing mothers to breast feeding time during working hours; (d) severely limits the employer's right to dismiss employees and (e) gives the relevant minister power to pass minimum wage regulations (Bazilli, 1991:231). This legislation was a major legislative gain for women, since they are most vulnerable to dismissal, whether justified or not. This Act was also significant in that for the first time the rights of women to jobs, remuneration and paid maternity leave were fully recognised and protected. However, this is only of a limited value because protection against dismissal does not mean guarantee of employment.



While the Zimbabwean constitution prohibits gender discrimination, various laws that govern employment, employees and conditions of service impact negatively on women than men. The LRA prohibits gender discrimination to access to employment, but it is very difficult for women to prove discrimination. In terms of maternity provisions, the provision is both an advantageous and disadvantageous achievement for women because in practice it has shown itself to be a double-edged sword. It represents a break away from the tradition of 'penalising' women for following the 'traditionally female' path of having children. However, women on maternity leave get only a portion of their normal salary, which means some of the old thinking remains- paying women on maternity leave is really doing her a favour (Bazilli, 1991:232). The LRA entitles a breast-feeding employee to either one hour or two half-hour periods during normal working hours.

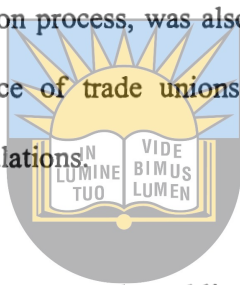
Though legislatively a major gain, this provision presupposes the existence of nurseries and crèches at workplaces, or alternatively an efficient, reliable and

affordable public transport system. However, no workplace in Zimbabwe boasts such a facility. The transport system is neither efficient nor reliable. Whilst the Act grants some fundamental rights with one hand, it takes them away with the other. This therefore creates a disincentive to hiring women especially in the absence of a Social Security Scheme to cushion employers and employees from the cost of maternity leave. In any case, most working-women are excluded from these provisions because they do casual, seasonal and part-time work or are in those sectors of the economy such as domestic work.



The National Social Security Authority (Hereafter NSSA) Act enables social security of workers through pensions and worker compensation in cases of injury and disability. Women are excluded in these schemes because most women are domestic or casual workers. In the Export Processing Zones (Hereafter EPZs), the employment of women is particularly problematic because the LRA does not apply. This could be the reason why EPZs prefer to employ female workers who are generally paid less than men in the economy. Such state of affairs in conjunction with poor education and skills affect women's employment chances in the formal sector, leaving them with no option, but to join the informal sector, where entry is much easier. As a result the protection offered by the legal laws and legislation is unlikely to benefit significant numbers of women. While these laws could be conceded at ideological level, their limitations have to be accepted. The laws maybe perfect, but unless they are matched with appropriate administrative structures, they may fail to benefit those whom they are intended to benefit.

The conduct and performance of the labour market is best understood when put in the broader industrial relations framework. In 1980 the labour market inherited industrial relations characteristics of entry restrictions to skilled jobs, training, and apprenticeship, and restrictions to membership of unions of many African workers. Government intervention continued in the period between independence and the introduction of structural adjustment in 1990. The government besides being an active participant in wage determination process, was also instrumental in the formation of trade unions. The independence of trade unions was limited through a host of repressive and paternalistic regulations.

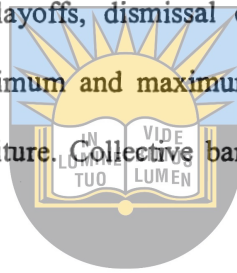


The Public Service Act of 1931 governs the public service labour market and to date, the essentials of this Act have not changed. Strikes by public servants are illegal in Zimbabwe as in many other developing countries. Wage determination in the civil service is prerogative of the central government. Public servants are grouped into associations that have no legal status of collective bargaining. Towards the end of the independence decade pressure on the government to introduce labour market reforms was mounting. Pressure came from the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions, which had completely divorced itself from government, and employers' organisations.

Labour market reforms and institutional framework

Outside organisations such as the World Bank and International Labour Organisation (Hereafter ILO) added their weight to calls by local institutions for reforms. In addition government was increasingly getting concerned with employment growth. In

1992 for example, unemployment was 21.8%, compared to 10.8% in 1982. It was apparent that new labour market policies were required. The reforms in the labour market became part of a wider economic structural reform programme. With structural adjustment, regulations were relaxed and the Labour Relations Act (1985) was replaced by the Labour Relations Amendment Act (1992). Employment security, previously granted to labour, was taken away in the spirit of promoting flexibility in the labour market. Hiring, layoffs, dismissal decisions were given back to the employer. The statutory minimum and maximum wages were abolished except in domestic services and agriculture. Collective bargaining became the cornerstone of industrial relations.



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Collective bargaining takes place at three levels. There is collective bargaining at national level. At this level only general policy issues are recognised. Of late broader issues bordering on governance and economic management have been discussed at this level thus, overshadowing other germane to workplace governance. The second level is at industry or sectoral level, where negotiations take place under the National Employment Councils (Hereafter NECs), each covering a particular industry or sector. Employment councils are composed of representatives of employers, workers and government, and their agreements have the force of law. The third is at enterprise level, which basically serves the same purpose as the industrial level. Specific issues related to employment conditions are discussed at this level. Negotiations at plant level are conducted through Work Councils. Workers committees negotiate with management at this level. The workers committees are not union structures and therefore have been viewed by trade unions with great suspicion. They are also

viewed as a threat by NEC bargaining as they sometimes compete with the former. According to the unions, the committees are a deliberate ploy by government of transferring the decision-making process from trade unions to some structures that do not take orders from unions. They also resent this structure as it causes division among the workers and provide no incentive to join trade unions. In non-unionised industries, collective bargaining is conducted through employment boards, whose members are appointed by the Minister of Labour to represent employers and employees in a given industry.



The new Act provided for the establishing of codes of conduct at industrial level, provided guidelines on how to deal with issues or disputes that are pertinent to worker management at industry or enterprise level. These codes are registered with government and become binding after being registered. However, some of these codes are imposed by employers on employees and therefore provide the former more flexibility when it comes to hiring, firing, wage adjustment and contract employment. Regulations regarding the activities of trade unions and industrial action remained intact up to 1998, when they were made more stringent and the right to go for a stay away or sit in was removed. This change was brought about by the apparent success of ZCTU-organised stay-aways, which were seen in government circles as politically threatening.

After 1991, real wages fell dramatically. The steep fall in purchasing power for the workers has given rise to a fall in their standard of living, and employees have reacted to this by engaging in sporadic strikes. However, not only has confrontation been between employers and employees, but also between employees and government.

Workers have argued that their problems emanate largely from the government's inability to properly manage the economic fundamentals. The determination of wages and employment in the public service is still the prerogative of the government. Nevertheless, following the damaging strikes in the mid 1990s by public service employees, there is now an informal bargaining relationship between the government and employees.

Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (Hereafter ESAP) and the position of Women.



In 1990, there was a change from the growth with equity development strategy and systematic intervention in the economy to pursue a structural adjustment programme as a result of poor economic performance and unemployment problems in the country. Promotion of economic growth was the major aim of ESAP, while the labour market's aim was to promote flexibility and get rid of the 1980s 'rigidities'. Creation of jobs by encouraging domestic investment and foreign direct investment is what flexibility focused on.

The labour laws in the ESAP period were relaxed. For example, the Labour Relations Amendment Act (1992) replaced the LRA of 1985, which gave the minister unlimited powers in industrial relations. The LRA's distinct feature was that employers were required to seek ministerial approval before any dismissal of an employee for any reason. This process of seeking ministerial approval was cumbersome and costly and most of the time the minister denied requests to retrench. Employment protection

rules made it difficult, if not impossible to adjust the workforce loads in accordance with economic downturns. Some employers minimised these difficulties through employing casual labour because laying off of casual workers did not require ministerial approval.

The casualisation of labour affected both men and women. However, some statistics found by ILO revealed that casualisation had significantly affected women than men. Retrenchments worsened the position of women who dominate the informal sector. For instance, out of 1.6million employees in the informal sector women constitute 67% of the proprietors and 57% of the workers in small to medium enterprises. This brings the total number of women in the informal sector to one million. It is important that the composition of the labour market is reviewed and analysed with special attention being given to the gender differences of each economic sector.

Gender status of the labour market

The gender status of the labour market has seen women being concentrated in Agriculture and private domestic. These are the least unionised sectors in the economy and have the lowest wages and the greatest actualisation of labour. (See table 1, which shows the distribution of employment by gender and sector.) The agricultural sector is the largest employer of the labour force. The health and the education sectors also employ the largest number of women compared to their male counterparts. For example, from table 1, in the education sector, although men in this sector have increased from 6.5 in 1980 to 11.4 in 2000, women still hold the majority

of the posts in the education sector. Men on the other hand constitute those traditionally male-related occupations like the mining, construction and finance.

Table I. Employment Distribution by Industrial Sector and Gender (000)

Male (M), Female (F).

Economic Sector	1980		1985		1990		1995		2000	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Agriculture	242.0	85.0	209.1	67.3	214.3	75.7	234.0	100.0	220.3	104.6
Mining	65.0	1.2	53.1	1.2	49.9	1.5	56.4	2.6	42.5	2.0
Manufacturing	147.7	11.7	158.0	11.6	183.4	13.6	171.2	14.7	164.8	16.5
Electricity and water	6.5	0.2	7.4	0.3	8.3	0.4	8.9	0.6	10.5	0.8
Construction	41.6	0.2	44.1	0.7	74.1	1.7	68.4	3.4	51.1	2.7
Finance, Insurance and Real Estate	7.5	5.0	10.0	5.2	12.1	5.5	14.3	6.8	25.5	9.4
Distribution, Restaurants and Hotels	58.2	12.1	66.2	12.1	81.6	14.4	84.8	15.8	83.1	20.2
Transport and Communications	42.6	3.0	46.9	3.1	49.6	3.7	46.8	4.1	39.8	4.1
Public Administration	65.9	5.2	80.2	10.6	83.9	9.5	66.6	10.4	48.0	10.5
Education	27.9	14.0	55.6	33.6	71.5	36.6	71.9	43.7	78.6	61.1
Health	6.5	8.7	8.7	11.2	10.7	14.3	11.2	14.8	11.4	16.4
Private Domestic	91.2	16.8	75.9	22.7	75.2	26.9	75.2	26.9	75.2	27.0
Other sectors	35.9	7.9	48.0	9.5	63.0	10.7	74.0	12.1	95.1	15.7
All Sectors	838.5	171.4	863.2	189.3	977.6	214.5	983.7	255.9	945.9	291.0

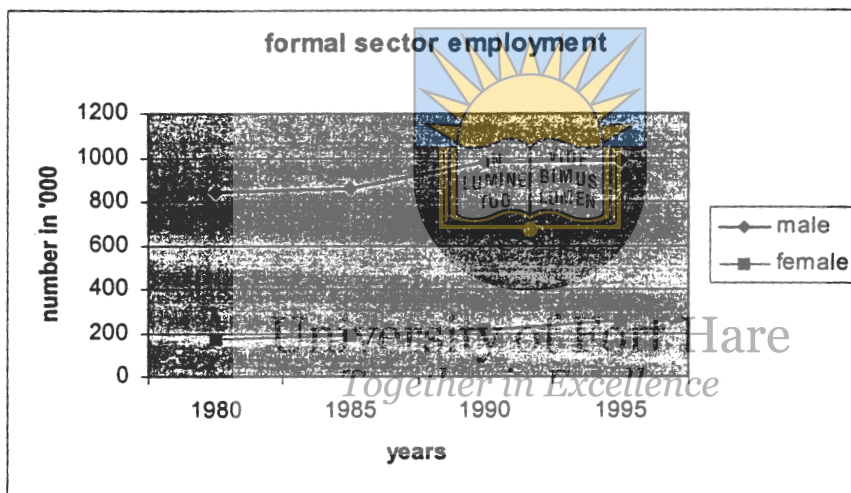
Source: Government of Zimbabwe, *Quarterly Digest of Statistics*, Harare: Central Statistics Office, 1980 pp. 84; 1985 pp. 107; 1990 pp. 61; 1995 pp. 77; 2000 pp. 58.

*Statistics analysed at five-year intervals as explained on page 10.

Overall, women are relatively employed in the informal and rural sectors of the labour market. These labour markets provide insecure and erratic incomes and are characterised by variable conditions of service for most workers.

Female employment in the formal employment sector has however been growing faster than that of males. As a result, although relatively low and fairly constant in the 1980s, their share in formal sector employment has tended to show a modest but steady upward trend in the 1990s (See diagram 1).

Diagram I



Source: Government of Zimbabwe, (1997). Statistical Year Book, Harare: Central Statistics Office, pp. 64.

The diagram shows the trend in female participation in the formal labour market between 1980 and 1995. Thus although women constitute nearly one-half of the total workforce in Zimbabwe, they account for about a fifth of formal sector employment.

There are three possible explanations for the rising share of women in formal employment. The expansion and diffusion of education after independence could be a possible explanation in that it saw enrolments for all students more than quadruple in different institutions. Secondly, at independence the formal sector levelled as discriminatory wage and other labour market policies against women were abolished. Thirdly, the introduction of minimum wages in 1980 and paid maternity leave may

have made participation in paid work more attractive than household work. Although there has been a gradual increase of women in the labour market, the distribution of female employment within the formal sector has been changing over the past couple of decades. Agriculture used to employ about 50% of all female employees between 1975 and 1980, while community services employed about 30%.

When it comes to decision making bodies, the representation of women weakens, despite the fact that women represent above 52 percent of the Zimbabwean population, as illustrated by table II. The table indicates that women are the majority in terms of population distribution. Women represent about 52.1% of the population. Despite such a representation, when it comes to participation in the labour market, the rate of participation is not convincing enough. (See table III for the representation of female labour participation in all employment sectors of the economy from 1980 to 1999). Even though there has been an increase in female participation, the rate is fairly low and does not even match the population representation of females.

Table II. Population by gender stratification

Year	Men	Women	% Male
1982	3674.0	3828.0	49.0
1992	5084.0	5329.0	48.8
1997	5647.0	6142.0	47.9

Source: Government of Zimbabwe, (1997). Inter-censual Demographic Survey Report, Harare: Central Statistics Office, pp. 109.

Table III. Percentage of female participation

Years	Percentage
1980	17.0
1985	18.0
1990	18.0
1995	20.6
1999	21.9

Source: Government of Zimbabwe, (1997) *Statistical Year Book*, Harare: Central Statistics Office, pp. 49.

When it comes to such places as the legislative bodies, it does not mean that women are totally excluded, but the participation is considerably low. The table that follows, Table IV shows the participation of women in legislative bodies from 1980 to 1994. This table represents a strong continuing trend of improvement for female representation in the public service as well as legislative bodies. The difference between the historical occupational position of women and the current situation is that now there is less conscious exclusion of women from senior, managerial and professional posts. Current legislation forbids the explicit refusal to consider or appoint women for the full range of jobs with relatively few exceptions. What remains though is an approach to the selection and promotion of women that was developed in the context of a male-based workforce where most jobs are gendered. Because of the difficulties encountered by women, in formal employment, when a job is available some women opt for worse jobs for the sake of living, or even for the casual jobs, which are non-standard forms of employment.

Table IV. Participation in Legislative Bodies

	1980-1984	1985-1989	1990-1994
House of Assembly	100	150	150
Men	92	133	129
Women	8	17	21
% Women	8.0	11.3	14
Total Parliamentarians	140	150	150
Men	129	133	129
Women	11	17	21
% Women	7.9	11.3	14

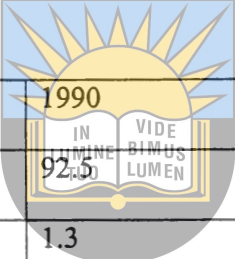
Source: United Nation Children's Fund (1995). Zimbabwe's first report on the Convention of the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, Harare: United Nation Children's Fund, pp. 19.

Casualisation of the labour market

The labour market has seen the rise in non-standard forms of employment such as informalisation of the labour force and part-time work. These are not by any chance new forms of employment, but they are increasingly becoming important features of the labour market. Durevall et al (1999:16) notes that the casualisation of the labour market in Zimbabwe has reached unprecedented level. The total share of part-time and casual employees has risen considerably between 1985 and 1998 (See table V).

The share of full-time employers fell by 9 percentage points during this period, while the share of part-timers has increased from less than 1% in 1985 to almost 3% in 1998. When it comes to earnings, statistics also reveal that during the period 1991-1998, casuals earned on average about 22% of the earnings of full-time employees. Part timers on the other hand earned 32% of the full-time average wages.

Table V. Full time, part-time and casual employees as a percentage share of total formal sector employees



	1985	1990	1995	1998
Full-time	96.2	92.5	89.9	87.7
Part-time	0.8	1.3	2.3	2.7
Casual	3.0	6.2	7.8	9.6
Total	100	100	100	100

Source: Government of Zimbabwe (1999). Indicator Monitoring-Labour Force Survey Report, Harare: Central Statistics Office, pp. 111.

Such earnings disparities indicate that casual workers, besides being an insecure group, are also poorly paid, and this is where the majority of women feature.

There are various reasons as to why there is an increase in the casualisation of the labour force. Even though the government stipulates a minimum wage, employers do not follow the stipulated wage and desperate employees tend to take at least anything for a wage to survive. Besides the fact that the jobs are insecure, the plight of these workers is made worse by the fact that other employment benefits like medical aid, pension membership, bonuses etc, which accrue to full-time employees, are non-existent for them. Although there have been improvements in the position of women

in the formal sector, a large representation of women still occupy jobs in the informal sector.

Employment in the informal sector

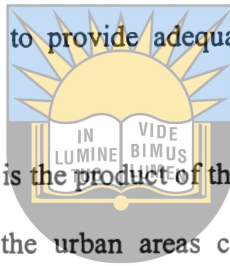
In the 1980s when the prospects of employment creation in the formal sector were good, government's attitude towards the informal sector was hostile, characterised by stiff and oppressive regulations. The recent down turns in formal employment growth, high levels of rural-urban migration, and public and private sector retrenchments under structural adjustment have all led to change in attitudes.

Studies agree that the informal sector is both large and viable complement to the formal sector because it is labour intensive and uses simple and inexpensive technology, is less import dependant and creates employment cheaply compared to the formal sector.

The term 'informal sector' according to Mhone (1996:1) will refer to very-small scale units producing and distributing goods and services and consisting largely of independent, self-employed producers in urban areas of developing countries, some of whom also employ family labour and / or a few hired workers or apprentices; which operate with very little capital or non at all; which utilise a low level of technology and skills; which therefore operate at a low level of productivity; and which generally provide very low irregular incomes and highly unstable unemployment to those who work in it. They are informal in the sense that they are for the most part unregulated and unrecorded in official statistics; they tend to have little or no access to organised markets, to formal credit institutions, to formal education and training institutions or

to many public services and amenities. They are not recognised, supported or regulated by the government; they are often compelled by circumstances to operate outside the framework of the law, and even where they are registered and respect certain aspects of the law, they are almost invariably beyond the pale of social protection, labour legislation and protective measures at the workplace.

The persistence of the informal sector is due to the inability of the other sectors of the economy- agriculture or other rural activities on the one hand and modern industry and services on the other hand to provide adequate incomes or employment to a rapidly growing labour force.

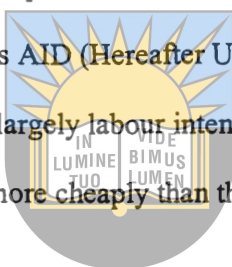


The idea that the informal sector is the product of the formal sector failure to meet the demands of surplus labour in the urban areas cannot be accepted wholly since women's participation in the sector has been in existence ever since communities began to organise themselves and assign roles and tasks to individuals in society according to sex and age. Omari (1995:14) notes that while money-making opportunities for men are expanding, women alternatives seem to be narrowing. Thus they are forced to respond to economic crisis by increasing their economic productivity along the traditional lives. Women's participation in the informal sector has been closely related to the power structure and power relations in society.

Most women enter the informal sector because new technologies that require skills and education of different sorts, put women off the formal labour markets because of lack of specialised skills. In this group, women are the majority since they generally constitute the larger number of those who lack 'formal education' and the required skills. Shields (1980:47) in her study on labour market migration in Tanzania

concluded that women are better represented in the non-formal sector of the labour market than in the formal sector, partly because most jobs in this sector do not require certification.

A comprehensive analysis of the informal sector has been limited by lack of reliable data. So far the best available set of data has been the series of three nation wide surveys on micro and small enterprises carried out in 1991, 1993 and 1998 under the sponsorship of the United States AID (Hereafter USAID). This sector employs a large number of people because it is largely labour intensive, uses less foreign currency and above all, it creates these jobs more cheaply than the formal sector.



With regard to women, the patriarchal society is dominated by men in the realms of decision-making, economic control and management. It is therefore argued that women's participation in the informal sector gives them the opportunity to manage and control their economic activity and space on their own. There are two aspects to this statement. There is the idea that since many women are not in the formal sector due to lack of education and skills, the informal sector gives them the chance to exercise their managerial capacity regardless of whether the activities they are engaged in are legal or illegal. There is also an interesting idea that the domination over women by men has worked positively among some women for it has enhanced their creativity which, which for a long time, has been suppressed through the social structure and institutions created by men. One or more women run 67% of all informal sector activities while males run 32%, as illustrated in table VI below.

Table VI. Gender of proprietor

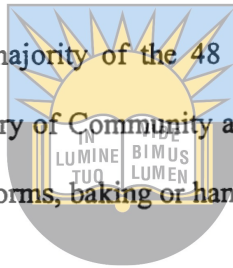
Gender of Proprietor(s)	Urban Areas %	Rural Areas %	Total %
Female	76.5	62.0	66.6
Male	21.9	36.2	31.7
Mixed joint Proprietors	1.6	1.8	1.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Government of Zimbabwe, (1992). Census 1992- Zimbabwe National Report, Harare: Central Statistics Office, pp. 123.

Despite women owning two-thirds of the informal sector enterprises, Zimbabwean women only account for 57% of national informal sector employment. This is mostly accounted for by the fact that male-owned enterprises tend to employ more people than female controlled ones. The proportion of Zimbabwean informal sector activities run by women also differs by sector. Female enterprises are most prevalent in the textile, wearing apparel and leather production sectors as well as the food, beverage and tobacco production and in the retail trade sectors. Men dominate sectors such as fabricated metal production, wholesale trade and construction.

As knowledge of small-scale has increased, it has become apparent that women play a major role in it, not just as employees and self-employed part time workers, but also as entrepreneurs. Micro-enterprise is attractive to women because of low barriers to entry and the flexible nature of work, which makes it easy to combine gainful employment with domestic responsibilities. These very factors however, also make it

difficult for women to expand their enterprises and make a decent living from them. As recognition of women's major role in the small-scale industry sector has increased, so has recognition of the constraints they face. Women's enterprises tend to be confined to the smaller scale end of the small-scale sector. The vast majority are sole proprietors who make little or no use of hired labour and generally work on part-time basis. A common and depressing feature of women's enterprises in all countries is the extent to which they are confined to a limited number of traditional 'women's' activities. In Zimbabwe, the majority of the 48 000 women in income generating groups organised by the Ministry of Community and Cooperative Development were involved in making school uniforms, baking or handcrafts.



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The reasons given for this lack of diversity are the same in all countries. The activities in which women are involved are based on traditional domestic skills, which are learned at home, such activities also tend to require little in the way of capital investment for machinery or physical infrastructure and they may lead themselves to flexible working hours which fit well with women's domestic responsibilities. Risks are low, but so are the returns; few women make sufficient profit to reinvest in their business in an attempt to scale up their level of activity.

A closer look at the position of women in the Southern African Development Community (Hereafter SADC) countries helps to explain the above phenomenon. Women basically lack access to resources such as credit, training and information. The unequal distribution of labour within the household also means that, because of domestic responsibilities, women lack time to invest in business activities. In addition

they have a role subordinate to men, which reduces their own sense of self-confidence and assertiveness and produces an environment, which is basically hostile towards the woman who wants to succeed in business.

In theory, all policy and assistance measures aimed at supporting small-scale industry and the informal sector should help women as well as male entrepreneurs. For women entrepreneurs, there is obviously a need to review legislation that restricts women's access to credit and property, otherwise most women will find themselves trapped in unemployment.



Gender and unemployment

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The rate of unemployment is a key indicator of the performance of the labour market and the economy. The Central Statistics Office released the official estimate of the rate of unemployment at 6% in 1999, for the whole country. Unemployment as defined according to international statistical standards, should have the unemployed as satisfying the three criterion of being without work, being available for work and seeking work. Unemployment amongst men tend to be somewhat higher that among women. The lower unemployment of women, maybe due to the fact that they are relatively smaller in participation in the formal sector employment. It has been noted however, that female participation has often been limited to social sector jobs especially education and health and to agriculture and private domestic services. They have been employed as casual workers on short-term contracts. Under economic adjustments, female workers were often the first to be retrenched when firms

downsized their operations. Despite unemployment being one of the worst features of Zimbabwe's economic performance, statistical data to establish the trends, structure and dynamics of the problem are sketchy. For some indication of the structure of unemployment in Zimbabwe, the 1986 labour force survey data as well as the 1992 census data shall be used. Overall unemployment is higher in urban than in rural areas. In urban areas, more females are unemployed than males. However, the differentiation is more difficult in rural areas (See tables VII and VIII). The problem of unemployment in Zimbabwe has been worsened by retrenchments in both the public and private sectors as a result of structural adjustment.

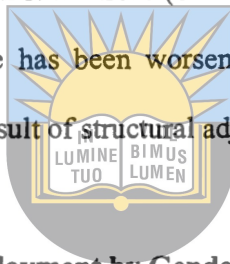


Table VII. Incidence of unemployment by Gender and Residence

	Rural Areas	Urban Areas	Total (%)	Total ('000)
Male	2.7	13.3	6.5	111
Female	5.3	27.4	7.9	123

Source: Government of Zimbabwe, (1986-1987). Main Results of the Labour Force Survey, Harare: Central Statistics Office, pp. 39.

Table VIII. Unemployment percentage of the Labour Force

	Male	Female	Total
National	22.1	21.4	21.8
Rural	23.8	17.1	20.8
Urban	19.8	31.3	23.4

Source: Government of Zimbabwe, (1992). Census 1992-Zimbabwe National Report, Harare: Central Statistics Office, pp. 140.

From the ongoing discussions, it is apparent that the differences between men and women in the labour market still exist, hence there is a need to review the causes of such persistence.

Persistent inequalities

When analysing the gender trends in employment, it can be noted that there is a slight change in the post independence era. However, most of the characteristics that cause occupational differences have remained. There is need at this juncture to explain the persistence of gender hierarchy in the work place, despite major historical transformations in its socio-economic base. A system that advantages men over women in material resources, power, status and authority has contributed in one form or another despite profound structural changes such as industrialisation and the movement into the labour force and women's entry into male-dominated occupation. What therefore accounts for the chameleon-like ability of gender hierarchy to re assert itself in new reforms when its old structural forms erode is the question to answer in the post independence era. Although there is no single answer, part of the solution according to Ridgeway (1997:218) lies in the way gender stratification is mediated by interactional processes that are largely taken for granted. Interactional gender mechanisms can operate as 'invisible hand' that re-writes gender inequality into new socio-economic arrangements as they replace the prior socio-economic bases for gender hierarchy. Employment is one of the two interdependent structural foundations on which our present system of gender hierarchy appears to rest; the other is the household division of labour. A substantial research industry has sought to explain the

persistence of wage inequality and sex segregated jobs. Key processes identified include statistical discrimination, internal labour markets, and the rendering of labour queues, but explanations remain incomplete. An analysis of mediating interactional mechanisms may improve the answers to several questions including the reason for unrelenting gender labelling of jobs despite occupational change, how employers apparent preferences for male workers persist even under competitive market pressures, why women's work is devalued, whether and how people act in their gender interests in employment matters and why women workers accept lower wages than equivalent men.



Interactional processes mean ways of behaving in relation to others that contribute to all forms of inequality, and there are several reasons for suspecting that they are especially important in gender inequality. Firstly, sex categorisation divides the population into two groups of roughly equal size, creating the maximum structural likelihood of a high rate of interaction between men and women. In addition there is growing evidence that our cultural system of gender difference relies heavily on interaction. Wage inequality and sex segregation have persisted in the face of these profound changes; this reality suggests that other processes are slowing their impact and conserving gender inequality.

Differences in male and female workers' work experience (human capital experience) explain only one-quarter to one-half of the gender gap in pay and account for little of the job segregation. If the problem is a 'taste' for discrimination on the part of employers, competitive market conditions should be wiped out as economists observe,

because employment inequality persists despite the flattening effects of the market. What mechanisms then continue to recreate gender inequality in paid employment? England (1992) quoted in Ridgeway (1997:219) points out that the household division of labour and socialised internal constraints, as well as employers' prejudice, which devalues women and their activities are associated with the gender inequality in paid employment. Reskin and Roos (1990) argue that labour queues become gender queues because employers rank males as more valuable workers than females. Strober (1984) points to cultural system of patriarchy in which employers give men the first pick of the best jobs.

Thus what has been maintained is that gender arrangements in employment result from structural and economic factors (that is the supply of certain types of workers, the growth and decline of certain occupations), on the one hand and some types of gender status effect on the other. Two sorts of institutional processes are important in this regard. First, organisational structures, such as job ladders and internal labour markets and institutionalised practices, such as job evaluation systems incorporate assumptions about gender status. Second bureaucratic politics within employing organisations help to maintain inequality because actors in disadvantaged positions, often men, represent their own interests of those disadvantaged positions.

It is useful, first to recognise the extent to which occupational arrangements and wage outcomes are interactionally mediated. Workers gain information about jobs and evaluate them through contact with others. Employers hire workers through direct interaction (interviews) or indirect interaction (through references and records). On the job performances, evaluations, task assignment and promotions are mediated in

complex ways by interaction. All of these mediating interactions are potential sites where interactional mechanisms may help map gender hierarchy into the occupational patterns that result.

Gender labelling of workers and jobs

Gender inequality in employment is maintained through transformation of labour queues into gender queues. The necessary first step in this transformation is the sex labelling of workers. Because interaction evokes sex-categorisation, employers can never interview or read the resume of a sex-neutral worker. Similarly, workers cannot interact with a sex unclassified co-worker, boss or subordinate. Thus they create the conditions for writing gender inequality into workplace relations. This situation begins a process that also leads to sex labelling of jobs. As the employers interact with each other, bosses, clients or customers, automatic sex categorisation of self and others cause the employees' enactment of work activities to be perceived as implicitly nested within their prior identities as men or women and tinge those activities with gender. As the scripts that represent the job come to be labelled male or female in either a given organisational culture, the differential status value attached to the sexes and their stereotypic traits spreads to the job as well. Continually reinforced by sex categorisation in workplace interaction, the spread of status value affects the performance and reward expectations associated with the job.

Conclusion

Employment in Zimbabwe is gendered and the job market has historically been structured on a gendered basis, with men dominating the wage sector and women the non-wage sector. Their experiences as workers in the wage labour market are different. For men employment is easier because they do not have primary responsibilities for housework and child-care. For women on the other hand it is possible, but very difficult to combine these activities and earn high wages or even realise high incomes. Depending on women's class, income and family circumstances, the ability to find substitutes for child-care and housework ameliorates the difficulty of employment experiences although it may create new problems and new forms of dependence. There is therefore a problem in dealing with women's employment because their engagement in unpaid productive labour renders much of their work and employment invisible and uncoun ted. The chapter that follows discusses the relationship between income and human development as a measure of equity, because income is a proxy for all other human choices.

CHAPTER IV

INCOME AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

This chapter seeks to explain the co-relation between income and employment since the study assumes that employment by itself would not be of any significance if there were no rewards (incomes). The position being taken here is that growth in income and an expansion of economic opportunities are necessary preconditions of human development. The chapter then continues to explain how these factors affect the human development of the employees. The Human Development Report (1991:13) reports that the real objective of development is to increase people's development choices. Income is one aspect of these choices, and an extremely important one, but it is not the sum total of human existence. Health, education, a good physical environment and freedom are some of the other components of human's well being.

Human development

According to the Human Development Report (1990:9) human development is a process of enlarging people's choices, and the level of their achieved well-being. The term human development helps to distinguish clearly between two sides of human development. One is the formulation of human capabilities such as improved health or knowledge. The other

is the use that people make of their acquired capabilities for work and leisure. This way of looking at development differs from the conventional approaches to economic growth, human capital formation, human resource development, human welfare or basic needs. It is necessary to delineate these differences.

1). Gross National Product (Hereafter GNP) growth is treated here as being necessary but not sufficient for human development. Human progress maybe lacking in some societies despite rapid GNP growth or high per capita income levels, unless some additional steps are taken.



2). Theories of human capital formation and human resource development view human beings primarily as means rather than as ends. They are concerned only with the supply side, that is, human beings as instruments for furthering commodity production. True, there is a connection, for human beings are the active agents of all production, but human beings are more than capital goods for commodity production. They are also ultimate ends and beneficiaries of this process. Thus the concept of human capital formation (or human resource development) captures only one side of human development, not its whole.

3). Human welfare approaches look at human beings more as the beneficiaries of the development process than as participants in it. They emphasise distributive policies rather than productive structures.

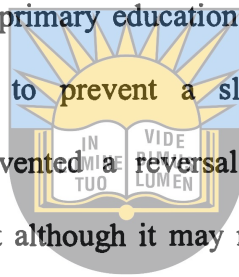
4). The basic needs approach usually concentrates on the bundle of goods and services that deprived population group's need. For example food, shelter, clothing, health care and water. It focuses on the provision of these goods and services rather than on the issue of human choices.

Human development by contrast, brings together the production and distribution of commodities and the expansion and use of human capabilities. It also focuses on choices: - on what people should have, be and do, to be able to ensure their own livelihood. Human development is moreover concerned not only with basic needs satisfaction, but also with human development as a participatory and dynamic process. This broad definition makes it possible to capture better the complexity of human life- the many concerns people have and the many cultural, economic, social and political differences in people's lives throughout the world.

Human development in Zimbabwe relative to the rest of the Sub-Saharan Africa, has been good, but Zimbabwe has suffered some stagnation after progressing from poor initial levels of human development. Data on income distribution are being collected only now, but it is widely agreed that inequalities were significant before independence and have since been reduced by the re-distributive policies of the government (Human Development Report, 1990:55). The country's experience since independence shows the

difficulties of sustaining human development, even with well structured policies of the government.

After independence, the government gave greater prominence to social sector policies and restructured its social spending towards activities having greater impact on human development and targeting those in need. In addition, there has been restructuring of education to increase the share of primary education in total spending. Although these improvements were not enough to prevent a slowdown of progress in human development, they may have prevented a reversal during the prolonged recession. Zimbabwe's experience shows that although it may not be possible to rely on policies alone to sustain progress in the face of poor growth, improvements in their structure can avoid reversals, at least in the short-run. What is important in terms of human development is to upgrade people's freedoms.



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Human development and freedom

According to the Human development report (1991:18) human development is incomplete without freedom. “ Any index of human development should therefore give adequate weight to society's human freedom in pursuit of material and social goals. The many kinds of freedom are categorised into two clusters. The first comprises ‘negative’ freedoms, so called because they imply freedom from something. For example freedom

from arbitrary rule, from illegal arrest or from unwarranted attack on a person or property. The second cluster comprises the 'positive' freedoms. These are the freedoms to do something, like to take part in the community's life, to organise opposition parties or trade union groups.

Freedoms, include many personal rights, like the right to life, liberty and security of persons; equality before the law; freedom of thought, religion and opinion; the right to work and the free choice of jobs; the right to an adequate standard of living- including adequate food, education, housing and the right to participate in community life. There is therefore a correlation between human freedom and human development. The goal of human development is to increase people's choices. But, for people to exercise their choices, they must enjoy cultural, social, economic and political freedom.

Income and human development

Human development is a process of enlarging people's choices. It is sometimes suggested that income is a good proxy for all other human choices since access to income permits exercise of every other option. This is only partly true for a variety of reasons:

- 1). Income is a means not an end. It maybe used for essential needs. Well being of a society depend on the uses to which income is put, not on the level of income itself.

2). A country's experience demonstrates several cases of high levels of human development at fairly high-income levels.

3). Present income of a country may offer little guidance to its future growth prospects. If it has already invested in its people, its potential income maybe much higher than what its current income levels show and vice-versa.

4). Multiplying human problems in many industrial, rich nations show that high income levels, by themselves, are not a guarantee for human progress.



The simple truth is that there is no automatic link between income growth and human progress. Technical considerations of the means to achieve human development – and the use of statistical aggregates to measure national income and growth have at times obscured the fact that the primary objective of development is to benefit people. There are two reasons for this. First, national income figures, useful though they are for many purposes, do not reveal the composition of income or the real beneficiaries. Second, people often value achievements that do not show up at all, or not immediately, in higher measured income or growth figures, better nutrition and health services, greater access to knowledge, more secure livelihoods, better working conditions to name a few. Of course, people also want higher incomes as one of their options, but income is not the sum total of human life. Wealth is not the good we are seeking, for it is merely useful for the sake of something else.

Measuring human development

Human development reports since the first in 1990, has published the human development index (Hereafter HDI) as a composite measure of human development. Since then, three supplementary indices have developed: the human poverty index (Hereafter HPI), gender-related index (Hereafter GDI) and gender empowerment measures (Hereafter GEM). The concept of human development, however, is much broader than the HDI and other supplementary indices. While simple composite measures can draw attention to the issues quite effectively, these indices are no substitute for full treatment of the rich concerns of human development perspective. For this study in particular, the GDI and the GEM would be the most relevant because the GDI captures inequalities in achievements between men and women.

The GEM reveals whether women can take active part in economic and potential life. It focuses on participation measuring gender inequality in key areas of economic and political participation and decision-making. It tracks the percentage of women in parliament, among legislators, senior official and managers and among professional and technical workers- and the greater disparity in earned income, reflecting economic independence. Differing from the GDI, it exposes inequality in opportunities in selected areas.

Unequal Incomes

For mainstream economists during most of the post war period of the 20th century, inequality was a necessary evil- helping to enhance growth by concentrating incomes among the rich, who save and invest more, and by creating incentives for individuals to work hard, innovative and take productive risks. However, this only perpetuates discrimination based on class, gender, race and ethnicity.

Inequality may exacerbate the effect of markets and policy failures on growth and thus on progress against poverty. That makes inequality a special problem in poor countries where imperfect markets and institutional failures are common. Concentration of income at the top can undermine the kinds of public policies, such as support for high-quality universal public education that are likely to advance human development. Developing and implementing good social policies is especially difficult where inequality takes the form of concentration at the top combined with substantial poverty at the bottom.

Inequality is likely to erode social capital, including the sense of trust and citizen responsibility that is key to the formation and sustainability of second public institutions. Differences in income inequality across countries are closely associated with differences in rates of crime and violence. There is need therefore of universal entitlement to a adequate basic income combined with more effective pay and opportunities legislation,

which would give women economic independence, genuine choices and a stronger basis for full citizenship.

Equity as measured by income distribution within or between countries emerged as an issue later and out of an empirical assessment of development policies. McCormack (1981:24) notes that the equity question that many scholars were beginning to raise was not a reflection of disillusionment with the idea, but rather a recognition that certain kinds of policies needed to be thought out better. Income differentials, however, are only part of the stratification system. Measures of occupational structure and intergenerational mobility are needed to arrive at more exact and comprehensive judgments, particularly in case of women, for if the evidence of advanced societies can be used it suggests that the differential impact of economic growth for men and women is found primarily in the occupation-wage structure and in the opportunities for mobility, with education-access, length and type-serving as the intervening variable. As a result, the Universal Basic Income concept is adopted as a measure of equity in incomes.

The Universal Basic Income Concept

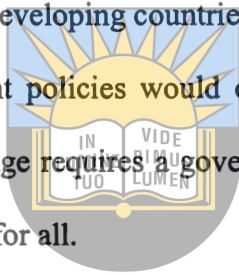
Although women are the majority of the poor, there are also large numbers of men living on low incomes. A universal basic income would make all people currently on low incomes better off and there would be some reversal of the recent redistribution which

has taken place from the lower paid to the higher paid. In the process, it would also treat partnered women as individuals rather than as dependents.

A universal basic income according to Briar (1997:195) would not cure all social ills, but it would have some significant advantages for both men and women over the current wages and benefits system. First, because recipients would be entitled to work and welfare, it would be the most effective means of abolishing poverty without destroying incentives to take paid employment. Unlike negative income tax, the universal basic income would be retained in full when beneficiaries started paid employment and so it would remove 'poverty traps'. Second, because it would be universal, it would not be socially divisive: it would not create a conflict of interests between claimants and taxpayers. Third, it would not attempt to control men and women's lifestyles. Unlike the proposals that were made during the 1970s for wages of housework, a universal basic income would not stereotype women as carers, since it would also be paid to men. It would promote both individual freedom and collective responsibility. Finally, it would be a major step towards the conferment of full citizenship on all individuals who currently do not have an independent income.

A full universal basic income would also have some distinct advantages to governments. The first would be administrative simplicity. It would create a single tax and benefits system. The universal grant would replace all current benefits and would act as child benefit, student grant, etc. The only slight area is that there would be some people with

special needs (through disability and old age) who could be entitled to extra help. The group that would benefit from a full income most would be women and they would be able to live more easily. This is often presented as a form of long overdue justice for women. One major advantage to women would be the removal of barriers to entering paid employment. A universal basic income would provide income security to older women and men and allow people to retire from paid work when they are ready to do so. However in Zimbabwe and some developing countries this policy would be very difficult to implement, because government policies would opt for equality-at-work legislation and some state benefits. Real change requires a government committed to the principles of greater equality and citizenship for all.



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The main problem that is usually cited in relation to a universal basic income scheme is that of funding. It was calculated that the replacement of all current benefits and tax allowances would yield an income almost as high as the unemployment pay level of every citizen, which would mean having to levy a relatively small amount of additional taxation to bring basic income up to the benefits level. However, many people would still require additions to their income beyond that, partly because of special needs, but mainly because of housing cost. It was realised that continuing to pay housing benefit on top of the Universal Basic Income would be extremely costly. Many leading advocates therefore chose to reduce their demands from the full basic income to 'citizens' income, which would not be sufficient to live on, but would require less expenditure. There is a general agreement among writers that any basic income scheme should be introduced gradually.

In short, the state has to discover ways of attaining a growth rate that makes it possible to satisfy the needs and aspirations of its people so as to have sustainable development.

Conclusion

Human development as has been discussed in the preceding chapter, could be of major significance in a country like Zimbabwe, because it measures the overall achievements.

These could be in the form of longevity, knowledge and a decent standard of living.

Development therefore, means the development of the people. People are the world's most natural resources and unless societies recognise that their real wealth is their people, an excessive obsession with creating material, can obscure the goal of enriching human lives. The chapter that follows presents alternatives that could be adopted so as to achieve equity amongst men and women in the Zimbabwean labour market.

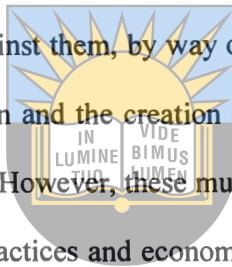


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Chapter V

Gender empowerment in Zimbabwe

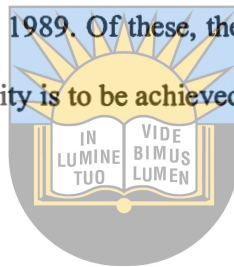
The Zimbabwean labour market has witnessed a persistence of gender discrimination, but significant steps in the direction of equity, continue to be achieved. Therefore, this chapter attempts to discuss some recommendations on how to empower women in Zimbabwe. Much has been done to promote equality and the advancement of women and to remove discrimination against them, by way of accession to human rights, the enactment of necessary legislation and the creation of machinery specifically tasked with addressing the gender issue. However, these must be accompanied by changes in social attitudes, administrative practices and economic practices. Active programs of public education and debate must also be encouraged. There is no one strategy that will ensure equitable development for all. However, there are several directions that could be followed which could enable equitable development.



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If change were to be categorised in two broad areas- reform and radical- each category would have certain strategies that would enable change to be brought about. Reformist strategies are those, which are devised to alleviate problems (for example food, unemployment compensation for the unemployed) without much attention to the cause of the problem. Radical strategies are devised by examining the root problem and proposing alternatives to presently existing structures that are responsible for creating the problems. Whether strategies are reformist or radical in nature, they can go hand in hand because they share a common goal of change.

The effects of these unequal gender relations include a skewed sexual division of labour, unequal access of women to basic resources, a limited political representation of women, and a certain tolerance for male violence against women and other elements which, constitute women's subordinate position in society. Efforts to address women's concerns in development processes date back to at least the International Women's Year in 1975. Various approaches have been distinguished, including the welfare, equity and anti-poverty approaches (Buvinic, 1983) and the efficiency of empowerment approach by Moser (1989). Of these, the empowerment approach seems to be the most useful if gender equity is to be achieved.



The Empowerment Approach

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The central focus of this approach is on the critique of the way power and development are interlinked; it seeks ways of empowering women and / or women's groups to make their own choices, to speak out on their own behalf and control their own lives. Power relations have three basic dimensions: oppressive / coercive, challenging / critical and creative. The process of empowerment of women is related to all three dimensions: exposing the oppressive power of existing gender relations, critically challenging them, and creatively trying to shape different social relations.

The empowerment approach recognises the political nature of development process and stimulates women to become actively engaged as political actors. Political mobilisation and consciousness rising are important elements, and women's organisations are vital actors in development processes. It is therefore important to

speak of empowerment approaches and various works single out different ways in which women should be empowered. The importance of action to reduce gender segregation in the labour market and to enhance occupational choice for women is necessary, so as to remove to remove discrimination and promote equality of opportunity and treatment for women in the labour market. An important starting point for this approach is to have an equal employment opportunity at national level.

An equal employment opportunity policy is a commitment to engage in employment practices and procedures which do not discriminate, and which provide equality between individuals of different groups or sex, to achieve full, productive and freely chosen employment. To ensure employment practices in conformity with the policy, equal employment goals need to be set. There should be close monitoring and evaluation of the programs, which promote the recruitment, selection, promotion, transfer or training of individuals from the under-represented group or sex, so as to achieve the goals. Implementation of an equal employment opportunity policy is the responsibility of relevant government agencies, trade unions and senior management personnel of public and private enterprises.

In Zimbabwe, there have been policies that have been adopted to ensure equal employment in the labour market, but they have not been effective enough. The major reason has been that development policies and programmes that have been used in Zimbabwe are male centric, hence their limitation to women empowerment. The Zimbabwean government and the ruling elite are male dominated and as a result, the men who occupy top decision making positions and who are involved in policy

formulations and implementation usually sideline women's issues. As a result policies designed tend to be flawed when it comes to addressing women's issues.

An action to increase employment opportunities for women is not sufficient; there must be action to improve the terms and conditions of such employment, because the increase in women's economic activity is in quantitative form, at the expense of quality working conditions. Although Zimbabwe adopted the National Gender Policy (2000), which has similar objectives as the equal employment opportunity policy, its attempt to empower women has not been fully successful. Therefore, there is need to visit other options like the (1) the principle of equal pay interpreted as applying to jobs which are identical in content, even though the job titles might be different. (2) the principle of equal pay referring to work of equal value or comparable worth – a principle which has been implemented increasingly since the early 80s. Comparable worth and realignment are two strategies proposed to reduce the gaps in earnings and redistribute employment and educational opportunities between men and women, because issue of economic equity in the workplace is one that arouses both attention and agitation.

Comparable worth

Under the comparable worth concept, dissimilar jobs are paid at the same rate if their work content is similar, that is in relation to skill requirements, degree of responsibility, exposure to hazardous or unpleasant environmental conditions as well as mental or physical effort. The theory behind this concept is that jobs that are equal

in their value to the organisation ought to be equally compensated, whether or not the work content of these jobs is similar. Comparable worth springs from concern with classes of jobs held primarily by women and characterised by poor pay and low status.

Carlson and McEnrue (1992) note that although critics of the comparable worth approach consider it to be pure rhetoric devoid of operational meaning, proponents claim the mechanisms are relatively well defined. Four steps have to be required: (1) Dissect the target job to identify the specific knowledge and skills required of jobholders, including education, pre-requisite skills and special abilities. (2) Determine the complexity or difficulty of the work content in terms of such factors as hard physical labour, manual dexterity, responsibility for important decisions and accountability for the work of others. (3) Assign dollar or point values to each skill or requirement and add them to compute the total worth of each job. (4) Identify the appropriate compensation level equal to that applicable for other jobs comparable point or dollar values. Arguments in favour of comparable worth contend that it is needed to rectify sex discrimination that renders market forces of supply and demand ineffective on pay equity; blocks women's entry into male-dominated occupations; creates excess supply in female-dominated occupations and monetarily devalues 'women's works' despite productivity aspects.

However, for the Zimbabwean context, 'work' depends to some extent on the experience and values of the evaluator, implementation of a comparable worth system is neither as objective nor as simple as it might appear on the surface. Thus, Carlson

and McEnrue further explain that support of comparable worth can be attributed primarily to default, based on the lack of confidence in available alternatives, rather than strict philosophical preference for the concept itself. According to this approach, equal pay laws have failed because employers can shift the job duties of women slightly to preclude 'equal work' comparisons. Pervasive occupational segregation means that there are virtually no men in the same jobs with whom required equal work comparisons can be made. Opponents of the comparable worth approach believe that: (1) The gender-based earnings gap is created by the greater productivity of experienced workers, who are predominantly male; the excess supply created by millions of women flooding the job market and socialisation norms which lead women to make stereotypic personal career choices and segregate themselves into safe, clean and comfortable working environments. (2) Comparable worth cannot be implemented equitably in the work place because it is subjective and vague in concept, with few objective guidelines. (3) On a macro-economic level, such a strategy would cost the country's economy. Equalisation would require raising women's compensation without an offsetting decline in the salaries of men. This would renew an inflationary spiral and reduce the rate of growth in productivity. This could lead to a country's bankruptcy. This could be true in the case of Zimbabwe and the way the country's economy is falling. Such a policy would therefore, not be feasible enough, although it has some theoretical truth.

Overall, as a policy instrument, the principle of equal remuneration for work of equal value is complex, and to implement the policy in an effective manner it is not easy. Each step in the implementation can involve a number of assumptions, pitfalls and

biases as well as subjectivity. However, despite these difficulties, the main advantages for applying this principle would be that it acknowledges that women and men often perform different work and recognises that this segregation can easily lead to de facto wage discrimination. Equal value or comparable worth has a large potential scope than equal work policies for reducing the earnings gap between women and men. Another strategy therefore calls for attempts to redistribute employment and educational opportunities between men and women. This alternative strategy involves realignment of the occupational and industrial distribution of women in the labour force.



Realignment approach.

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In Zimbabwe, a comprehensive plan designed to realign the occupational and industrial distribution of women would require a dual focus. Behavioural strategies would be needed to address societal belief and value system, to reduce role conflict and role ambiguity among women, and to increase their motivation to succeed as well as their expectation of success. Carlson and McEnrue (1992) note that structural elements would be required to alter hierarchical arrangements within organisations, to enhance upward mobility of women, and to modify occupational and industrial entrances to encourage access by individuals from the non traditional gender.

Specific methods of accountability in the goal of realignment are numerous and varied. All approaches involve selecting and combining multiple components into a comprehensive plan designed to attack various determinants of workplace segregation

simultaneously, with the expectation that techniques will work together to improve employee integration. One method involves fostering the organisation of labour unions in female-dominated occupations and industries to enhance women's pay through collective bargaining and to facilitate the formation of communication networks. Another proposal involves establishing mechanisms to encourage aggressive pursuit of legal recourse for gender-based discrimination by their employers or male-dominated unions. A third element focuses on improving legal protection for women by expanding existing equal pay laws to allow for redress. A fourth potential tactic calls for subsidy by government or industry of women's education, where such training prepares women to enter non-traditional occupations. Characterised by high salaries and excess demand for workers, another means is to provide tax incentives to employers who are successful in increasing the compensation of female workers relative to that of men. A sixth element establishes additional affirmative action goals and timetables directed toward reducing gender-based wage disparities. These are some elements of a strategy designed to realign the occupational and industrial distribution of women. The realignment approach would be more practical for Zimbabwe, because it encompasses different methods on how to restructure the occupational and industrial distribution. This would make it easier for Zimbabwe, because it would choose that which it can manage to focus on and leave other options for later trial. However, real progress in reducing the male-female earnings disparity through workforce realignment would take many generations and is therefore an unacceptable slow method.

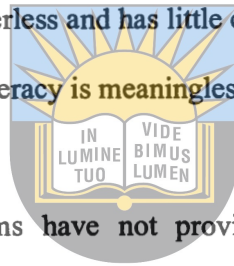
Both the comparable worth approach and a realignment strategy generate controversy. Although the comparable worth approach is attractive as a fast-acting antidote, the risks of attempting to regulate the compensation system of virtually every employer in the country appear to high to make it economically viable. On the other hand, one of the most serious drawbacks to the realignment strategy is the amount of time required to obtain results. Because these two approaches cannot fully be implemented as alternatives for change, other factors have to be considered. For Zimbabwe, a more practical approach would be affirmative action with conscious building education.

Positive / Affirmative action



In the Zimbabwean context, for affirmative action to be implemented effectively, it means that it must open up educational opportunities for women. In terms of general and vocational education and skills training, formal institutions, enterprise based and labour market based education and training systems often contribute to and perpetuate the disadvantaged and unequal position of women in the economy. Lim (1996:111) quotes paragraph 6a of the Beijing Platform as noting that education is a human right and an essential tool for achieving the goals of equality, development and peace. Equality of access to and attainment of educational qualifications is necessary if more women are to become agents of change. Investing in women is a potentially powerful instrument for reducing inequality of incomes and for alleviating poverty. As a result, positive or affirmative action has been adopted so as to achieve equality of opportunity and treatment amongst men and women.

It is true that women need education to be able to participate in society, but the nature of this education has not been sufficiently questioned. Whilst the education system can be used as a stepping-stone to economic sufficiency, the education system in Zimbabwe is a relic of the colonial past and irrelevant to the needs of most people, especially women. Therefore, if education is to have value for women, it must be a means to raise their consciousness about the oppressive structures that keep them in positions of powerlessness (Institute of Strategic and International Studies, 1991:7). When a woman is relatively powerless and has little control over what is happening in her environment, education for literacy is meaningless.



As a result, educational systems have not provided women with the tools to understand and analyse the true nature of social, political and economic systems that govern their lives and oppress them, and this is why they have failed. If women are to be change agents in their societies, the education offered them must be a tool for consciousness raising and action (Institute of Strategic and International studies, 1991:8).

Positive or affirmative action covers a wide range of measures, all aimed at closing the gap between women and men in employment. It reflects an understanding that social, political and economic structures were often established at a time when there was widespread discrimination against women, and that without temporary measures to alter those structures, efforts to achieve equality of opportunity and treatment will be unjustifiably slow. It also reflects an understanding that economic efficiency is impaired by the under-utilisation of the potential of large segment of the population.

To justify the need for positive or affirmative action as a temporary measure, Lim (1996:113) notes that it is necessary to prove that discrimination existed in the past; show present-day consequences of such past discrimination; demonstrate that the present day consequences impede the enjoyment of current rights; show that positive action proposed will address the present day consequences and assure that once the consequences are removed, the positive action will be eliminated. Hence, positive action programs are a combination of corrective action, new practices and promotional measures. They involve identifying and analysing the sources of discrimination and then changing those operational rules or practices, which perpetuate discrimination. They can include not only remedial measures aimed at achieving immediate results, but also alternative non-discriminatory practices which might eliminate the need for temporary measures. They can aim at increasing women's promotional opportunities in employment, increasing women's entrance into the labour market or diversifying women's occupational choices.

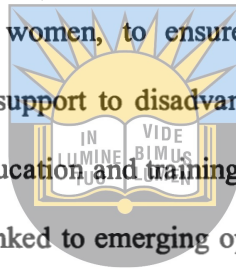
Positive action may form part of the overall equality policy. It entails a systematic approach to achieve specific targets according to an established order of priorities and fixed timetable, with a system of monitoring and an evaluation of results. A positive action program is intended to be temporary, once the consequences of past discrimination have been rectified, positive action should be removed.

In view of what has been said, the study proposes that affirmative action, though not sufficient for women's total empowerment, be continually applied, but it should be

complemented by other policies, like education for consciousness that promotes action, not passivity or submissiveness.

The section that follows summarises all the alternative measures for gender empowerment that have been discussed, for clarity's sake.

Integrated and comprehensive strategies are recommended which aim at (1) gender-sensitive labour market policies and programmes to promote full, productive and freely-chosen employment for women, to ensure their basic labour rights and protection, and to give special support to disadvantaged or marginalised groups of women. (2) gender-sensitive education and training policies, with emphasis on skills diversification and flexibility, linked to emerging opportunities in the labour market. (3) empowerment of women through measures to increase their representation and participation in decision-making at all levels, and measures to mobilize and organize women in groups.

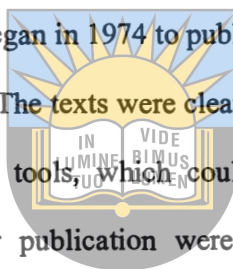


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There are certain objectives that have to be considered so as to have equitable change in the employment sector. Firstly, there have to be a reform of system values. This must be carried out essentially among the agents of socialisation, for example the family, school, cultural environments and mass media. Secondly, there have to be an application of dynamic vocational training and employment policies. This implies the restructuring of the vocational training and guidance system for girls. Thirdly, there has to be an adoption of legislation and regulations, which would secure the application by enterprises and the incorporation in individual contracts and collective agreements of measures to ensure equality of treatment in respect of working

conditions; the elimination of wage discrimination and an equitable status for male and female workers with regard to social security and fiscal arrangements

To return to the first point, it should be the aim of the government's policy to bring about a profound change of attitudes regarding the role of women in employment. This would be considerable, but by no means an impossible task. It has already begun in a number of countries, which would be widely imitated. For example in the U.K, the department of employment began in 1974 to publish a series of booklets under the general title 'women and work'. The texts were clear, precise and easy to understand. These are valuable propaganda tools, which could have an enormous effect on people's attitudes if only their publication were accompanied by a large-scale publishing drive.



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Only too often, however, important conditions of work are negotiated, job classification system are drawn up, individual jobs are evaluated and exercised by men sitting in government, joint or tripartite bodies from which women are practically excluded. A basic first step must therefore be to insist on ad hoc representation of women workers in all bodies concerned with the application of indiscriminatory legislation since, men cannot carry on the struggle against discrimination alone. To improve women's access to jobs, it is important to ensure non-discrimination at the recruitment stage. Action should cover advertising, selection criteria, selection tests, interviews and actual recruitment.

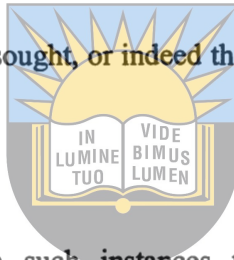
Conclusion

In Zimbabwe, unmistakable achievements in areas like education and health show that progress is possible, but the continued disparities in other areas such as income and decision making indicate that more has to be done. The contrasting patterns of progress for women mirror the contrasts found in overall achievements of human development. The world community has yet to commit itself to clear blue-print for creating a more just and equal world for the twenty-first century. There is no doubt that opportunities for women in the Zimbabwean labour market have improved dramatically, but there must not be complacency and assumptions that problems that exist or existed have been resolved. Despite the barriers to gender equality in the workplace, significant steps in the direction of equality have been and continue to be achieved. Perhaps the most important change has been the recognition and questioning of the barriers- a process that may eventually transform the work situation for women and men.

Chapter VI

Summary and Conclusion

The question of the structure of women in developing countries has been on the agenda for quite some time now. Literature on the subject is voluminous yet while we have learned a great deal about women in a variety of countries and differing situations, there is still little consensus as to the nature of their fundamental difficulties, the solutions to be sought, or indeed the impact that economic change has on them.



Jahan (1995:1) notes that in such instances there is need to ask about the achievements that have been made in gender issues. How the policies and measures adopted by international agencies and national governments have functioned, and whether they have been effective in promoting women's advancement and gender equality. Evidence has led to greater understanding and awareness of gender issues. Women's organisations and networks have multiplied. The women's movement has gained in strength. Women's agendas have been more clearly articulated- equity, empowerment and the transformation of existing development paradigms have emerged as critical issues. Women's responsibilities as sole and primary income earners has increased, their labour-force participation rates have grown, but the workplace has not made significant changes to accommodate women's needs and it continues to exploit women as cheap labour. Economic desperation has led to unprecedented female migration and an increased trafficking of women worldwide.

Paid work has often been advanced as the way for women to gain independence; it is seen as bringing economic independence, which in turn will lead to greater freedom in other spheres of life. However, the first problem for women was finding waged labour, and the first barrier in their way was discriminatory educational policy. Independence saw the end of the formal restrictions that had been placed on women's employment in colonial times. But the new governments had neither the policies nor the resources to compensate for the lack of education women lost.

A combination of lack of opportunities coupled with inherited patterns of discrimination in employment meant that the new openings in private firms and parastatals benefited men more than women. It isn't only lack of education that hampers women, despite post independence changes and legislations giving women the right to equality in employment, the attitude that women should not compete with men for jobs still prevails.



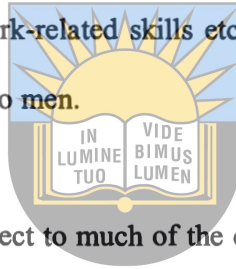
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Women working in low-paid jobs suffer from lack of promotion opportunities and from employers who are unwilling to invest training because they say women will be involved in child bearing activities. What little training they get tends to be on-the-job and rarely opens up the prospect of being able to move onto more interesting better paid work.

Given the difficulties in paid employment and the fact that some form of income is a necessity for most women, many try to earn money through small-scale trading. For women traders the key issue is that these activities are labour intensive and do not require a lot of money in order to set up. They can sell from stalls in the market,

operate as street vendors or work from their homes. There is no need to have capital tied up in premises, equipment or stock and work can fit in with child-care.

A preliminary approach to this gender problem might be to adopt the useful distinction between the condition and the position of women. By condition, it means the material state in which women find themselves: their poverty, their lack of education and training, their excessive work burdens, their lack of access to modern technology, improved tools, work-related skills etc. Position means women's social and economic standing relative to men.



The condition of women is subject to much of the development literature on women, and indeed it can be said that a major part of development practitioners concerns centre on finding ways of improving women's condition by targeting ameliorative resources to them rather than by radically changing underlying structures. This forms an important body of literature. Throughout a whole range of detailed studies the particular condition of women in different occupations has been highlighted. Thus while conditions may have improved in general for both men and women. In relative terms women may have benefited less. The emphasis on women's condition has had two consequences. Firstly, from the perspective point of view there has been a tendency to emphasise women's practical day-to-day needs and thus to focus on ameliorative measures- giving women greater access to credit, special training schemes and better domestic technology. Secondly, the approach makes it difficult for structural issues concerning women's position to be raised. It inhibits posing the question of whether women's condition is related to their structural position, and/or

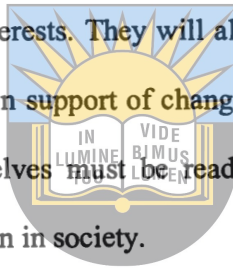
whether any serious and sustainable improvement in their condition is possible without structural change. As a result while women's needs as mothers, producers etc are highlighted, their interests as women are not.

The structural issues are the central concern of the literature on women's position. This suggests that the social position of women, whatever their class, has worsened as a result of the integration of developing countries into the market, regardless of whether or not women's condition has improved. There is however less consensus on what the key structures are that have shaped this unequal outcome. A number of different explanations are put forward. Firstly, the colonial powers destroyed the political organisation of their subject nations, including those of women, to replace them with more pliable political forms in which women were notably absent. Secondly, that the structuring of the economy was deliberately male centred to create a similar basic social and economic unit- the nuclear family. Thirdly, that economic and necessary inputs were targeted largely to men in conformity with western stereotypes, women's needs as producers being ignored, thereby exacerbating their dependence on men.

A major theme on the writing of women's employment has been the impact of the historic and symbolic distinction between the private and the public: the household and the institutions in the public domain. Although there is ample evidence that women's economic activity, whether recognised as such or not, has made a substantial contribution to social production as well as reproduction at most stages of history and in most cultures, all societies have, to a greater or lesser extent, been characterised by

a gendered division of labour. The corollary of this has been that women have often been seen, and have seen themselves as tangential members of the labour force. This has particularly been the case in industries and occupations where they are heavily outnumbered by men.

With such problems lying ahead, obviously strategies have to be devised in relation to the actual situation faced by women in different social settings, and the identification of culturally specific gender interests. They will also be shaped by the configuration of forces that can be mustered in support of change. An initial appraisal would seem to suggest that women themselves must be readily mobilised to support changes which will enhance their position in society.



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Gender equality in the labour market is a complex subject that raises many issues.

Two big questions have pre-occupied research in this area. 1). Why are men and women occupationally segregated? 2). Why do occupations with large numbers of female workers pay less? The two questions are related but logically distinct. The first question focuses on the linkage between gender and occupation and is concerned about the allocation of men and women across occupations. Whether the allocation is plagued by gender discrimination is of course a central issue of lawsuits, policy debates and scholarly research. The second question addresses the linkage between occupation and wages. In particular, the question is concerned about occupational sex composition effects on wages. Whether occupational allocation is free from gender discrimination or not, the sex composition effects suggest that occupational wage inequality may reflect subtle gender discrimination. Instead of wage discrimination

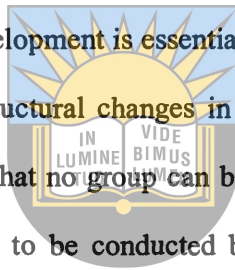
against female workers, gender discrimination may take the form wage discrimination against female work.

Gender bias and sex discrimination in employment selection is driven by conscious stereotypes and over generalisations about the gendered nature of jobs and about the actual or supposed differences between men and women. Thus while patronage, interviews and application forms remained the mainstay of assessment technology when deciding who should be appointed, the erroneous conscious and unconscious assumptions of the appointer would inevitably have major impact on female representation in the workforce. Such subjective assessment methods would be likely to perpetuate gender and employment stereotypes and by their nature be relatively inaccessible to investigations and the control of law. Several interpretations have been put forward by various scholars, but when we talk of development in Zimbabwe it should be interpreted to mean total development in political, economic, social and cultural as well as other dimensions of human life. If such development is to be achieved, it is imperative that women be fully involved.

Patsanza (1988:192) noted that Lenin considered drawing women as a whole into socialist production to be one of the conditions for establishing actual rights for women. He said that to effect her complete emancipation and make her the equal of the men, it is necessary for the national economy to be socialist and for women to participate in common productive labour, then women will occupy the same position as men. The emancipation of women becomes possible only when women are enabled to take part in production on a large, social scale and when domestic duties require

their attention only on a minor degree. To eliminate female labour or even to restrict it means to turn back the wheel of history and to display at the same time a total ignorance of economic and social conditions of our time.

It is agreed that some positive steps have occurred in the advancement and integration of women, but many obstacles still hinder the full integration of women into developmental programs. Economic development will not totally solve the plight of women. Though economic development is essential to women's human development, it must be accompanied by structural changes in cultural / traditional and political systems. It should be realised that no group can be liberated by others. The struggle for women's development has to be conducted by women themselves. The major obstacles to women's development in the areas of education, employment etc, arise as a result of negative traditional and social attitudes. There is therefore a need to expedite change in some traditional practices in order to have meaningful development.



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