Representative Bureaucracy In Zambia:
Problems of Gender Balancing in Selected Public
Organizations

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REPRESENTATIVE BUREAUCRACY IN ZAMBIA: PROBLEMS OF
GENDER BALANCING IN SELECTED PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS.

A dissertation Submitted to the Department of Humanities and
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fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of
Public Administration.

by
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I, Dinah Dadzie Osafo, solemnly declare that this dissertation, to my knowledge, had not been presented at the University of Zambia or any other University in fulfillment of requirements for a Masters or any other degree.

Signed. *(signature)*

Dinah Dadzie Osafo

Dedicated to my husband Kwaku and Bundle, my daughter. This work would not have been completed without their love, encouragement, understanding and many sacrifices.

Acknowledgements

" The .....benefit to be expected from giving to women the free use of their faculties, by leaving them the free choice of their employments, and opening to them the same field of occupation and the same prizes and encouragements as to other human beings, would be that of doubling the mass of mental faculties available for the higher service of humanity. Where there is now one person qualified to benefit mankind and promote the general improvement, as a public teacher, or an administrator of some branch of public or social affairs, there would then be a chance of two."

John Stuart Mill: 1869

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ABSTRACT

The theory of representative bureaucracy advocated as a panacea for bureaucratic isolationist tendencies and as a mechanism for ensuring bureaucratic responsiveness to client needs has in recent years gained popularity because of its inherent normative value for enhancing the recruitment and advancement/promotion opportunities of minority groups in public bureaucracy. In Zambia, however, various factors have been found to hinder the attainment of a gender-balanced public bureaucracy. Various deficiencies in the educational system in terms of gender representation and curricula offerings and specializations are reflected in the numerical and sector representation of men and women. Selective recruitment policy based on the merit system is not without subjectivity; and societal values, conservative legislation which reinforce those values, women's extra-organizational roles all impinge on the bureacratic representation of women. Consequently, not only does the secondary position of women's careers persist but also the power differential existing between men and women in society is reflected and perpetuated in the hierarchies of the service.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The role and significance of public bereaucracy in the modernization process have been generally recognized in developing countries. Development plans almost invariably stress the importance of transforming them from institutions for maintaining the status quo to those capable of stimulating change and innovation. Their transformation into institutions that can initiate as well as administer development policy programmes and projects has been accompanied by various measures and mechanisms to make them responsive to the public they serve. This study focuses specifically on one such mechanism suggested as a panacea against the misuse of administrative power - representative bureaucracy-with specific reference to gender balancing.

Among the various sources of bereaucratic power are first, the growth in size of government departments, the expansion of government social services and the complexity of policy issues of modern government, only a minor portion of which the minister can subject to his personal consideration and scrutiny. He relies on his senior officials who exercise a great amount of judgement and discretion in resolving a major portion of those technical policy issues, the preparation of briefs, speeches, the interpretation and synthesis of large volumes of information. For, as Kingsley (1944 : 275) notes, " facts are never neutral when they are

put to use ... even to state them is to indicate
conclusions".

Secondly, the development and growth in delegated
legislation, an important and direct consequence of the
increasing complexity of government policy issues, have
increased the minister's dependence on his senior official.
For lack of time and specialized knowledge, Parliament is
often unable to develop all bills in their entirety. It,
therefore, empowers the minister to work out details of
various draft legislature and the role of the senior official
in accomplishing this task has accorded him a large degree of
legislative powers.

Thirdly, although dismissal from office has become more
frequent in recent times, the relative permanence of the
senior bureaucrat in office accords him an advantage over the
minister who is subject to either recall by dissatisfied
voters, or becomes more often than the public servant, a
victim of reshuffles. The latter, therefore, requires and
depends on the cooperation of his senior officials whose firm
ideas on the operation of a department may help or hinder,
influence and shape the development and outcomes of
programmes.

Past concerns to control administrative power had been,
by and, large limited to the separation of policy and
politics from administration (Wilson, 1987). The
acknowledgement of the illusory nature of these attempts

prompted the advocacy of other mechanisms such as the

acceptance of the fellowship of science (Friedrich, 1940),

professionalism (Simon, 1957),

the supremacy of law (Lowe, 1967), the development of

"profession-like attitudes" (Odegard, 1971), and

representative bureaucracy (Kingsley, 1944).

In general terms, advocates of the theory of

representative bureaucracy such as J. Donald Kingsley (1944)

and Paul Van Riper (1958) submit that to be self-regulating

and responsive to citizens, and for the sake of societal

stability, it is essential that the socio-economic

composition of public bureaucracy mirrors that of society as

a whole. The basic assumption is that people of a particular

social group share like attitudes and values. Therefore,

given a bureaucracy that consists of representatives of all

major social groups, policy outcomes would reflect the

concerns of society in general. Proponents of the theory

share the conviction that out of the heterogeneity of

attitudes and values emerges democratic decisions.

The ideal of representative bureaucracy has gained

popularity in recent years and is among the preferred

mechanisms of democratizing public administration because of

its distinctive features to be discussed in latter pages of

this study.

Demands for Representativeness in Zambia.

Demands for representativeness in public bureaucracy had focused exclusively on race and tribe, and it was not until the 1980s that gender emerged as a significant issue in the consideration of the degree of representativeness of the Zambian public bureaucracy.

Initially, Zambianization involved not only a process of making bureaucracy representative in terms of race by replacing European colonial officials with indigenous officials but also a transformation of the structures of the service to reflect the ideology and policies of an independent nation (Lungu, 1980). For example, in keeping with the espoused ideal of participatory democratic administration, rigorous decentralization measures were undertaken between 1967 and 1969 with the creation of provincial, district and village politico-administrative councils, and President Kaunda declared that:

> "when I next appoint a senior civil
> it's because he is a loyal party-man.
> All appointments I will make are going
> to be political" (Times of Zambia,
> 1968, quoted in Nwabueze, 1974: 180).

Although politicization of public bureaucracy constitutes an inevitable feature of one-party states, in many African countries its role as a control mechanism of public bureaucracy is noteworthy. According to Lochfie (1967) there existed a power and authority imbalance between

bureaucrats and politicians as a result of a "talent gap"
between the two in the immediate post- independence period
and politicization of the service has been a means of
redressing that imbalance. In Zambia, policies are initiated
by the Party and all decisions announced in the name of the
"Party and its Government". While this implies an associate
position of administration, more importantly, it stresses its
subordinate position to the Party as well.

Other demands for a representative bureaucracy in Zambia
in the post-independence period were expressed in the form of
charges launched by the Lozi-based United Party, that
government machinery was dominated by the Bemba*

"There are 73 tribes in Zambia and their interests must
be balanced. But look at this arrangement. The
President, the Vice-President, the Chairman of the
Public Service Commission-which deals with Promotions
of Civil Servants, Teaching Service Commission - which
deals with promotion of teachers, the Police Service
Commission-which deals with the promotion of police,
University Council of Zambia and the Judiciary Service
Commission belong to one tribe... The same tribe has
majority of Permanent and Under Secretaries than any
other tribes. It has more people in the Foreign
Service than other tribes. It has more Directors in
charge of Departments and semi-Government organizations
such as Zambia Railways, Zambia Broadcasting Services
and the Commission of Traffic Departments, etc. Does
it mean that they are the most dedicated ones than
other tribes? It is also estimated that the same tribe
has nearly 150 people in the executive and higher
positions of office in the Public Service. The Tongas,
the Ngonis and the Lozis next range between 30 and 50
people each in similar positions. (The Mirror, 1968:
3, quoted in Dresang, 1974, 1610).

Demands for ethnic or tribal representation are almost
invariably based on particular ethnic groupings percentage
share of the total population rather than its share of
educated and qualified persons available for recruitment into
public bureaucray (Dresang, 1974). It is also probable that
an under-presented group may not proffer any charges of
under-representation or demand representation precisely
because of its negligible share of educated and qualified
persons who may act as its spokespersons. Women in Zambia,
for example, constitute approximately 52 per cent of the
country's population but for this and a variety of other
reasons discussed in later chapters, they have only recently
become vocal in their demands for equal representation in
public bureaucracy.

The women's Brigade, the women's political arm of the
United National Independence Party (UNIP) was instrumental in
obtaining paid maternity leave for working women, now enacted
in the Laws of Zambia Chapter 512 (Kankasa, 1974). More
recently, at the joint Mindolo Ecumenical Foundation and the
Zambia Association for Research and Development Conference,
in March 1985, specific demands presented to the Government
leadership included the equal representation of men and women
on all committees instituted to consider reforms in the
country, and more importantly, on the Central Committee of
----
* The Bemba are one of the four major ethno-regional groups
in Zambia. The other three are Nyanja, the Tonga and Lozi.

of the Party. Another significant demand was the ratification
of the United Nations Convention on the eradication of all
forms of discrimination against women, which was effected by
the government the same year, in 1985.

It is significant that unlike tribal and racial
representation, demands for gender-balancing by women has not
been restricted to their numerical presence alone. There
have been demands for a fair share of responsibilities and
the accompanying rewards and status in the various categories
and levels of employment commensurate with educational and
other qualifications such as seniority.

> ... in the civil service women with similar
> qualifications as their male counterparts are still
> at principal or assistant secretary level while their
> male counterparts have gone beyond, some even to the
> post of permanent secretary (Monze, 1985, quoted in
> Kahsilira: 3).

In their efforts to create and increase awareness of
their state of under-representativeness in public
administration women in Zambia recognize the dominant role of
the Chief Executive and the authority of the Party-UNIP - in
initiating programmes and changes in society, and have
deliberately made efforts to coopt political leadership in
that endeavour. For example, in June 1985, female
representatives of the news media in Zambia, in collaboration
with their counterparts from other countries in Africa,
Europe and America, discussed with President Kaunda, their

concerns for equal representation of women in all sectors of national life.

Such concerns and demands for equal representation highlight the need for investigation into the problem of the under-representation of females in public administration in Zambia, and some of the factors that contribute to it.

DEFINITION OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

The theory of representative bureaucracy provides for a bureaucracy that is not only open but also affords all entrants equal opportunity for advancement. These provisions correlate to the Zambian Government's policy ideal of promoting equal opportunity for all, ensuring the representation of all sectors of society in the governance and administration of the country, and the effective utilization of human resources.

Women in Zambia, however, constitute a resource that is marginally utilized. While they constitute about 52 per cent of the country's potential labour force only 39.5 per cent are classified as economically active. And out of a total urban working population of 430,330 only 19.1 per cent or 82,068 are women and of these only 7.7 per cent* are in the modern production sector with the majority concentrated in the tertiary sectors.

* Government of Zambia (GRZ), Central Statistical Office 1980 Population Census.

A cursory observation of the Zambian bureaucracy reveals a generally higher degree of representation of men than women with a preponderance of the latter in lower ranks and their corresponding scarcity in higher ranks. At the same time certain departments seem to have larger concentrations of women than men. One is inclined to conclude that there is vertical as well as horizontal segregation** of occupations in such departments as nursing and social services.

But assuming that candidates of both genders on entry into the service possess the appropriate requisite qualifications, what then accounts for the consistent numerical wastage of women the higher the ranking of positions?

** Catherine Hakim defines vertical occupational segregation as the concentration of men in higher grades and women in lower grades of specific occupations and vice versa. She defines horizontal occupation segregation as the concentration of men and women in different types of jobs. (Occupational Segregation: UK Department of Employment Research Raper, 1979: Nov., p 19.)

Do recruitment and advancement policies - merit, performance and seniority - apply equally to entrants of both genders into the higher service? What other structures and factors external to public bureaucracies may be responsible for the high wastage rate of women in higher ranks of the service? These and other questions stimulate the following guiding hypothetical statements and form the basis of this study.

GUIDING HYPOTHETICAL STATEMENTS

The study is based on the following two main assumptions:

1. That the Zambian public bureaucracy is representative of men and under-representative of women.

2. That there is vertical and horizontal occupational segregation in the Zambian public bureaucracy.

Other working assumptions are:

(a) That women's careers take a secondary position to men's careers;

(b) that consequently certain services structures and policies favour men and discriminate against women, thus inhibiting their advancement;

(c) that certain external structures are also discriminatory against women and inhibit their advancement in the service;

(d)   that educational opportunity is reflected in

        opportunity in the service, and

(e)   that there is a high degree of awareness of sexual

        harassment as an obstacle to recruitment and

        advancement.

Based on these guiding hypotheses, the study analyzes
the numerical representation of men and women in the
administrative and management groups of selected public
bureaucracies and within the various levels or divisions of
those bureaucracies, paying attention, at the same time, to
the numerical share of each gender of the pool of qualified
personnel available for recruitment and promotion into those
administrative and management groups.

The study also explores recruitment and promotion
policies which either separately or in combination with
socio-cultural factors impede the employment opportunities
and advancement of women and enhance those of men in the
administrative and managerial groups of the public service.
The selection of the higher bureaucracy as the main focus of
the study is based on its generally recognized impact on
policy outcomes and the concern to find mechanisms of
exacting accountability and responsiveness from it.

ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

The study comprises four chapters. Chapter one which includes the introduction, reviews the literature on the theory of representative bureaucracy, studies on the socio-economic backgrounds of higher civil servants as well as some of the theses on the obstacles to the representation of women in education and employment.

This chapter also describes the sampling procedures for public bureaucracies and respondents. The field work, treatment of data and various procedural problems that affected the sampling and data collection are also discussed.

In chapter two, the results and observations from the study are analysed. This chapter also focuses on the various aspects of recruitment and promotion policies and their effects on the representation of the genders.

Chapter three deals with other related obstacles to gender balancing in public bureaucracy. Respondents suggestions and the feasibility of those suggestions for the enhancement of a gender balanced public service is also analysed.

Chapter four ends the study with concluding remarks and recommendations drawn from the research.

It is hoped that findings of this endeavour will not only contribute to the available data for future manpower planning, but also establish gender as a significant

variable, in addition to socio-economic ones, in measuring the representativeness of public bureaucracies.

It is also expected that this study will shed some light on the extent to which various social structures, and socio-cultural factors hinder or enhance the applicability of the Zambian government's Humanist ideal of equal opportunity to all groups in the society. It is also expected that the study will provoke thoughts on future research on those social structures and socio-cultural factors that have only received preliminary examination as obstacles to the applicability of the ideal of social equality for all.

WOMEN AND REPRESENTATIVE BUREAUCRACY
Review of Related Literature

The first comprehensive analysis of the theory or representative bureaucracy was by Kingsley (1944). Like other proponents of the theory, Kingsley noted the overrated importance and the corresponding limited effectiveness of mechanistic forms of control of administrative behaviour. Responsibility, he argues, is psychological and, therefore, responsible administrative behaviour cannot be sought through solely mechanical means.

> It is to be sought in an identity of
> aim and point of view in a common
> background of social prejudice which
> leads the agent to act as though he were
> the principal (Kingsley, 1944 : 282).

As insurance against the misuse of administrative power by bureaucrats and the use of bureaucratic machinery by dominant and powerful forces in society for the furtherance of their own corrupt ends, bureaucrats must share a common background and "social prejudice" and share these same attributes with those dominant and powerful elements in society. Kingsley argued that the British Civil Service was representative of the "middle classes", the dominat forces of the society and the direct result of this class-bias has been the absence of demands for reforms in society and the service that would favour other "classes".

Riper (1958), on the other hand, defined representative bureaucracy as one that consists of not just elements of the dominant groups in society but one that is composed of a "reasonable cross section of society" in terms of such criteria as occupation, class, geography, and one which mirrors the ethos and attidudes of the larger society from which it is drawn. He thus gave the concept a much broader meaning than Kingsley did.

A bureaucracy that is so broadly representative is able to correct a major deficiency in the political system which ordinarily cannot effectively provide for the representation of all the important interests in society. Bureaucracy is thus assigned the role of filling that vacuum (Long, 1952), thereby promoting democracy in society.

A common assumption by proponents of the theory is the relevance and influence of pre-occupational socialization on bureaucrats' behaviour in office. As Finer (1973 : 49) succintly indicates, memories of "misery, hunger, squalor, bereaucratic oppresion and insecurity" should add a quality to the work of higher civil servants who will in effect not fail to impress the minister at a loss for a policy or an argument.

But these values and attitudes borne out of pre-occupational socialization are difficult to measure and, therefore, such secondary criteria as education, geographical origin or ethnicity, social status and occupation which help determine socialization patterns of social groups are used to measure the representativeness of public bureaucracies. The more these criteria match or mirror those of society from which bureaucrats are drawn, the more representative a bureacracy is assumed to be.

Using the above variables in his study, Subramaniam (1967) agreed with Kingsley's finding that the British higher civil service was representative of the middle class. Like Kingsley he enumerates such advantages as age, intelligence, a certain required level of education and a general predilection for competitiveness, all of which favour the middle class in their accessibility to the higher service. In Britain, however, these advantages were " soft-pedalled" by higher civil service recruitment policies and procedures.

> ...any system which recruits university
> graduates in their early 2Øs is bound to
> give a striking advantage to be middle class
> and peasantry (Sabramanian 1967: 1Ø1Ø-1Ø19).

Subramaniam considers such occupational groups as
shopkeepers/businessmen, governmental employees (including
the army) business employees, professionals, and skilled
workers as middle-class. Unskilled workers, agricultural
workers and farmers are not classified as middle-class.

In America the same advantages were soft-pedalled by the
social ethos of universalism, achievement and merit
orientation, while in some colonial countries, such as India
and Turkey, the middle-class was artificially created in
response to Western influence. They, however, enjoyed the
same middle-class advantages which were in turn soft-pedalled
by the influence of a traditional predilection for sons to
follow their fathers' professions.

In spite of the common background of the dominant
middle-class in the British civil service. however, it was by
no means a homogeneous group. It consisted of sub-groups
some of which Kingsley referred to as the "forgotten men -
and women", who as a matter of established policy were
treated differently from other groups.

The forgotten men were the professional groups or
experts, who were not only excluded from controlling posts of
the administrative hierarchy, and their advice disregarded in
decision making, but also received lower remuneration

compared to their administrative counterparts. In short, the expert was a "sort of step-child regarded without enthusiasm by his administrative colleagues" (Kingsley 1944 : 180).

Similarly, women were discriminated against in three different ways. Firstly, they were excluded from certain branches of the service, and there were a number of higher service positions that were considered male preserve. Secondly, women were forced to retire upon marriage; and thirdly, their remuneration was much lower than men in similar and comparable work.

Kingsley's conclusion that the British higher civil service was representative of the middle class, therefore, requires dilation. His thesis was that "administrative arrangement always reflect the character of the social structure of a nation". He furnishes a great deal of evidence to support the claim that the service was generalist oriented and this was fully complemented by societal regard for the generalist as superior to the expert. Similarly, although women had "gained political equality ... it has been laid like a veneer upon a structure of social and economic inferiority" (Kingsley 1944 : 183). The forgotten men and women, therefore, may have been a component part of the dominant middle class but were under-represented in public bureacucracy for lack of either social or economic power.

Although Kingsley's definition of representative bureaucracy is logically argued, it has not been as popular as Van Riper's definition which for lack of precision is liable to be interpreted as narrowly or as widely according to whim, caprice and ideology, and although the theory on the whole has a number of deficiencies, it has, nonetheless, recently gained much appeal among those concerned with the plight of minority groups as well as under-represented majority groups. Some of the deficiencies are discussed in the next sections.

Socio-Economic Groups

It is not clear from the literature whether representation in bureaucracy should involve numerical proportion reflecting groups in society or whether representation of each social group should be based on its share of available candidates with the requisite ability and expertise. The former interpretation would suggest that ability need not be the most pertinent consideration, and conceivably, this would be unacceptable and incompatible with merit systems that characterize modern bureaucracies.

However, merit systems, when applied in a straight-arrow manner, could further aggravate the problem of unrepresentativeness in public administration due to unbalanced distribution of social facilities like education, conselling, and disabilities like language or lack of experience (Mosher, 1982).

Van Riper's definition of representative bureaucracy
which provides for the representation of a "reasonable cross
section of the body-politic" on the other hand, is imprecise
enough to accommodate the seemingly impracticable and
impossible task of ensuring the representation of, for
example, the 73 ethnic groupings in Zambia, within the
confines of the merit system. It also leaves much room for
manipulation and choice as to which groups should be
represented and the degree of their respresentation in public
bureaucracy in numerical terms and at specific levels and
sectors.

Representativeness: The Passive Mode

Mosher, in defining the term, identifies two modes of
representativeness, the passive and active modes. The former
concerns the degree to which bureaucrats' socio-economic
attibutes are a reflection of those of society as a whole.
The latter is dealt with a little later in this chapter. The
more those statistically measurable attributes correlate
with those of society, the more representative a bureacracy
and the greater the assurance of the absence of a single
dominant group from which members of the service are drawn.
A broadly representative bureaucracy, in terms of those
attributes, also is one that is open and to which "most

people have access" and augurs for equal opportunity for the advancement of all entrants.

The concern for a broadly representative bureaucracy in some western countries has been expressed in the form of such government interventionist policies as affirmative action programmes and the quota system. But the effectiveness of such interventionist policies is limited because firstly, adherrence to affirmative action programmes is voluntary and secondly, such programmes operate alongside established recruitment policies which are highly selective and have been found to be subjective. Thirdly, various reasons such as the non-availability of candidates with the requisite qualification and concern for maintaining or increasing efficiency could be cited for non-adherence of the quota system in the absence of stringent system of policing or supervision.

Recent court rulings in favour of those claiming to be victims of reverse discrimination, as in the case of Bakke vs University of California, Davis, USA, in 1972 (although strictly a case of racial representation) illustrates the following important points: first, that government interventionist policies are often not necessarily accompanied by any general attitudinal change in society and therefore lack general support. Secondly, such environmental

factors as the general worsening economic situation or
inflation often contribute to the limited effectiveness of
affirmative action programmes. But, it also seems that
interventionist policies have a chance of survival if there
is ideological support from leadership. This is what
differentiated the programme's marked success as a means of
enhancing the education and employment opportunities of the
disadvantaged during the Carter regime and its limited
success in recent years in the United States of America.

The disadvantaged position of women has been attributed
to traditional attitudes towards the role of women in society
and gender-biased socialization practices which reinforce
sex-stereotyping (Boserup, 1970). Basow (1980) defines sex-
role stereotypes as those "oversimplified conceptions
pertaining to our behaviour as females or males". She cites a
number of studies to support her statement that sex-role
stereotypes are socially and culturally defined and are
learned responses.

For example, studies by Broverman,Vogel, Clarkson and
Rosenkrantz,(1972), Ashmore and Bel Boca, (1979), Fonshee,
Helmreich and Spence (1979), all show, firstly, that
respondents irrespective of gender view the "typical man and
woman as distinctly different from each other on various
masculine and feminine traits". While males were considered
objective, aggressive, ambitious, competitive and not
emotional, females were considered passive, illogical,

emotional, not ambitious, submissive and home-oriented. Thus characteristics attributed to females were the exact opposites of those attributed to males.

Secondly, those traits attributed to males were considered by both males and females as "socially desirable" while a distinct negative bias was demonstrated towards female traits. Although these findings are significant it is also important to point out the methodological problems of these studies. The questionaires ask about" relative rather than absolute beliefs". Consequently similarities in male-female traits are minimized while differences are exaggerated. Also the checklist responses used in such . studies tend to illicit responses based on one's belief rather than actual traits.

There have been studies on the effects of sex-role stereotyping. Basow cites the self-fulfilling prophesy effect, as axamined by Snyder, Tanke and Bercherd (1977). Briefly stated, their findings are that because females are expected to be less rational than males, they actually view themselves that way and consequently desist from participating in problem-solving activities, since such behaviour and role would otherwise be regarded as inappropriate. Therefore, if expectations are positive they will influence behaviour positively and negative expectations will influence behaviour negatively.

The second effect of sex-role stereotyping is through impression management. (Zanna and Pack 1979 in Basow 1980) People, according to the researchers want to be socially acceptable and will "engage in impression management strategies" to obtain that social acceptance. In other words people try to behave in a way they consider acceptable to another person.

Where and how do these stereotypes develop? Basow suggests a critical look at the social context within which a child develops because " a study of human behaviour requires a study of the social contents in which people move, the expectations as to how they will behave, and the authority that tells them who they are and what they are supposed to do ". (Western, 1969, cited in Basow 1980 : 135). The social context, however, need not be direct or deliberate to influence behaviour. Its influence can be a" function of non-conscious ideology". Language, play activities, the media, school, religion and the work place all communicate to people explicity or implicity sex-roles. For example women are referred to by such titles as "dame" and" madam" which have double meanings while 'lord' and 'sir' on the other hand do not.

Play activities dictate sex-role appropriate behaviour. Female children play with dolls, and household goods, while male children are encouraged to play with trucks, building blocks and scientific kits. While the latter encourage males

to be creative, the former "do not make many congnitive demands or prepare girls for any occupational future except the role of motherhood" (Basow, 1980: 138). Implicitly or explicitly messages are communicated that careers for females are not as important for females as they are for males and childcare not as important for males as it is for females.

The media-television, radio,- books, films, songs and art are considered to be the most pervasive sources of sex-role stereotyping. Children's programmes depict men fighting "grizzly bears" while women stay at home. "Since children are trying to understand sex-role appropriate behaviour and the world around them, they are especially vulnerable to these distorted images". (Basow, 1980: 152).

In religion, as well, the sexes act in "ways consistent with traditional patriarchal society". In religious hierarchies, power and prestige are almost exclusively a male domain. In schools, textbooks, curricula offerings, counselling, school organization and the general atmosphere combine to form a "hidden curriculum on sex-role" (Basow 1980: 159).

Achola (1983) attributes to socialization patterns the unequal access of women to educational opportunities and women's wastage at high levels of the educational structure in Zambia. Female student population has decreased noticeably at secondary levels of education in absolute and proportionate terms and female teacher population during the

decade 1970-80, also represented less than 40% of the total
teacher population in Zambia with most of this percentage in
rural areas.

Indeed, where females students remain in school long
enough, they are taught such practical subjects as
needlework, housewifery, cookery and office practice, while
for males there are such subjects as metalwork, woodwork and
technical drawing (Bardouille, 1981). Women are thus brought
up to believe that "marriage and childern are their destiny
in life, with paid employment only a possible interlude
between school and children" (Brimelow, 1981 : 319).

The wastage rate of women in education and their limited
fields of specialization at lower levels of education are
carried over to higher levels. Eventually, there tends to be
a concentration of females in certain fields of employment,
particularly those that require the so-called innate
capability of women to serve mankind, (Sullerot, 1987) and
secretarial work.

The broad based pyramidal structure of the
representation of women in education as a result of their
wastage at higher levels is reflected in public bureaucracy
in many countries. In Sweden 73.4 percent of women in public
service are in ranks rated one to nine, the lowest ranks,
while 73 per cent of men occupy higher ranking positions
rated ten to twenty-seven. In Germany, the percentage

distribution of women follows the same pattern. In Class one
- the highest level-women constitute 1.2 per cent of
incumbents, in Class two, 2.2 per cent, in Class three 13.4
per cent, and in the lowest level or the clerical division
women constitute 77.1 per cent of incumbents. In France 63
per cent of the positions in the clerical division in 1962
were filled by women (Sullerot, 1971: 48).

Meier's (1975) finding in his study of the American
civil service provides further evidence to support this
tendency of the under - representation of women in higher
levels of bureaucracy and also their concentration in some
departments and their scarcity in others.

Archibald (1973: 16) attributes all this to a "
deliberate gerrymandering of equal work" as well as
shorterning of the career ladder for female occupations " not
to make it easier for them to climb but to purposefully slow
their ascent". With reference to the Canadian Public
Service, the minimum requirement for a social worker,
composed of 73 per cent females, was a masters degree with a
maximum salary of C$ 12,875. A Welfare Programme Officer (96
per cent male), on the other hand, required only a first
degree with a maximum salary of C$ 21,428.

As a result of the gerrymandering of occupations by
biological and sociologial factors, there is a concentration
of women in certain occupations. The phenomenon of
horizontal segregation, therefore, characterizes certain

jobs. Since the career ladder for those feminized
occupations are short a preponderance of females tend to
occupy positions that are subordinate to men, with the latter
doing the hiring, firing, supervision and the promotion of
women. Thus vertical segregation tends to occur and could be
regarded to result from horizontal segregation.

Archibald's theory can be extended a little further,
that education does not proportionately improve the status of
women in those feminized jobs. There is not only the
tendency to inflate educational requirements for those jobs
but also to offer them at lower remuneration. The pay and
status of feminized occupations decline over a period of
time. As Boserup rightly notes when women enter any
industry, job or profession in great numbers, the field itself
becomes feminized. In other words those jobs acquire or
become identified with the low status of females.

There are various barriers that are erected to prevent
the encroachment of one sex-group into the occupational
territory of the other. Some of the barriers are in the form
legislation. Others are less explicit. Sexual harassment
has been identified as an example of the less explicit
barriers and has been defined as

> unwelcome sexual advances, requests for
> sexual favours and other verbal or physical
> conduct of sexual nature (Mastalli, in
> Harvard Business Review 1981)

The definition encompasses jokes, teasing, ...that have sexual connotations, and all these are actionable if the submission to such harassment is either:

a)   explicitly or implicitly made conditional to an individual's employment, or

b)   the submission or rejection to it serves as the basis for promotions and transfers, and its effect can be shown to be the " unreasonable" interference with an individual's work performance or the creation of an intimidating, hostile or offensive working environment. (Mastalli, quoted in Collins and Blodgett 1981 Harvard Business Review)

According to the above definition, sexual harassment takes both verbal and physical forms and it is unwanted by the individual to whom it is directed. A joint study by the Harvard Busines Review and Redbook Magazine on Sexual Harassment in the Workplace (1981) indicates that there are differences in perception of what constitutes sexual harassment between men and women, on the one hand, and between higher level and lower level management on the other hand. Responses to the question whether sexual harassment in the workplace is exaggerated were aggregated as follows:-

	Agree or Partly Agree	Disagrre or Partly Disagree
A.		
Top Management	65%	22%
Middle Management	52%	30%
Lower-Level Management	44%	40%
B.		
Women	32%	52%
Men	66%	17%

Source: Harvard Business Review 1981

Reasons offered by the researchers to account for the
responses being parallel are, firstly, that a lower
proportion of respondents in the survey belonged to higher
level and middle level management. Secondly; sexual
harassment may not take place in the presence of high level
management. Does this imply that sexual harassment is a
lower level management syndrome?

The third explanation is even more insightful.
According to the researchers men may not "see it" as sexual
harassment. Although females were aware of the existence of
and what constitutes sexual harassment their responses to the
following statement

> "My supervisor (a man I work with) starts each
> day with a sexual remark. He insists it's an
> innocent social comment". - (Harvard Business Review
> 1981:85)

underline the relevance of social conditioning and
socialization to the perception of sexual harassment and sex-
role behaviour. The responses included the following

- Men are expected to do such things.
- Women are expected to have to cope with that
  type of behaviour.
- Sexual innuendo, risque jokes and flirtations are a
  natural part of the male-female relationship inside
  and outside the office.

Mastalli's definition also pre-supposes the existence of

unequal power relationships which facilitates sexual
harassment. It indicates that coercion may be effected
firstly, through an employer's, manager's, or supervisor's
power implicit in his postion alone. Secondly, the power may
be exhibited or communicated explicitly through the
employer's, manager's, or supervisor's ability to impose such
penalties as firing or' dismissal, negative performance
reviews, lack of promotion and withholding of pay increases.

"The power phenomenon is not necessarily restricted to
men...." (Harvard Business Review, 1981:81) However, in view
of the broad based pyramidal structure of the representation
of women in public service, which is indicative of their .
share of power, and the social conditioning of the genders on
their expected sex-roles, it becomes highly unlikely that
females would make persistent unwanted overtures that are
power-based. It is an abuse of power that can be unhealthy
organizationally as well as a real and potential obstacle to
recruitment, advancement and therefore, the achievement of
representativeness in the passive mode in public bureaucracy.

Representativeness: The Active Mode

The second component of representativeness, according to
Mosher, involves administrators advocating the interests of
those groups they represent. Although proponents of the
theory of representative bureaucracy seem to emphasize the
passive mode of representation, their concern for active
representation is implicit in their acknowledgement of the

fact that administrators no longer serve the passive role of implementing policies handed down to them from a higher authority. Responsiveness in the active sense requires administrators

> ... to be perceptive and sensitive to the
> public and to press for programmes that
> will address these needs (Lungu, 1983 ; 15)

In fulfilling this active role, vertical agencies in France, sponsoring departments in Britain, and clientelle or regulatory agencies in America have been objects of mass media criticism of harbouring strong sectional interests, thus becoming quasi-extensions of those interest groups. On the other hand, in developing countries, where the responsibility of promoting public welfare lies solely with national governments, it seems that the degree of active representativeness expected of bureaucrats is higher. They are required to " anticipate and search into public problems and adjust their programmes to meet the changing needs of a diverse public" (Lungu, 1983 : 5), but within the confines of national ideology and development plans.

Mosher's identification of the two modes of representativeness, it must be borne in mind, is strictly theoretical. One can conjecture, however, that his option and the emphasis by the other proponents of the theory on passive representativeness are attempts to accomplish the task of reconciling responsiveness and the public service

norm of non-partisanship. And Mosher is quick to point out that neither mode of representativeness guarantees democratic decision making. Again, there seems to be a deliberate avoidance by Mosher of any involvement in the bureaucratic pre-occupational - post - occupational socialization controversy, the most important element of the theory, upon which its effectiveness as a mechanism of ensuring administrative responsiveness and controlling administrative behaviour rests.

Pre-Occupational - Post - Occupational Socialization and Representative Bureaucracy

Finer's post-war optimistic assertions on the influence of bureaucrats' earliest memories on their behaviour in office is an example of proponents' assumption of the influence of administrators' pre-occupational socialization on their decision making. Kelsall (1955 : 189) in his study of the socio-economic backgrounds of higher civil servants in Britain censured them "for being cautious, for lack of drive, and personal vitality, for having a negative attitude of mind, for smugness and complacency, for being out of touch with working class problems and ingnorant of recent advances in both the natural and social sciences". His prescription for making public service responsive was an injection into the dominantly "middle class" service spokespersons of the working class.

Robinson (1955) like Mosher cautions that

> "there is not much reason to suppose
> that the sons of working class parents,
> irrespective of how they enter the civil
> service will necessarily press for the
> interest and desires of workers any more
> than sons of middle or upper class parents
> (Robinson, 1955 : 15).

Among the variables one would have to contend with in
establishing a causal relationship between pre-employment
socialization and bureaucrats' behaviour in office are the
length of time a bureaucrat spends in the organization, the
time separating him from his background, the nature and
intensity of post-occupational socialization and his position
in the bureaucratic hierarchy (Mosher, 1982).

Various studies have highlighted some of these pertinent
variables. For example, in the post-independence period in
India, when "parliamentary traditions" were being evolved in
an environment of political and social conflicts and
uncertainties, bureaucracy became a convenient scape-goat
for all types of failures, and failings, especially
corruption. Consequently, bureaucrats became more
regulation-bound, self-segregated and expressed attitudes
that were markedly different from those of the population
(Taub, 1969). Panandiker and Kshirsagar also provide
evidence to show the relevance of the administrator's
position in the hierarchy to his behaviour in office. They
contend that the higher the bureaucrat's position and the
more vertical promotions he had enjoyed the more informal and
the less rule-oriented his behaviour. Although it seems

obvious that the higher the position, the more discretionary powers the bureaucrat enjoys and the easier and safer it becomes to deviate from rules and regulations, it is also important to consider whether the bureaucrats belong to the group Kingsley refers to as the "forgotten men and women". Thus, additional relevant factors would be the gender of bureaucrats and whether they are experts or generalists.

Dresang (1974) found other pertinent variables in his study of the Zambian higher public service. His analysis of provincial development allocations and expenditures suggested the absence of any attempt to favour particular provinces or regions. He also pointed out that besides indeological constraints on the bureaucrats' discretionary powers and the existence of "policy requirements on specific issues", the siting of most development projects were guided mainly by geographical distribution of essential raw materials.

> Since cotton is not readily grown in Western
> Province, for instance, a Lozi Cotton Officer
> can do little to act partially for his area
> (Dresang, 1974 ; 1613).

Another aspect of Dresang's study was the relationship between ethnicity and entrepreneurialism* in the Zambian bureaucracy.

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* Dresang considers the entrepreneurial administrator as one who (1) "had access to resources of funds, equipment and personnel that could be used to promote development; (2) he was self-confident specifically in that he felt able to influence his own future; (3) he believed that opportunities existed for rapid upward mobility; and (4) he concentrated on one project or programme in order to maximize chances of its success and his visible identification with it".

Further, those bureaucrats in policy areas that allow more options must necessarily work with other officials. Thus the overlapping of bureaucratic responsibilities serves as another control mechanism and limits the possible effect of pre-occupational socialization. This writer, however, is doubtful whether this constitutes a preventive measure against the trading of favours among bureaucrats.

Out of 33 higher service respondents were 19 with entrepreneurial traits of whom 7 were Bemba. This latter group was composed of "men eager to take optimal advantage of their administrative position and ethnic identify". The other non-Bemba believed that in the absence of that advantageous ethnic ascriptive trait they must rely on demonstrable ability. The remainder of the sample - 9 Bemba and 5 non-Bemba lacked entrepreneurial" traits and considered their responsibilities "primarily as routine administrative tasks."

This suggests the tendency for the bureaucrat's behaviour in office also to be determined more by selfish desires for mobility and success than by the desire to advance the interests of his ethnic or group of origin.

> The calculation of an administrator of what
> he can and should do to seek career advancement,
> it should be noted, affect entrepreneurialism and
> innovation but not the beneficiaries of policy
> outputs. (Dresang, 1974:1614)

The development of the theory of representative bureaucracy into a coherent schema thus encounters numerous

problems. Establishing the reliability of causality between pre-employment-post-employment socialization and the bureaucrats' behaviour in office has to contend with too wide a spectrum of variables the study of which requires much longitudinal research than has so far been done. But although the central thesis suffers in this respect, the fact that higher bureaucrats influence policy outcomes is generally accepted and the contribution of the theory to the search for a new administrative structure that is client-oriented cannot be ignored and herein lies its main strength.

Its other strengths are, firstly, its utility as an expression of the concern for fairness, justice, equal opportunity, and secondly, as a means of ensuring the effective utilization of human resources. Some proponents have actually stressed its normative criteria, specifically, that the state and public bureaucracy as the largest employer set an example in providing a means of upward mobility and equal opportunity for the "lower-classes", under-priviledged, minorities and women (Bendix, 1949; Kelsall, 1955).

It is precisely because of its normative value that has made the concept a useful feature of political platform rhetory as a means of attracting votes. It can also serve as a mechanism for neutralizing power enclaves in society through their representation in government bureaucracy. As a mechanism of social control, it can be used either to

integrate deviant, critical and unamenable elements into
government and public bureaucrarcy thus neutralizing their
influence, or as vindictive means of dislodging those
elements from government and bureaucracy and reducing their
effectiveness.

METHODOLOGY AND SOURCES OF DATA

It was necessary to select a large sample of public institutions to establish the degree of representation of the genders and the presence or absence of horizontal segregation. Forty (40) government departments in nine ministries, and seventeen parastatals were, therefore, initially selected from the civil service directory and a listing of subsidiaries and holding companies of the Zambia Industrial and Manufacturing Corporation (ZIMCO) using a three digit random sample table (Mason and Bramble 1978: 378 -379) (appendices 1 and 2). Also in view of the existing differential between established posts and occupied posts it was necessary to obtain the total number of employees classified by gender from the individual selected departments. In addition, contact persons at these departments were asked to provide a listing of responsible officers classified by gender. These are officers;

a) whose decisions or opinions and input are sought on policy matters;

b) in charge of departments, as well as supervisors of groups of employees; and

c) whose decisions, inputs, and opinions are sought on recruitment and advancement of others.

The objective was to discover the distribution of status and power among males and females in the higher service since there are officers in this group whose decisions might

influence policy issues but not necessarily recruitment, performance and advancement of those officers in lower divisions of the service (appendix 7 and 8).

The second stage of the sampling procedure involved a scaling down of the initial sampled institutions again using the above mentioned three digit random sample table. This sample composed of thirty departments in eight ministries and ten parastatals (appendices 3 and 4). A listing was then made of all established posts in divisions 1 and 2*, and equivalent posts in parastatals (appendix 5). And again in view of the differential between establishment and occupied posts and the fact that government established registers ceased to publish incumbents' names since 1983, it became necessary to obtain the current incumbents' names from the individual departments.

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* Division 2 officers represent the pool of qualified person for recruitment and promotion into the higher service.

This list of names was first classified by gender and department and from these twenty male and twenty female respondents were randomly selected as prospective respondents.

As far as university undergraduates were concerned, no formal sampling prcedures were followed. Students on break from lectures and from the library were approached for interviewing. This methods of sampling was found to be the most convenient for students who were involved in term examinations at the time of fieldwork. It was also the mo effective method of ensuring questionnaires completion and returns. More importantly, data from this source was necessary to establish the degree of relevance of parental profession to the choice of particular fields of endeavour respondents.

All subjects were Zambian and were assured of their anonymity. Appendix 6 provides a breakdown of the final sample.

Source of Data

These include government establishment registers 1983 and 1986, departmental directories and annual reports, 1980 census report, the Zambian Constitution, the General Orders of the Public Service, Laws of Zambia Chapter 505 - the Employment of Women, Young Persons and Children, the Industrial Relations Act, and the Income Tax Laws of Zambia.

There was also a content analysis of employment interviewer rating forms, and employment requisition forms used by sampled institutions.

Field Research

A total of 68 items were developed some of which were adapted from studies on the socio-economic background of public bureaucracies (Subramaniam, 1967; Taub, 1969; Panandiker and Kshirsagar, 1971). Others were developed with the assistance of a Zambian to avoid what is often referred to as the direction of wording effect. One example was the inclusion of the term "deserted" as a component of the item on marital status. Another was the use of the phrase "no-one to mind the children" instead of "no-one to baby-sit"

Questionnaires were administered to all the University of Zambian undergraduate respondents and a majority of the respondents in public bureaucracies. Each questionnaire took an average of 45 minutes to be completed.

Most of the items were biased toward the married respondent because of the marriage patterns of the larger population and the age group of the sample. According to the 1980 population census report most adult women marry before they reach the age of 25 and 96.7 per cent of women in the 35 - 39 age group are married. For men 89.7 per cent of those in the age group of 30 - 40 years (GRZ, CSO, 1980) are married. It was, therefore, expected that the majority of

respondents would either be married or would have been married before. And although the marital profile of the sample followed the pattern described in the census report this did not minimize, the importance of unmarried respondents in this study (Appendix 11).

Concurrently, there were interviews with personnel managers, recruitment officers, in service training coordinators and the chairman of the Public Service Commission, as a means of collecting data on recruitment and promotion policies of the sampled institutions to supplement data obtained from the General Orders of the Service, Annual Reports and Departmental Publications.

Analysis and Treatment of Data.

The representation of males and females in the selected institutions were considered in both absolute and relative terms. As Sullerot (1971) observes, while the former may be an effective means of establishing a restrictive recruitment policy at specific levels, a combination of the two offers a clearer picture of general tendencies that may be indicative of a general bias in the recruitment of one social group as opposed to another. This in turn may be an indicator of a break with or the continuance of traditional discriminatory practice in recruitment.

The items included a number of open-ended questions which allowed for flexibility in probing responses and illiciting spontaneity of responses. But as Nachmias and

Nachmias (1981 : 211) correctly observe, these advantages
often render the analysis of responses difficult, and in the
process of classifying the responses, some respondents'
explanatory details are lost. To alleviate this difficulty,
an extensive pretest was undertaken. This involved
administering questionnaires to 45 respondents (28 males and
17 females) made up of university lecturers and staff, public
servants (in departments not included in the sample) and
employees of private companies. These provided indicators
for classifying the variety of responses of the subjects of
the study.

Procedural Problems

There were a number of problems encountered in the
field, some expected and others unexpected.

Firstly, there was the usual "red tape" that is involved
in getting the bureaucratic machinery moving. Personnel and
recruitment officers from whom data was being sought had to
obtain ministerial or directors' approval. This was expected
in view of the special codes that bind public bureaucrats
from releasing unauthorised information and material. What
was unexpected was that among those from whom data was sought
and who were interviewed women proved to be more dilatory and
hesitant in releasing information than men.

Some respondents for lack of time during business hours requested that they complete questionnaires at convenient times for later collection. Some of these were either not completed at all or not completed in their entirety and had to be discarded.

This situation was further aggravated by the unsettled environment on the University of Zambia's Great East Road Campus that resulted in its closure. The effect was a further hesitance on the part of some public servants in dealing with students.

Other important events that affected data collection procedures included a reshuffle of Ministers and Permanent Secretaries and heads of departments accompanied by structural changes in ministerial departments at various times during the research. For example, the Ministry of National Guidance was merged with that of Information and Broadcasting, while there were changes in the directorship of various parastatals.

This was also a period when in accordance with new government economic policy, parastatals were required to adopt various structural and programme re-organization as a means of increasing earning capacity. These changes and programmes involved employee layoffs and consequently data collected on employee strength between the period from January to April had to be periodically updated.

Also, because the concern for the represenation of women in public bureaucracy is a relatively recent phenomenon compared to the concern for their representation in politics, a great amount of pertinent data, such as the annual totals of females employed in public bureaucracy, were either not available or were in the earliest stages of accumulation and therefore could not be released.

All these contributed to the reduction of the projected total responses of 35Ø to 234.

CHAPTER TWO

RESULTS, OBSERVATIONS AND DISCUSSIONS

The tentative observations that there was a

preponderance of women in lower levels of bureaucracy with

their scarcity in higher levels and that bureaucracy, in

general, is less representative of women than men are borne

out by the results of the study, although there have been

improvements in the representation of women over the years.

In 1983 the total female work force in public

bureaucracies was an infinitesimal fraction of that of males.

In comparison to the 1983 male work force of 85 per

cent, male work-force in 1986 shows a considerable decrease

with a corresponding increase in female work-force

(Tables 1 and 2). This improvement in the numerical

represenation of women in the total public bureaucratic

work-force is concentrated in the Ministry of Health.

Specifically 76 per cent of the female work-force is found in

this ministry (Appendix 7). This phenomenon may be due to

the fact that this ministry deals with occupations that are

traditionally regarded as feminine. Contrary to traditional

beliefs of the social services department being a female

preserve, evidence from the study (appendix 7) shows a

preponderance of men in the work force as well as their

monopoly of responsible positions in that department. Only

the Ministry of Health presents indicators towards both horizontal segregation of jobs and vertical segregation of occupations. For example, 88 per cent of the Medical Council members are men while 88 per cent of the Nursing Council are women. The administrative work-force in that Ministry shows the same pattern of representation of the genders.

An examination of the share of responsible positions of all departments evidences a general pattern of vertical occupational segregation. An analysis of the representation of the two groups in the three divisions in numerical terms and relative terms underscore this tendency. There is an overall attrition in the representation of women the higher the division. While in parastatals, the differential in representation of women and men is very high in all the divisions, in ministerial departments the ratio of men to women found in divisions 2 is reflected in division 3 as well (Tables 3 and 4 with details in appendices 9 and 10).

Given the general under-representation of women, there is a wastage of them in the transitional process among the divisions: in ministerial department the wastage is the highest between divisions 2 and 1 while in parastatals it seems to be a general trend.

Table 1

Public Service Work Force by Gender 1983

| | MALE | | FEMALE | | |
	No.	%	No.	%	TOTAL
Civil Service	59,609	76	18,968	24	78,577 -
Parasta-tals	103,327	91	9,833	9	113,160
TOTAL	162,936	85	28,801	15	191,737

Source: <u>ZAMBIA, Central Statistical Office Pilot Manpower Survey of 1983, Lusaka, 1985.</u>

Table 2

Numerical Representation of Males and Females in Public

Bureaucracy and Their Share of Responsible Positions.

APRIL 1986

	Total Work Force	M	F	Total No. of Responsible Posts	M	F
Ministries	6200	3669	2531	567	480	85
% of men and women	100	59.0	41.0	100	85.0	15.0
Parastatals	7576	1426	394	394	363	31
% of men and women	100.0	19.0	100.0	100.0	92.0	8.0
Total	13,776	9819	3857	961	843	116*
% of men and women	100.0	71.0	29.0	100.0	88.0	12.0

* Openings exist on the General Nursing Council.

Source: Derived from Appendices 2 and 3

Table 3

...oyment of Ministerial Departments-Classified by Gender and Division 1983 and 1986

	1986						1983				
...ons	1		2		3 and below		1		2		3 and below
...ries	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
...and Social ...es %	15	1	19	3	86	67	21	1	84	3	642
	94	6	86	14	56	44	44	5	97	3	92
...e and	86	11	128	24	362	104	104	5	143	12	328
	89	11	82	18	72	22	22	7	92	8	83
...al Guidance, ...ation and ...asting %	14	0	65	3	453	69	69	0	94	4	488
	100	0	96	4	87	13	13	0	96	4	90
...ce and ...ry %	11	0	25	2	61	25	25	1	31	0	101
	100	0	93	7	71	29	29	9	100	0	96
...ons	1		2		3 and below		1		2		3 and below
...lture and ...Developm-	46	2	71	12	101	48	44	1	137	9	287
	96	4	85	15	72	28	98	2	94	6	74
...Transport ...mmunica- ...%	38	0	51	2	663	99	21	1	29	1	622
	100	0	96	4	87	13	95	5	97	3	93
...ffairs	15	4	13	9	10	20	6	0	2	0	17
	79	12	59	41	13	67	100	0	100	0	100
	5	3	4	34	1	20	2	2	0	27	18
	62	38	11	89	5	95	50	50	0	100	50
...for ...ries %	230	21	355	89	1,737	444	192	11	683	56	2,423
	92	8	80	20	80	20	95	5	92	8	88
...tals	110	11	173	15	2,542	407					
	91	9	92	9	76	24	FIGURES NOT AVAILBALE				

Source: Derived from Appendices 9 and 10

Table 4

Ratio of Men and Women in the Divisions of the Service

	Total	Division 1	Division 2	Division 3 and below
Ministries	4:1	12:1	4:1	4:1
Parastatals	3.3:1	9:1	12:1	3:1
Totals	4:1	1Ø.1	5:1	3.3:1

Source: Derived from Appendices 9 and 1Ø

In some western countries mechanization increases available jobs for women. This is because those jobs, previously performed by skilled workers - usually men - are reduced to unskilled routine operative levels, with their accompanying low remuneration. In this way women's participation rate in formal employment can increase and that particular field of employment becomes feminized.

In African countries, in general, and Zambia, in particular, it would seem that localization or Zambianization has to some extent played the part automation and mechanization have played elsewhere. As relatively young Zambian men already in the service moved in to fill positions of responsibility previously held by colonial administrators, lower eschelon positions became available to both men and women. Women, however, concentrated in particular fields of employment since their training and education were biased towards such areas as nursing, clerical and secretarial work, while their general representation in the service improved.

Some of the men who were inducted into responsible positions in the immediate post-indepence period are still in the public service. Others, as indicated in Dresang's thesis, (1974) referred to above, gained managerial expertise in the public service and moved into the private sector.

It would seem that such moves by men into the private sector should have created openings that women as well as men could equally have competed for thereby causing a steady

increase in women's representation in higher bureaucracy. This, however, has not been the case. Recruitment and promotion policies of the service are now examined for possible explanations.

Recruitment

The public service in Zambia is regulated by various rules - The General Orders of the Service, while parastatals have their regulations governing recruitment and promotion. The constitution provides the President with powers to make appointments to the service, and he is also the Chairman of the Board of Directors of ZIMCO. He is empowered to delegate these powers of appointment to various Commissions such as the Public Service, the Teaching Service and the Judicial Service Commissions which may carry out those functions in the "name of and on behalf of the President".

In terms of administration there is the Personnel Division, which is under the Prime Minister's office. It is a specialized division in charge of the size and structure of the service and is also responsible for policy decisions on appointments, dismissals or terminations of appointments, conditions of service, discipline and in-service training.

It is composed of five sub-divisions:

(a) The appointments section: responsible for appointments of local personnel, promotions and discipline.

(b) The Centralized Recruitment Agency: responsible for expatriate personnel on contract to the service as well as high level manpower placement.

(c) The Complement and Grading section: in charge of the structure and size of the service.

(d) The Terms of Service Section, and

(e) The National Institute of Public Administration.

In general, the relevant criteria for recruitment and promotion are educational qualifications, the specificity and relevance of this qualification to available jobs and positions, seniority and performance. Specifically, recruitment to professional, technical and medical scales can be by either direct entry or by promotion. In the former incumbents compete for available positions with outsiders or new entrants while in the later the head of department determines the availability of candidates internally with the requisite qualification for a specific vacant position. Recruitment into administrative scale posts of principal and above, on the other hand, is essentially by the latter methods - seniority/promotion.

Promotion within the Public Service will be
directed by the appropriate commission as and
when vacancies occur, after taking into account
merit, qualifications and seniority of eligible
officers (General Orders, 1976 : 6).

It is clear from the above that although merit,
qualifications and seniority are given emphasis as
considerations for induction into the divisions of the
service and in determining eligibility for promotions, the
over-riding and most pertinent factor consists in the
availability of vacant positions. Recruitment and promotion
procedures, therefore, begin only when departments are
notified of vacant posts. In parastatals the boards of
directors on the advice of the managing director determine if
a vacant position is to be filled or declared redundant.

Upon receipt of the relevant notification, heads of
departments compile a list of eligible officers and with
reference to a summary of annual staff appraisals and
performance reports, make recommendations to Personnel
Division (or Managing Directors in Parastatals) to recruit or
promote those eligible officers.

These determining factors for recruitment and promotion
in relation to findings are discussed further in the
following sections of this study.

Educational Qualifications

In determining whether officers have the requisite qualifications the head of deparment relies on the service's outline of specific entry requirements for the various scales and divisions (Appendix 12). It is evident that educational qualifications play a crucial part in recruitment and advancement and it is essential therefore, to examine the representation of the two genders in the educational system.

Although women constitute over 52 per cent of the total Zambian population, it is only at the primary school level that the numerical proportion of enrolled females approximate that of male pupils. The wastage rate of women becomes more marked the higher the level of education (Tables 5 and 6). Any improvements that have occurred over the years in the representation of females in terms of enrolnment and educational attainment are confined to primary, secondary and technical and vocational levels. At the university level there seems to be a steady decline in the proportion of women enrolled over the period 1983-1986, while in absolute terms there has been improvement in both male and female enrolments. With males there was an improvement ranging from 10 per cent in 1983/1985 and 3 per cent in 1985/1986 academic years, while with females, the improvement in 1984/85 was .006 percent and actually decreased by .002 per cent in 1985/1986 academic years (Appendix 15).

Again, with regard to the fields of specialization of graduating students at the university level there are increases in the numerical representation of both males and females. Comparing these increases over the two quinquennia (Table 8), however, there are a number of interesting differences. In the sciences there was a 30 per cent increase in male graduates as against 17 per cent of females. In the arts males increased by 45 per cent against a phenomenal increase of 104 per cent of women. At the post-graduate level this pattern is reversed. Women increased by 77 per cent while men increased by 82 per cent in the second quinguennium.

Of those graduating with certificates and diplomas there was again an increase of only 4 per cent of men against 46 per cent of women. It is conceivable that more women, either for lack of the requisite qualification for entry into under-graduate programmes are opting for certificates and diploma programmes to enhance their eligibility for advancement into higher service positions. An even more important and plausible extension to this argument is that women are acquiring further educational qualification because of the inflation in educational requirements which accompanies a highly saturated field of employment for females, (Archibald, 1973) and is discriminatory of females.

The data on the educational background of respondents (Table 6) show that 75 per cent of females are university graduates while 53 per cent of the men posses similar educational qualifications. There is, however, a higher degree of diversification in specializations among the men than the women. Fields of specialization of male respondents include engineering; Pharmaceutical sciences, agricultural sciences, accounting/auditing, economics, law, purchasing/marketing and public administration. About 75 per cent of the women graduates specialized in public administration, personnel management and sociology, while 18 per cent studied economics and 5 per cent business management.

The data below supports the traditional reason often cited for the under-representation of women in the higher service - that of limited and less diversified fields of specialization. Women continue to specialize in fields that are already saturated with specialists, and as long as this trend continues, certain fields of endeavour would continue to be labelled feminine. This type of horizontal occupational segregation is usually accompanied by an upgrading of educational requirements for recruitment into those occupations and a shortening of the career ladder or vertical occupational segregation, along the lines described by Archibald (1973) of the Canadian Public Service.

Table 5.1
Primary and Secondary School Enrolment 1979

Level of	Male		Female		Total
Education	No.	%T	No	%T	Total
Primary	532,135	53	465,626	47	997,761
Secondary	60,121	66	31,588	34	91,709

Table 5.2
Primary and Secondary School Enrolment 1981

Level of	Male		Female		Total
Education	No.	%T	No.	%T	
Primary	568,039	53	505,275	47	1,073,314
Secondary	78,634	65	43,559	35	123,193

Source: Ministry of Education and Culture, Annual
Reports 1979 and 1981. Department of
Technical and Vocational Training, Printing
Service, 1984.

Table 5.3

College, Technical and Vocational Institutions Enrolment-1975-1979 and 1982

1975		1979		1982	
M	F	M	F	M	F
4.802	619	3,929	1,332	4,264	1,330
89	11	75	25	76	24

Source: Bardouille, R. (1985): Women's Employment
Patterns, Discrimination and Promotion of
Equality in Zambia. Unpublished Report for
ILO, JASPA.

Table 5.4

University of Zambia Student Enrolment Statistics - 1983/1984 - 1985/1986

(Full Time, Part Time, Correspondence and Postgraduate)

Academic - Year	Male		Female		Total
	Number	%T	Number	%T	
1985/1986	3,853	82.8	801	17.2	4,654
1984/1985	3,751	82.4	803	17.6	4,554
1983/1984	3,397	81.0	798	19.0	4,195 -

Source: Derived from Appendix 15

NB: See Appendix 12 for fields of specialization

cational Background of Senior Public Servants

Group	No.	F1	-	3	4	-	6	University	* Professional	College, Vocational Technical and Others
9	18	9			4			11	0	3
9	54	3			4			39	2	6
9	41	9			19			11	2	1
9	9	2			2			5	0	0
nd over										
stated										
	125	13			29			66	2	10
					WOMEN					
9	21	0			0			20	0	1
9	58	0			6			38	1	13
	79	0			6			59	1	14

*Those with Professional degrees include - lawyers, engineers and specialist in civil aviation.

Table 7.

uating Students - Technical and Vocational Institutions by Fields of Specialization and Gender - 1975, 1979 and 1982

	1975		1979		1982	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
s and Crafts	603	3	634	15	502	1
trial Technician	144	0	189	0	155	0
eering Technologist	36	0	122	1	30	0
e and Para-Medical	57	17	73	15	66	0
d Arts	37	12	60	21	147	15
ss Studies	73	6	100	18	93	16
arial	0	192	0	491	0	363
rvices	136	0	96	4	112	5
Teacher Training	46	0	127	14	109	20
c (English as a Language)	0	12	24	6	25	7
	1,132	242	1,415	577	1,238	436
age of Men and Women	82.4	17.6	71	29	74	26

uating Students - University of Zambia by Gender and Fields of Specialization -
/1975 and 1983/1984

	1974/ 1975	-	1978/ 1979	-	1979/ 1980	-	1983/ 1984
	Male		Female		Male		Female
rgraduates (Sciences)	737	89.0	96	12.0	959	90.0	112	10.0
rgraduates (Arts)	1,194	79.0	316	21.0	1,729	73.0	650	27.0
ificates and Diploma	98	56.0	78	44.0	102	47.0	114	53.0
graduate	12	80.0	3	20.0	70	84.0	13	16.0
ls	2,041	80.0	495	20.0	2,960	76.0	887	24.0

Source: Derived from Appendix 16

duating Students - University of Zambia by Gender and Fields of Specialization -
74/1975 and 1983/1984

	1974/ 1975	-	1978/ 1979	-	1979/ 1980	-	1983/ 1984
	Male		Female		Male		Female
rgraduates (Sciences)	737	89.0	96	12.0	959	90.0	112	10.0
rgraduates (Arts)	1,194	79.0	316	21.0	1,729	73.0	650	27.0
ificates and Diploma	98	56.0	78	44.0	102	47.0	114	53.0
graduate	12	83.0	3	29.0	72	84.0	13	16.0
ls	2,041	80.0	495	20.0	2,969	76.0	889	24.0

Source: Derived from Appendix 16

Table 9

Age Group	No.	Traditional Ruler	Small-scale Farmer, Fish-monger	Teacher Clergy-man	Civil Servant	Merchant Business-man	Semi Skilled Urban/ Mine Worker	Unskilled Worker	Other
				Male Responents					
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
20-29	15	0	27	13	53	7	0	0	0
30-39	52	0	54	12	17	12	5	0	0
40-49	32	0	50	3	3	4	9	0	0
50-59	8	37	38	25	0	0	0	3	29
Not stated	18								
University Undergraduates	15	0	13	7	46	27	7	0	0
Total	140								
				FEMALE RESPONDENTS					
20-29	28	0	22	5	50	25	5	0	0
30-39	44	0	34	16	23	11	14	2	0
Not stated	15								
University Under graduates	15		28	13	34	13	13	7	0
Total	94								

Table 10

Group	No.	Housewife	CS Teacher/Nurse	Small Scale Farmer	Trader
20-29	12	58	0	42	0
30-39	52	45	8	40	6
40-49	33	45	0	49	7
50-59	7	57	0	29	14
Not stated	21				
University Under graduates	15	33	40	20	7
Total	140				

FEMALES

Group	No.	Housewife	CS Teacher/Nurse	Small Scale Farmer	Trader
20-28	21	39	14	33	14
30-39	45	27	7	44	22
Not stated	13				
University Under graduates	15	47	26	20	7
Total	94				

Historically bureaucratic norms stressing educational requirements had prevented or limited accessibility to public bureaucracies by groups unable to afford these educational qualifications. Both Kingsley (1944) and Mosher (1982) have established the relationship between the liberalization of educational opportunities and accessibility to public bureaucracies in America and Britain. Other studies mentioned above have, however, shown that the representation of women has only minimally improved as a result of the increase in educational opportunity. In Zambia, where education has for a long time been tuition free, the situation of women has not been much different.

The contribution of socialization practices to this state of affairs has already been alluded to and in this study, traditional norms and socialization practices were found to be significant factors in considering the relative position of women's careers vis-a-vis men's careers. Most male respondents felt their fathers were indifferent while their mothers over-whelmingly approved of their choice of careers. 88 per cent of females whose fathers and all those whose mothers disapproved of their choice of careers felt they were expected (Tables 9,10,11) to "settle down and get married". It seems that it is not the types of careers per se that are disapproved of but women's entry into employment (Table 11).

While there is generally no predilection to follow parental footsteps, it is noteworthy that teachers,

ntal Influence on Respondents' Choice of Careers

	Father's Attitude				Mother's Attitude			
	Male Respondents		Female Respondents		Male Respondents		Female Respondents	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
ngly oved	19	16.0	5	7.0	38	32.0	7	10.
oved	37	31.0	12	17.0	55	46.0	19	27.
fferent	62	52.0	46	65.0	27	22.6	27	38.
pproved	2	1.0	8	11.0	0	-	19	25.
ngly proved	0	-		-		-		-
	120	100	71	100	120	100	71	100

12

tal Expectation for Sons and Daughters to Follow in their Footsteps

	Father				Mother			
Male Respondents		Female Respondents		Male Respondents		Female Respondents		
No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
9	8.0	1	1.0			23	32.0	
111	92.0	70	99.0	120	100	48	68.0	
120	100	71	100	120	100	71	100	

Table 13

Who and What Influenced Respondents' Choice of Careers

WHO					WHAT				
	Males		Females			Males		Females	
	No.	%	No.	%		No.	%	No.	%
Relatives	5	4.0	9	11.0	Qualifications	71	59.0	49	69.0
Teacher Missionaries Friends	67	56.0	43	61.0	New Field/-Advancement prospects	27	23.0	3	4.0
Self/No-One	48	40.0	20	28.0	Limited Alternatives	22	18.0	19	27.0
Total	120	100	71	100		120	100.0	71	100.0

missionaries and friends played a significant role in influencing respondents on their choice of specializations and careers than relatives. Their role, whether direct or indirect, in social conditioning, as far as sex-role appropriate behaviour is concerned cannot be over emphasized and at the same time their roles as agents of change cannot, therefore, be ingnored (Tables 12 and 13)

Among those males who had been influenceed by advancement prospects and the newness of their fields of endeavour, 94 per cent (or 25) of them had made job moves from the civil service to the parastatals sector. 92 per cent of this group had made their career choices without any external influences. None of the female respondents had made similar occupational moves from the civil service to the parastatal sector. Of the three females who had chosen their careers solely on the basis of advancement prospects, two were economists and the other in civil aviation.

Although this requires further research the data suggests a higher degree of stability of women in jobs. This is contrary to conclusions drawn by Caro (1979). She examined the employment histories of 48 working women in INDECO, FINDECO and the media and her findings were that "none of the women remained in the same job for more than two years even after extensive company training." While data in this study suggests a lack of some of the entrepreneurial traits described by Dresang (1974), Caro's findings suggests the existence of some of those traits in her subjects. Her

missionaries and friends played a significant role in influencing respondents on their choice of specializations and careers than relatives. Their role, whether direct or indirect, in social conditioning, as far as sex-role appropriate behaviour is concerned cannot be over emphasized; and at the same time their roles as agents of change cannot, therefore, be ingnored (Tables 12 and 13)

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findings also suggest the existence of options in fields of employment for women. Considering the educational backgrounds of women which is biased almost exclusively towards the arts rather than the sciences, it is more probable that career options for them are limited. This would tend to limit their entrepreneurialship. Future examination of the subject of the stability of women in jobs might consider as pertinent variables the relationship between the status or position of subjects or respondents and the degree of their stability. It would also be interesting to extend such research further by verifying that actual career or job moves corresponded to those stated on employment histories as a means of analysing the perimeters within which women are able to exercise entrepreneurialship given their educational backgrounds and socialization patterns.

Another important finding that seems to underline the signifince and strength of socialization practices is the congruency between male and female responses on the subject of relocation or transfers, (Table 14). 89 per cent of males would not relocate if their wives were transferred to oher areas outside Lusaka while 82 per cent females are willing to relocate if their husbands were transferred outside Lusaka. 5 per cent of the women would relocate if comparable jobs could be found. These were unmarried and to them this item was to a larger degree hypothetical.

Table 14.1

Relative Position of Careers of Females

Responses	MALES		FEMALES	
	No.	%	No.	%
1. Would Relocate	1	1.0	58	82.0
2. Would not Relocate	107	89.0	2	3.0
3. Would Consider	5	4.0	0	0
4. Would Relocate if leave of Absence is granted	-	-	-	-
5. Would Relocate if Comparable job can be found	6	6.0	4	5.0
6. No response	-	-	7	10.0
Total	120	100	71	100

April 1986.

The significant point here, however, is that women's careers are relegated to a secondary position and this was evident from the reasons given for either the unwillingness to relocate in the case of men and willignness to relocate in the case of women. The reasons cited are:

Table 14.2

		Male	Female
1.	Husband: Breadwinner and must keep his job.	86	Ø
2.	To preserve unity of family	−	51
3.	Traditionally women expected to "follow husband".	21	2
4.	Have no choice.	Ø	5

It is also significant to note that those women who would relocate would do so more because of their concern for the maintenance of family unity rather than because men are breadwinners. 6 per cent male respondents and 5 per cent female respondents would consider the financial costs and benefits of relocating and are willing to do so if comparable jobs could be found. It was obvious during the interviews, however, that this group of respondents were aware of the remoteness of that possibility in view of the economic difficulties facing the country and the general high rate of unemployment. Thus while none of the males would interrupt

their careers for any length of time, females are either willing to do so of their own accord or because society expects them to.

Merit System

The merit system, was born out of the desire to apply the ideal of equal opportunity to recruitment and promotion in the Service. It is, therefore, aimed at precluding such criteria as kinship, life-style, race, gender and other characteristic unrelated to occupational requirements, and would seem to enhance the employment opportunities of women but has been criticized for its inherent subjectivity.

Firstly, its basic assumption is that its component parts of tests and interviews are valid instruments for the assessment of ability.

> When technicians are tested broadly in their subjects and techniques and professionals such as doctors and engineers are recruited on the basis of proven ability through professional examinations. Even here the test is for general, technical or professional performance and not for ability to perform a specific act (Subramaniam, 1967 : 9).

There is the defensive argument that the system does not "create inviduous discrimination as its defects victimize randomly" (Gboyega, 1984). This may be true but seems to preclude the possibility of the intrusion of social norms and prejudices on the decision-making process of the assessment of the potential or ability of candidates to perform specific acts.

The employment interview or the _viva voce_ in particular
has been widely subjected to research and analysis. Arvey
and Campion (1982) in their review of various research
material and literature on the subject list a number of
interviewer and situational factors that influence perceptual
and judgemental processes. For example, "knowing the race
and sex of an applicant" could differentially shape and
influence the "expectations, stereotypes and behaviours of an
interviewer" which in turn affects interview outcomes.
Specific studies done on this are by Shaw, Cohen and Bunker
(1975 in Arvey and Campion, 1982), and Cash, Gillen and Burns
(1977 in Arvey and Campion, 1982). Their studies focused on
several variables interacting with gender to influence the
evaluation of an interviewee by an interviewer. The
conclusions were that women are generally rated lower for
jobs that are considered to be typically "masculine" and
higher for " feminine" jobs. Gender, therefore, is a
significant factor influencing not only who is employed but
also the type of job an individual is recruited into.

Personnel managers and recruitment officers interviewed
acknowledged the inherent subjectivity of the _viva voce_ and
have established various methods for its improvement. These
include the use of panesl consisting of between three and
five members of managment or commission members, advance
preparation and planning of questions, and interviewer
ratings during the interview, followed by a general
discussions of results among panel members.

The same criticisms that have been levelled at the recruitment of new entrants, have also been levelled at the assessment of candidates' present abilities and potential for promotion. These assessments are based on annual staff appraisals made up of ratings of candidates' performance, and the judgement of candidates' written and oral expression, numerical ability, reliability, and relations with supervisors, colleagues and junior staff. This constitutes not only, an assessment of a candidates's immediate potential for promotion to a higher position but also his long term potential for handling the responsibilities of that higher position. But promotion on the basis of present demonstrated competence is liable to lead to what has generally been referred to as the Peter Principle where candidates are ultimately promoted to their levels of incompetence or levels above their capacity. The service solves this problem by requiring that officers promoted to higher postion serve a probationary period.

> Officers selected for promotion will normally
> be appointed by the appropriate commission to
> act for a period of not less than six months
> with a view to assessing their suitability for
> substantive promotion (General Orders, 1976: 6).

Thus, although the merit system of recruitment into the service has various in-built mechanisms of ensuring fair treatment, in the process of its application leaves a great deal of room for subjectivity, and therefore the intrusion of

both personal prejudices and sociental norms that may have shaped and influenced those prejudices.

In-service training and qualifications attained on the job also play a crucial role in the assessment of staff potential for promotion. All respondents indicated awareness of and the specific training programmes available to them in various divisions and levels of employment. 98 per cent of both male and female respondents indicated that selection and approval for attending those courses are made by the immediate supervisor or Head of Department.

In the selection process the supervisor considers the availability of staff for the efficient operation of the department, the dispensability of crucial staff members for specific periods for training and the benefits of the particular training to the department, the staff member and the country.

Five out of the six personnel and recruitment officers interviewed indicated that absenteeism rate of women was between 3Ø and 5Ø per cent higher than for men. There was a consensus that domestic responsibilities of women encroached on their occupational responsibilities. While this would effect the selection of females for courses it seems that it would also directly affect the selection of males since the absence of females affects staff strength for the efficient operation of departments. However, where women's careers seem to be relegated to a secondary position to those of men

the benefits of training them are likely to be at best considered minimal. And in fact, while 91 per cent of male respondents had attended various training programmes only 19 per cent of females had attended courses of any kind.

The numerical under-representation of women in the service was expected to be reflected in the number of women attending training programmes, however, the extreme disparity evident in the data presented underscores the significance of the above factors. Course attendance records of NIPA in appendix 17 furnish further evidence.

Seniority

Seniority used as the sole measure of promotability may tend to enhance the career prospects of officials with only average ability by either limiting or precluding competition from more dynamic and possibly cleverer or younger officials. It is, however, considered to result in fair treatment when used in conjunction with the merit system.

Seniority is determined in two ways:

(a) salary scales: the officer having the maximum scale points is considered the most senior. Since salary scales take into account the number of years spent in acquiring a specific degree or specialization it does not seem to discriminate among professionals and the administrative group.

(b)   date of appointment or recruitment to a specific

grade: the officer recruited at the earliest date

is considered the most senior to others.

" The civil service is geared to people who will work
continously from recruitment to retirement. Experience and
seniority are both crucial to promotion. If you interrupt
your career for a substantial period, your rise will probably
be set back by much more than the number of years spent away
from the job" (Brimelow, 1981: 320). As has been indicated
above, women's late entry into public service and their
qualifications have combined to hamper their representation
in the service.

With regard to the interruption of careers, women's
rights of seniority acquired during employment are preserved
during maternity leave. To this extent the employment
environment is structured to accommodate the temporary
alteration in women's condition - pregnancy. Other leave of
absence granted on medical grounds and for training do not
affect seniority rights, or the calculation of total years of
employment for both men and women.

Where leave of absence is granted for a women to enable
her accompany her spouse on a transfer, because societal
expectation is that she does so in order to preserve the
unity of the family, and where the male is the 'breadwinner',
and, therefore, his career regarded as superior to that of
the female, women's seniority rights are affected.

Table 15

Bases of Promotion

MALES

ge Group	No.	Merit/Performance		Seniority		Merit/Seniority	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
0-29	19	17	89	0	0	2	11
0-39	56	27	48	0	0	29	52
0-49	41	3	7	0	0	38	93
0-59	9	0	0	0	0	9	100
otal	125	47	39	0	0	78	62

FEMALES

0-29	21	14	67	0	0	7	33
0-39	58	19	33	0	0	39	67
otal	79	33	42	0	0	46	58

This ultimately contributes to their under-representation in the service.

It must be pointed out that although only 6 per cent of female respondents had ever relocated because of transfers of their spouses (and these had found comparable jobs in Lusaka), their responses on the willingness or otherwise to relocate is nevertheless significant in assessing societal regard of the position of women's careers vis-a-vis men's careers.

In exploring what respondents felt should constitute the bases of promotion, the expectation was that the oldest members of respondents and those who had been the longest in the service would select seniority as the relevant factor. But as the data below indicates none of the respondents selected seniority as the sole basis for promotion. In fact, the greater number of respondents felt that merit/seniority was a satisfactory measure for promotability. A significant number of those within the age groups 20 - 29 and 30 - 39 would like to see the seniority criterion scrapped.

There seems to be a great deal of support for the service's policy on advancement. However, 70 per cent of respondents felt their pace of advancement has not been fast enough and attributed this to the limited openings in the service. Only 37 per cent of females specified gender in combination with limited openings as obstacles to their advancement.

Transfers

Officers dissatisfied with conditions in their departments may request transfers to other departments. Some request transfers as a means of increasing their prospects for advancement. Again this request is subject to the approval of the head of department or Permanent Secretary. The request is forwarded to the Personnel Division and again the obstacle is the availability of vacant positions. 6 per cent of the females who relocated to Lusaka and had found comparable jobs requested for their transfers to preserve family 'unity'.

Size of the Service

The limited number of available vacant positions in the service is thus an obstacle to the advancement and therefore the representation of males but more so females, because the former are regarded as 'breadwinners' and must, therefore, be employed.

Vacancies are created in the service by transfers, resignations, dismissals and promotions and they are gazetted when they occur. Additional posts may also be created at the request of a departmental head or Principal Secretary through the Personnel Division. The Principal Secretary of Personnel Division in turn consults the Minister of Finance for budgetary allocation. Such positions are then listed in the Establishment Register. In parastatals the expansion of

established posts is referred to as personnel investments. It is the responsibility of heads of departments to ensure that publications of vacant positions are brought to the attention of all qualified officers.

The obstacle of limited vacant positions has been further aggravated by a shrinkage in established posts in the service. A comparison of the data on established posts for 1983 and 1986 (appendix 18) shows an overall decrease of 3 per cent. The greatest shrinkange of between 17 per cent and 18 per cent has occured in administrative scale posts where most females are recruited because of their fields of specialization.

This contraction in established posts in the service is now a component part of government's economic recovery programme. All parastatals are undergoing structural changes aimed at promoting or increasing their economic viability. The Zambian Consolidated Copper Mines Limited, one of the largest parastatals in terms of its operation, assets and labour force, for example, has launched a five year survival plan involving the closure of various mines and a reduction in its staff by over 3,000 within a period of six months. United Bus Company of Zambia has also embarked on a similar programme which would involve the closure of a number of its bus depots and a redundancy of over 2,000 of its staff.

In the civil service, recent measures include a freeze on all vacancies in administrative scale positions with only

selective recruitment to professional and technical scale
posts. This was accompanied by a reduction in the
retirement age of men from 60 years to 55 years and for women
from 55 years to 50 years. - This has now been changed to 55
years for both genders after serious representations from
female groups.

A shrinkage in established posts accompanied by a
reduction of the retirement age might have the effect of
opening up posts in the higher service and ensure a faster
pace of advancement for those already in the service while
the introduction of an indefinite freeze on vacant positions
in addition to the above measures will at the same time tend
to perpetuate the high rate of failed expectations among
public servants in general. These policies will equally
affect the numerical representation of both males and females
in the Service, but its effect on women will be evident due
to their already lower representation.

Another practice that would seem to affect both male and
female representation is that of upgrading a position, by
management or the Personnel Division, upon its becoming
vacant. The effect is the revision of recruitment
requirements for that position. Women compared to men, are
bound to be disadvantaged in competing for these upgraded
posts because firstly, they are under-represented in the
posts of qualified persons to be recruited into the higher
service. Secondly, they have limited fields of

specialization.   Thirdly, they are under-represented among
those selected to upgrade their qualifications through in-
service training programmes.   It is easier for men to upgrade
their qualifications and compete for these positions while
women, because of their inability to do the same, are
confined to lower ranks.

CHAPTER 3

RELATED OBSTACLES TO GENDER BALANCING

Expressing Gender Preference

Recruitment procedures in parastatals begin with the completion of staff requisition form by the head of department. On this form he is required to specify the preferred gender of the new entrant recruited for a specific job. The reason for this requirement, ostensibly, is that certain jobs are better performed by one group as compared to the other, while other jobs may be hazardous to women specifically. Recruitment officers interviewed indicated an awareness of the possibility of the intrusion of personal prejudice with respect to this item on staff requisition forms but emphasized that the concern of employers for employees was paramount. The important point, however, is that this gender preference for specific jobs however well-intended contributes to and perpetuates horizontal and vertical occupational segregation, with certain jobs being categorized masculine and others feminine.

The removal of this item from staff requisition forms, as has been done in various American institutions such as banks, constitutes one right step in the direction of alleviating the subjectivity of recruitment procedures.

Medical Examinations

New entrants into the service are required to undertake medical examinations and their actual induction is dependent on the results of these examinations. Although a prudent requirement aimed at establishing the physical fitness of an applicant for specific jobs, it tends to be discriminatory against women as a result of their biological functions.

A woman declared by the medical report to be pregnant cannot be recruited. This is an established policy in parastatals and seems to be based on the antiquated belief that all pregnancies are incapaciting. Also while employers seem to be concerned about obtaining good value for employee investment through their uninterrupted service, this policy penalizes women for their biological roles and constitutes an obstacle to the recruitment of women.

The Employment Amendment Act, Number 18 of 1982 requires that a woman works continuously for two years after recruitment to be entitled to paid maternity leave. The same rule applies to subsequent pregnancies.

This, again, augurs for good family planning and ensures a continuity of service, productivity and good returns on personnel investments. While it may also ensure that women earn their seniority rights which in one way may boost their representation it tends to penalize economically those women who are unable to observe the rule.

Marital Status

There was a general agreement among recruitment officers interviewed concerning the preference for married candidates especially where recruitment to positions of responsibility are concerned. Marital status is therefore used as a measure of stability, sense of responsibility and good conduct. Some of the indicators of such "good" characteristics are:

(a)   punctuality

(b)   minimal or no absenteeism

(c)   good performance

(d)   non-drunkeness on the job

(e)   dedication because employee's family livelihood depends on his job.

This may seem to discriminate equally among unmarried males and females. Both married and unmarried women, however, are confronted with the preconception among recruitment officers that absenteeism is highest among female workers. Thus the idea that marital status can be equated to the level of an employee's job performance and behaviour in office is weighted in favour of men than women.

Protective Legislation

The Consititutions of Zambia provides for the "fundamental rights and freedoms of the individual, that is to say, the right, whatever his race, place of origin, political opinions, colour, creed or sex..." (Constitution of the Republic of Zambia, Cap. 1, Section 1, Part 3 Article 13:

19). It then defines the term discriminatory as

> affording different treatment to different
> persons attributed wholly or mainly to their
> respective descriptions by race, tribe, place
> or origin, political opinions, colour or
> creed, whereby persons of one such
> description are subjected to disabilities
> or restrictions to which persons of another
> such description are not made subject or
> accorded privileges or advantages to persons
> of another such description (Cap, 1 Section 1,
> Article 25: 32).

Gender is omitted and whether it is this that makes it possible for the application of other laws which accord privileges and advantages differentially to men and women is debatable legally. Although such laws are well-intended, in their effect they afford men specific advantages on the job market.

For example, there is the law that prevents women from employment in "mines, quarries and other works for the extraction of mineral from the earth" (Constitution of the Republic of Zambia, Cap. 505 - Employment of Women, Young Persons and Children 12: 17).

Women are also barred from employment in certain manufacturing industries, the transformation and transmission of electricity and the maintenance and repair or railways, harbour, docks, tunnels, telegraphic or telephone installation, and from employment during the night in public or private industrial undertaking.

Women in management positions, those in the health and welfare services, female students who must spend a portion of their training in underground mines are exclusions to this legislation. Obviously these legislations generally restrict occupational choices for women. In the process of protecting the "weaker sex" from demanding, arduous and possibly hazarduous areas of employment, these laws also preclude women from competing with men, thus making those jobs masculine jobs and contributing to horizontal occupational segregation.

Women aspiring for management positions in the mining industry, are thus limited to fields like personnel, accounting, auditing, administration and these are the areas that have the fewest openings, or are already saturated.

Health and social work have historically been the socially approved areas of employment for women and protective legislation facilitates conditions for the employment of women in those arears.

The 1982 Income Tax Amendment Act represents an example of law that has been amended to correspond to social reality and correct an anomaly. Firstly, it increased the child allowance of working couples by approximately two per cent.

Before its amendment the tax law indirectly reinforced the idea of the man being the "breadwinner" as well as the supplementary nature of women's remuneration. The laws of Zambia have, since independence, provided for equal pay for

equal work, but the tax laws had attached the family tax allowance to the husband's income. The married working women's remuneration, therefore, had borne the full tax liability. With the amendment couples have been provided with the option of sharing equally the allowance and liability or to jointly decide whose remuneration would bear the liability..

If the married man has been regarded as the breadwinner then it is conceivable that he would receive preferential treatment on the job market to better enable him perform that task. In recent times, however, it is often a dire economic necessity for women to work and it appears that only few households can have a decent standard of living based on a single income. In this study the three most cited reasons by women for their entry into wage employment support the financial argument (Table 17). Women work because they need their earnings as much as men do. Indeed 65 female respondents or 91 per cent of them actually budget their total earnings towards household expenditure.

Table 16

Female Respondents' Reasons for Entry Into Wage
Employment.

	Reasons	% pf Women
1.	Working for financial reasons.	38.0
2.	For own financial security	8.0
3.	To provide for my needs and those of my childern	52.0
4.	Wish to have a career	2.0
	Total	100.0

In appendix 11, a group of female respondents were classified as "unmarried, single parents". Those are heads of their households and invariably the sole breadwinners of their respective families.

The traditional regard of men as 'breadwinners', therefore, requires ressessmnet. Additionally, there is the need for demographic statistics to delineate this group of women from others since their economic and domestic responsibilities must obviously be different from those of other women.

Assuming that women's earnings do supplement those of their spouses, it must have the effect of freeing a portion of the family income for the accumulation of property. Customary law, however, disregards the contribution of women

to the accumulation of property and fails to provide for a widow any rights of inheriting the family property on the death of her husband intestate.

Although this may not directly affect the representation of women in public bureaucracy it is a pertinent factor with regard to economic and social power relationships between men and women- the type of power which may be crucial in exerting sufficient pressure to effect societal changes.

Ndulo (1986) observes that no legislation has so far been enacted in Zambia as a result of pressure from women's groups, and women's organizational inequality has often been cited as a reason for their unfair treatment in the work place and their under-representation in higher eschelons of employment. Women have not been known to be vocal in workers'unions in the country. Only 16 per cent of the total female respondents belong to any women's groups or associations and attended meetings at least once a month. 23 per cent are signed up members who are unable to attend meetings due to lack of time. 43 per cent of respondents are not interested in joining women's groups and two main reasons emerged.

Firstly, that existing groups do not publicize their objectives and activities. And secondly, their effectiveness as means of enhancing employment opportunities in public bureaucracy is limited.

Sexual Harassment

Often where very few women or men have entered certain fields and ranks traditionally regarded as male or female preserve their promotion and advancement is hampered by sexual harassment from co-workers of the opposite gender.

In exploring the awareness among respondents of this problem, there seemed to be a high degree of reluctance to discuss the subject. Only 8 per cent of respondents attempted a definition of sexual harassment, examples of which are:

1. "When a female employee is deprived of all company benefits including promotions for refusing advances from male supervisors".

2. "Supervisors proposing to female juniors on the job."

3. "Demand for personal gratification from the opposite sex as condition for employment or advancement in career".

From the above viewpoints it can be deduced that sexual harassment is one that:

(a) both males and females may be subjected to,

(b) junior female may be subjected to by senior males, and

(c) constitutes a potential obstacle to employment (recruitment), advancement and other earned benefits in the work place.

However, all respondents felt it was not a frequent occurrence in the Public Service in Zambia. One respondent dismissed it as "merely an encounter between the genders".

15 per cent (27 females and two males) considered it
"discriminatory of females' and 90 per cent considered it a
"misconduct of the person who initiates it". 58 per cent or
(106) of the respondents would like to see the problem solved
at the departmental level and 7 per cent felt that it should
be solved between the parties concerned.

This examination of the phenomenon of sexual harassment
is preliminary and at best exploratory. However, the
responses in the study indicate that:

(a)   sexual harassment does exist

(b)   it constitutes a potential impediment to fair
      recruitment and promotion/advancement practices as
      recommended by the General Orders of the public
      service.

(c)   it constitutes a misconduct that must be dealt with
      by a department authority.

(d)   it is discriminatory of women.

      Some of the questions that arise at this point
      include the following:

1.   Are sex-roles and behaviour patterns so firmly
      entrenched that some regard sexual harassment as
      merely an encounter between male and females, and,
      therefore, is not seen as a phenomenon capable of
      eroding women's potential for social equality?

2.   Do women regard it as discriminatory but feel
      powerless to protest against it? This is pertinent
      in view of the assurances sought by females for
      their ononymity in answering the questionaire on
      sexual harassment.

3. Is the reluctance to discuss the phenomenon due to its being a generally sensitve topic or are women afraid and intimidated to discuss it?

4. It there a fear of repercussions that might occur for revealing the practice or complaining about its occurrence?

Robertson (1987) notes in her research paper on ... Women and Socio-Economic Change that " women working in offices have to contend with sexual overtures from male co-workers who regard such emancipated women as fair game. This tendency has driven some women back into market trading which offers free choice in matters of personal contact and flexible hours".

Sexual harassment could in this way have a detrimental impact on attempts to achieve a gender-balanced bureaucracy. Women's response to sexual harassment could either be to ignore the matter because their jobs are vital to them and hope that the practice will cease or to resist it and face such repercussions as non-recruitment, adverse employment reviews, with holding of pay increases and even dismissal. The third option is to leave formal employment for the informal sector as Robertson (1987) has noted.

Whatever, option women choose, the phenomenon of sexual harassment is worthy of investigation in research on sex-role patterns, socialization practices, social equality of women and their representation in formal employment.

<u>Respondent's Suggestions to Enhance Women's Representation</u>

Women recommend an expansion in the education system, the acquisition of the relevant qualifications and demonstrated efficiency in the work place as a means of enhancing recruitment and advancement opportunities for women.

Included in specific things government could do to increase the numbers of women in decision making positions are: the establishment of creches/nurseries for the children of working mothers. Also while there was an overwhlming support for the abandonment of <u>liassez faire</u> and for government's direct intervention in the higher services, only 29 per cent of the respondents specifically recommended the reservation of a given percentage of higher service positions for women - a system that will correspond to the quota system in America.

Both the expansion of the educational system and the provision of creches or nurseries would involve considerable financial outlay which the government may not be able to afford. In fact, the President has pointed out that only about one third of development plans envisaged in the Fourth National Development Plan might be undertaken in view of the enconomic problems facing the country.

It is, however, evident that there is a great need for creches and day care centres for children of working mothers,

considering the fact that 52 per cent of the respondents have children in the pre-school and primary school age groups and that school hours do not correspond to working hours.

With regard to women's domestic responsibilities only 9 per cent of married female respondents had the help of their spouses in such chores as washing dishes and shopping for groceries. All 65 female respondents with female children indicated some assistance from the latter with domestic responsibilities. None of the respondents had the help of sons. It must be pointed out, however, that 23 per cent of respondents had sons under five years of age.

All 69 female respondents with children were solely responsible for helping their children with homework. Only 7 per cent of all female respondents did not have domestic assistance of any sort-from extended family members or paid domestic help.

Appendix 19 shows the average number of children of respondents. The averages for those in age groups 40 - 49 and 50 - 59 are higher than the completed family size of 5-6 reported in the population census. Because all the averages are reletively high, the observation that child-care and domestic responsibility of women tend to encroach on their working responsibilities would seem to be valid. The age structure of female respondents shows that while they are all within child bearing age 33 out of the 79 respondents do

practice family planning while, 33 women have husbands who do not "believe in or approve" of family planning.

Although men are relatively free from most domestic responsibilities only 6 per cent of them as against 4 per cent of women took work home. Most respondents, however, indicated that it was impractical to take work home because of the large volumes of files, documents and material they deal with. A minority - 7 males and two females - are able to accomplish all pending matters by the end of the working day.

Only 12 per cent of respondents work overtime. 91 per cent of males are willing to work overtime as against 18 per cent of females. For those unwilling to work overtime reasons given were classified thus:

Table 17

Reasons for Not Wishing to Work Overtime

	Reasons	MALES		FEMALES	
		No.	%	No.	%
1.	No one to mind the children.	Ø	Ø	15	21
2.	Not necessary	6	5	4	6
3.	Doors to Offices locked.	5	4	39	55

Domestic responsibilities, therefore, were not over-whelmingly mentioned as constituting the primary obstacle to women working over-time. Other factors mentioned above were more pertinent. And it is also conceivable that overtime does not receive much weight as a measures of efficiency or inefficiency and therefore a consideration for advancement.

With regard to the quota system it tends to be seen not necessarily as providing more jobs for women but essentially less jobs for men. Therefore, where men are 'breadwiners' and must be employed and women's careers regarded as secondary to men's, its acceptability would require strong continued governmental and idelogical support. But prospects of its institution at a time when the service is experiencing contraction in established posts seems remote.

Female respondents were just as specific and unanimous in what they expect of men as their contribution to the enhancement of employment and advancement opportunities of women. 91 per cent of women recommend that men change their "traditional attitudes and regard/accept women as partners in the development effort". Women consider the influence of those attitudes of their male counterparts significant in the work environment, particularly with respect to recruitment and promotion exercises. The fact that only two respondents (males) out of a total of 204 had female supervisors underscores the significance of these concerns of women. The success or effectiveness of any attempts to improve the representation of women in the service, such as the quota system would require not only stringent policing but also programmes aimed at modifying these attitudes that are considered obstacles to gender balancing.

Also significant was the fact that none of the females alluded to their role as socializating agents in the eradication of these traditional male attitudes which they consider as obstacles to their advancement and representation. This is not to say that men as fathers have no role to play in the socialization process, but that role is often subordinated to their primary role as "breadwinners".

Evidence in the study showed that an overwhelming majority of sons did not assist mothers with household duties. If women do not expect this assistance and are neither demanding it nor attempting to effect change because those attitudes constitute a component part of traditional social values, then it is conceivable that women by condonation are perpetuating those attitudes in sons and daughters who grow up to be men and women.

Tokenism as Potential Obstacle to Gender Balancing

Tokenism is defined by the Oxford dictionary as "granting minimum concessions, making only a token effort". Tokenism refers to a situation where a particular social group is so grossly under-represented in numerical proportion in an organization that the particular social group operates at a disadvantage. The group could be those very few men among a preponderance of women, or that one black person among a preponderance of white people or vice versa. Therefore, being token is generally not unique to any social group. In the Ministry of Health for example, men in general, would be considered tokens. With regard to the share of responsible positions, in all the sampled institutions, the number of women in Division 1 are so few that they constitute the tokens. Again in the Central Committee of UNIP the representation of women had been 12 per cent since 1974 and only increased to 16 per cent in 1984. Here too, women can be regarded as tokens and the achievement

of political equality women have won seems to have fallen short with respect to the highest decision making body of the country.

A phenomenon of a token is the fact that he or she is different or is a rarity. This makes the token visible and in turn causes him or her to operate at a disadvantage. There is also the psychological aspect of tokenism. Because of her visibility the token conceivably strives not only for excellence but also may adopt some special characteristics and behaviour patterns of the majority or predominant group in order to be accepted or become one of them.

As Panandiker and Kshirsagar (1971) indicated in their study, mentioned above, the number of promotions enjoyed by higher public servant is a relevant factor in the degree to which he is inclined to be rule and regulation-bound. In this study there was a general consensus among female respondents that they are compelled to "work harder" in order to gain recognition from both male peers and supervisors because of certain general societal attitudes and beliefs already mentioned.

If the pace of the promotion and advancement of women is slower because of their biological roles and domestic responsibilities encroaching on their working lives; and if they are compelled to excel to gain the recognition for efficiency which is accorded males by virtue of their gender and because they constitute the predominant group in the

service, then it is conceivable that women would be more rule and regulation bound. It is conceivable that where their decisions influence the recruitment and advancement of others, especially those of other females, they would strive to appear not to show any favouritism and therefore apply rules and regulations more rigidly than males. In this way tokenism could be regarded as a potential obstacle to the increase in the representation of women. Tokenism would tend to be pertuated.

Furthermore, if the primary objective of permitting the representation of women in higher bureaucracy is to give a semblance of supporting values and stemming criticism, then once that objective is accomplished, the need to increase the representation of women would weaken and tokenism as a potential or real obstacle toward a gender balanced bureaucracy would persist.

A possible solution to this state of affairs would be to encourage a general increase in the representation of women to avoid scattering them or spreading them so thinly over many departments. In other words their clustering should be encouraged only to a degree so that they are not identified as tokens.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONCLUSIONS

A number of conclusions are derived from the data thus far presented. Firstly, bureaucracy is more representative of men than of women. Women are under-represented in numerical terms in both the higher bureaucracy and the pool of available and qualified person to be recruited into the higher service. Vertical occupational segregation exists in all departments investigated. Contrary to the assumption made and expectations, horizontal occupational segregation was found to exist only in the Ministry of Health.

The pattern of attrition of women in public bureaucracy seems to be a reflection of the attrition or wastage rate of women in the educational system from lower to higher levels. This, and their pattern of fields of specialization in education would seem to imply an effective application of the merit system in their recruitment into the service.

The merit system, however, has been found to harbour some ascriptive criteria. These defects do not victimize randomly where men and women are competing for specific jobs or top positions, and under the most stringent application of the system, the gender of an applicant has been found to influence selection procedures. In addition, various societal values and attidudes transmitted through socialization processes all impinge on decision-making

processes involved in the application of the merit system of recruitment mainly to the disadvantage of women.

Various mechanisms are, however, instituted in an attempt to establish fairness in recruitment and promotion practices in the service. There is the seniority system which in combination with the merit system may only have the desired or intended effect of establishing some degree of fairness in the promotion of candidates to higher positions. In the recruitment of new entrants such mechanisms as the panel system of interviewing and the rating system of interviewees do not seem to be effective means of completely eliminating the influence of deeply held prejudices. The most important of such attitudes are those that regard men as "breadwinners" and place men's careers in a primary position and relegate women's to a secondary one irrespective of the marital status and financial responsibilities of the latter. These attitudes disregard the significant number of women who are single parents, head of households and 'breadwinners' of their families.

Other significant obstacles to the fair representation of women in the service lie in their biological functions and domestic responsibilities which encroach on their working lives. The fact that women perform a "double shift" is recognized although no allowances are made for this in recruitment and promotion practices. They are under represented among those selected for training programmes

crucial in the consideration of promotability. Thus while women's capacity to participate effectively in the workplace is hampered, male managers or males in the higher service are increasing through their selection for management training programmes.

The most significant obstacles, however, consist of state policies and legal structures which in their intent to protect the " weaker sex" by proscribing and prescribing various areas of employment for women, tend to protect those jobs for men and thus contribute to vertical and horizontal occupational segregation.

The constitutional provision of equal remuneration for equal work for men and women and the tax laws of Zambia (before the 1982 amendment) exemplified the ambivalence in the treatment of women. While the former acknowledged the equality of men and women, the latter reinforced the supplementary role of women's remuneration and the secondary position of their careers.

The customary inheritance system provides another example underlining the fact that whatever political equality Zambian women might have earned as result of their contribution towards the struggle for independence has been superimposed on both social and economic inequality. In these respects bureaucratic representation can be said to reflect the power structure of society and bureaucracy represents the dominant forces-males-in society.

Furthermore, the psychology of tokenism suggests that the very fact of women's under-representation in public bureaucracy has the potential of perpetuating that situation. As earlier suggested, to alleviate the psychological effects of tokenism there should be concerted effort to avoid spreading women, the tokens, thinly over departments but encourage clustering them in, all departments, to the point at which they would not be easily indentified as tokens.

Data obtained from the study also support the assumption that there is a high degree of awareness of what constitutes sexual harassment although there was some degree of respondent inhibition in discussing the subject. This phenomenon also represents a real and potential impendiment to not only women's representation in public bureaucracy but their longevity and survival in formal employment.

The size of the service and the limited number of available positions constitute the major hinderances to mobility, than such factors as tribe or ethinic origin, working overtime or taking work home. Gender was also cited as a factor hindering promotion of women.

Among the various suggestions extended towards the establishment of a gender balanced bureaucracy were the provision of creches and the expansion of the educational system. While the latter might receive some attention in the

present prioritization of economic development programmes, the fate of the former is rather doubtful.

The current economic situation has, however, forced the government to ensure that bureaucracy is responsive to the needs of society. Bureaucracies, in the course of their development become

> states within states, perfecting elaborate machinery for their governance and reducing to a minimum the area of detailed supervision by the political organs. They developed a corporate character and an independent institutional existence. This is taken by some as additional evidence of an insatiable bureaucratic thirst for power. But it is inevitable (Kingsley, 1944: 186).

Bureaucratic reshuffles constitute a mechanism that is used in Zambia to prevent the tendency of bureaucratic machinery to insulate itself and possibly seek its own interests. In a single-minded attempt to achieve a compliant and responsive bureaucracy, and also tackle the task of economic development, demands for women's representation in public bureaucracy are liable to be branded either unimportant,foreign or capitalist instigated. Nevertheless, it is possible that combined with other mechanisms, as well as bureaucratic reshuffles, a bureaucracy that is representative of both men and women would be more responsive to societal needs and concerns and become more development oriented for

> The unwitting revenge of women in the world today is that they are essential to the solution of all its great political problems. Over-population, starvation, under-development, illiteracy-all these issues can only be

solved with the assistance of women. The most powerful political leaders cannot impose policies of population control, of economikc development and expansion without the positive contribution of women (Sullerot, 1971: 248)

If women are to assist government in vital development issues, then it is vital to increase their effectiveness in influencing policy issues by eliminating the various obstacles to their representation in the higher service. A gender balanced bureaucracy should, therefore, become a crucial part of development policy in Zambia rather than allowing it to become a mere token or symbol of egalitarianism.

Women, themselves, must assume a measure of responsibility in promoting their status in society. They can do this more effectively by increasing their organizational ability. In this study, some women respondents were unable to participate in women's groups activities for lack of child-care facilities. Women's absenteeism in the work place, a possible subject for future research, has also, in part, been attributed to the same factor. A well organized women's group may be able to provide nursery facilities for its members. It may also be more effective in communicating the needs of women to the relatively new women's department in the Sectorial Planning Department of the National Commission for Development Planning (NCDP).

The family nucleus, as a locus where models, values and roles are transmitted and learned is buttressed by other socializing agents such as the information media, educational materials and the education system. However, "since roles are learned, there is always the possibility that they can be unlearned, and the definitions of the roles themselves redefined". In fact, research has confirmed an improvement in sex-role stereotyping. Oullette and White (1978-in Basow 1980) in their study on occupational preferences among grade school pupils found that occupations chosen for females generally tended to be non-traditional while those chosen for males were still traditional. The reseachers attribute this, in part, to the effects of the feminist movement "in breaking stereotypes for females. Clearly, however, males need help, too, in breaking free from the confines of their roles" (Basow 1980 : 162)

Women's role as socializing agents, therefore, requires special emphasis. Women respondents specifically cited, as a major obstacle to their advancement, the attitudes and non-acceptance as partners in national development efforts by their male counterparts. Women's present efforts to educate the public on factors contributing to their secondary status need to be supplemented by new patterns of socialization of children in the home. Socialization patterns that would eventually results in male members of a household participating fully in and sharing domestic responsibilities.

Other socializing agents that directly or indirectlly contribute to the development and maintenance of sex-role stereotypes and sex-role expectations must support women's efforts to establish new socialization patterns. Language must change. Occupation terms can be neutralized so that instead of 'policemen' the term "police officer' or 'law enforcement officer" are used. The media must begin to depict females in positive, non-traditional roles. In children's educational material Mulenga and his father must be seen to be participating in domestic work rather than shown waiting to be served their dinner by Jellitta and her mother. All these must be accompanied by curriculum changes and offerings in schools that would help both males and females unlearn negative sex-roles.

In fact, the present dire economic situation necessitates this and will help, rather than hinder, the process of change of societal regard of wage employment and careers for women as vital and elevate women's remuneration from its secondary position to a level similar to men's. Legislative structures that had been impendiments to this and the representation of women in certain categories of employment will then be forced to keep pace with changed societal attitudes and values.

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Appendix 1

Ministerial Departments

---

1. **Agriculture and Water** Development
   - a) Agricultural Research Department
   - b) Water Affairs
   - c) Integrated Rural Development Programme
   - d) Agriculural Department
   - e) Rural Information Services
   - f) Veterinary and Tsetse Control
   - g) Planing Division

---

2. **Commerce and Industry**
   - a) Head Office
   - b) Internal Trade
   - c) Assize
   - d) Price Control

---

3. **Finance and National Commission for** Development Planning (NCDP)
   - a) Finance
   - b) NCDP
   - c) Central Statistical Office
   - d) Data Processing Centre
   - e) Budget Division
   - f) Revenue Inspectorate
   - g) Audit
   - h) Accounts Division

Appendix 1 (Cont'd)

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4. Health   a) Food and Drug Control
                                       Laboratory

                                   b) University Teaching
                                       Hospital

                                   c) School of Nursing

                                   d) Medical Council

                                   e) General Nursing Council

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5. Labour and Social
   Services   a) Head Office

                                   b) Labour Department

                                   c) Educational and
                                       Occupational Assessment
                                       Division

                                   d) Social Development
                                       Department

----

6. Legal Affairs   a) Administrative
                                       Department

----

7. National Guidance,   a) Head Office-Information
   Information and   and Broadcasting

   Broadcasting   b) Zambia Information
                                       Services.

Appendix 1 (Cont'd)

    National Guidance   c)   Radio Zambia

                                       d)   Zambia Television

                                       e)   Zambia Daily Mail

                                       f)   Times of Zambia

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8. Power Transport
   and Communications   a)   Civil Aviation
                                                 Department

                                     b)   Road Traffic
                                               Commission

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9. Public Service   a)   Commission

                                       b)   Staff

Appendix 2

Parastatals

1.	ZIMCO	a)	Head Office
2.	ZIMCO Properties		
3.	Zambia Pork Products		
4.	Agricultural Finance Corporation		
5.	National Milling Company	a)	Head Office
		b)	Cairo Road Branch
		c)	Malambo Road Branch
6.	Zambia State Insurance Corporation - Head Office		
7.	INDECO		
8.	National Drug Company		
9.	Metal Marketing Corporation-MEMACO		
10.	National Import and Export Company (NIEC)		
11.	Zambia National Commercial Bank.	b)	Head Office
			Lusaka Main Branch
12.	Zambia National Clearing and Forwarding Company.		
13.	United Bus Company		
14.	Zambia National Wholesale and Marketing Company.		
15.	Zambia Electricity Services Corporation (ZESCO).		
16.	Zambia Consolidated Copper Mining Company Limited.		

Appendix 3

Ministerial Departments

1.	Agriculture and Water Development	a)	Agricultural Research Department
		b)	Water Affairs
		c)	Integrated Rural Development Programme
		d)	Agricultural Department
		e)	Veterinary and Tsetse Control
		f)	Planning Division

2.	Commerce and Industry	a)	Industry Department
		b)	Internal Trade Department
		c)	Assize
		d)	Price Control

3.	Finace and NCDP	a)	Central Statistics
		b)	NCDP
		c)	Finance
		d)	Accounts
		e)	Audit
		f)	Budget Office

Appendix 3 (Cont'd)

4.	Health	a) Food and Drug Control
		b) Medical Council
		c) School of Nursing

5.	Labour and Social Services	a) Head office
		b) Labour Department
		c) Educational and Occupational Assessment
		d) Social Development

6.	Legal Affairs	a) Administrative Department

7.	National Guidance, Information and Broadcasting	a) Information and Broadcasting
		b) Zambia Information Services
		c) Radio Zambia
		d) Television Zambia.

8.	Power Transport and Communications	a) Civil Aviation
		b) Road Traffic Commission

Appendix 4

Parastatals

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1. ZIMCO Properties

2. INDECO

3. MEMACO

4. ZESCO

5. Zambia Pork Pruducts

6. National Drug Company

7. Zambia National Wholesale and Marketing Company

8. National Milling Company

9. Zambia National Clearing and Forwarding

10. Zambia State Insurance Corporation.

Appendix 5

Divisions and Corresponding Grades in the Civil Service and their Parastatal Equivalent.

	Division I	Division II	Division III
Civil Service			
Administrative Scale	S/1-S8	S/9-S/13	S/13 and below
General Professional Scale	GPS/1-GPS/8	GPS/9	--
Technical	TS/1-TS/2	TS/3-TS/6	TS/7 and below
Medical	MS/1-MS/10	MS/11-MS/13	MS/13 and below
Education	ES/1-ES/11	ES/12-ES/18	ES/19 and below
Technical	TES/1-TES/9	TES/10 TES/11	--
Parastatal*	Z8-Z7/6	Z6-Z5/4	Z4 and below

*Note: The above are only rough classifications of grades in parastatals since their salary scales are higher and there is some overlap between divisions.

Appendix 6

Classification of Respondents by Gender

Public Service

N = 204

Male = 125   Female = 79

University of Zambia Undergraduates

N = 30

Male = 15   Female = 15

Appendix 7: Classification of Civil Service Staff by Gender and Numerical
Representation by Gender in Responsible Positions - April 1986

Ministerial Departments	Total Staff	Male	Female	Total Responsible Officers	Male Responsible Officers	Female Responsible Officers
Labour and Social Services						
Head Offce	52	33	19	11	11	0
Labour Deapartment	40	23	17	5	4	1
Educational & Occupational						
Assessment	21	17	4	6	4	2
Social Development Department	77	46	31	6	6	0
Totals	190	119	71	28	25	3
Percentage of Men and Women	100	63	37	100	89	11
Finance and National Commission for Development Planning (NCDP)						
Central Statistical Office	219	198	20	52	47	5
Data Processing Centre	96	52	44	13	13	0
NCDP	111	71	40	52	37	15
Finance	173	112	61	13	13	0
Budget Inspectorrate	30	27	3	30	27	3
Revenue Inspectorrate	5	5	0	5	5	0
Audit	17	16	1	5	5	0
Accounts Division	146	134	12	22	22	1
Totals	796	615	181	192	168	24
Percentage of Men and Women	100	77	23	100	98	12
National Guidance, Information and Broadcasting						
Head Office	59	45	14	12	12	0
Zambia Information Services	341	316	25	7	7	0
Raido Zambia	96	78	18	1	1	0
Zambia Television	110	95	15	1	1	0
Zambia Daily Mail	154	129	25	*	*	* Figures
Times of Zambia	65	56	9	6	5	1 not available
Totals	825	719	106	27	26	1
Percentage of Men and Women	100	87	13	100	96	4

Appendix 7 Cont'd

Commerce and Industry						
Head Office	20	13	7	10	9	1
Internal Trade	30	21	9	8	7	1
Assize	38	33	3	3	3	0
Price Control- Head Office	11	9	2	5	5	0
Lusaka Province	25	21	4	1	1	0
Totals	124	97	27	27	25	2
Percentage of Men and Women	100	78	22	100	93	7

Agriculture and Water Development						
Agricultural Research Dept.	48	45	3	28	28	0
Water Affairs	41	36	5	12	12	0
Integrated Rural Deve. Prog.	25	22	3	2	2	0
Agriculture Department	46	23	23	23	23	9
Rural informantion Service: Division 1,2,3,4	148	123	25	2	1	1
Veterinary and Tsetse Control	50	47	3	10	10	0
Planning Division	62	45	17	51	39	12
Totals	420	341	79	128	115	13
Percentage of Men and Women	100	81	19	100	90	10.0

Power, Transport & Communications- Civil Aviat	555					
Road Traffic Commission	122					
Power, Tranpsort and Communications	176					
Totals	853	752	101	60	60	0
Percentage of Men and Women	100	88	12	100	100	0

Legal Affairs	71	38	33	35	25	10
Percentage of Men and Women	100	54	46	100	71	29

Health						
Food and Drug Control Labs	47	37	10	4	3	1
UTH	2760	924	1836	17	12	5
School of Nursing	54	0	54	3	0	3
Medical Council (Admini. Staff)	10	7	3	3	3	0
Councillors				16	14	2
General Nursing Council	16	6	10	7	1	4* *2 var
Councillors				17	2	15
Totals	2987	974	1913	67	35	30	2
Percentages of Men and Women	100	34	66	100	52	45	3

Public Service Commission						
Commission members	6	4	2	0	0	0
Staff	28	10	18	3	1	2
Totals	34	14	20	3	1	2
Precentage of Men and Women	100	41	59	100	33	67

	Total No. of Employees	Male Employees	Female Employees	Total Management Staff	Male Management Staff	Female Management Staff	
CO	111	70	41	45	43	2	
CO Properties	114	100	14	11	11	0	
icultural Finance Corporation	248	226	22	9	9	0	
bia Pork Products	192	171	21	20	18	2	
ional Milling Company							
Head Office	86	57	29	9	7	2	
Cairo Road Branch	339	329	10	*	*	*)	Not Ava
Malambo Road Branch	579	570	9	*	*	*)	
bia State Insurance Corporation	1220	980	300	64	61	3	
ECO	274	198	86	17	13	4	
ional Drug Company	286	186	100	34	26	8	
al Marketing Corporation	105	76	30	18	14	4	
ional Import and Export Company	55	43	12	12	12	0	
bia National Commercial Bank							
Head Office	294	196	98	27	26	1	
Lusaka Main Branch	128	71	57	4	3	1	
bia National Clearing & Forwarding	184	162	22	20	20	0	
ted Bus Company-Country Wide	(2670	2456	214)*			*	Not Adde
Lusaka Offices - Long Distance	132	119	131	43	43	0	
Local Branch	161	142	191	19	19	0	
Coach Service	61	46	151	11	10	1	
bia National -							
lesale Marketing Co.	724	635	89	11	11	0	
CD : General Services Division	383	316	67	20	17	3	
M : Head Office	264	199	75				
bia Airways	1655	1358	297				
Totals	7576	6150	1426	394	363	31	
rcentage of Men and Women	100	81	19	100	92	8	

	1986/1						1982/2					
	I		II		III		I		II		III	
isions	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
istrial Departments												
...our and Social Services	5	0	6	0	22	19	3	0	6	0	36	0
...our Department	3	0	4	1	16	16	9	0	34	0	84	41
...cation & Occupational												
...Assessment	2	1	4	1	11	2	2	1	5	0	13	2
...ial Development Dept.	5	0	4	1	37	30	7	0	39	3	50	16
Total	15	1	18	3	86	67	21	1	84	3	642	59
...centage of Men & Women	94	6	86	14	56	44	95	5	97	3	92	8
...nce and NCDP												
...tral Statistics	33	5	27	1	138	14	14	1	40	6	129	22
...P	28	4	26	14	25	22	31	2	44	5	38	0
...ance	8	0	7	4	97	57						
...ounts	8	1	25	2	99	11	15	0	52	0	161	45
...t	3	0	10	1	3	0						
...get Office	14	1	13	2	0	0	9	2	7	1	0	0
Total	86	11	108	24	362	104	69	5	143	12	328	67
...centage of Men & Women	89	11	82	18	78	22	93	7	92	8	93	17
...onal Guidance, Infor-							4	0	10	0	14	6
...tion and Broadcasting	7	0	8	0	28	14	7	0	10	0	29	13
...bia Information Service	5	0	25	1	286	24	5	0	36	1	304	6
...io Zambia	1	0	28	2	49	16	1	0	28	2	57	15
...evision Zambia	1	0	4	0	90	15	1	0	10	1	84	14
...otals	14	0	65	3	453	69	19	0	94	4	498	54
...centage of Men & Women	100	0	96	4	87	13	100	0	96	4	90	10

Appendix 11

Age and Marital Profile of Respondents

Age		20-29		30-39		40-49		50-59	
Gender		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Married	162	9	5	48	53	39	0	0	0
Separated	6	0	0	1	2	2	0	1	0
Unmarried Single parent.	9	0	6	0	3	0	0	0	0
Single	24	9	10	5	0	0	0	0	0
Not Stated	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Total	204	18	21	54	58	41	0	9	0

Appendix 12: Entry Point Requirements for Civil Servants

A. Administrative Scales

   1. Institute of Bankers - Diploma

   2. NRDC Diploma in Agricultujre Business Studies,
      Zambia Diploma in Accountancy, UNZA Diploma in
      Social Work/ Community Development.

3. University Graduate
4. University Graduate plus extra year of approved
   training.

B. General Professional Scale.

   1.   i) Four-year professional UNZA graduate
        ii) Financial ACWA, CCA, CIS.

   2. Five year professional UNZA graduate and equivalent.

   3. Six year professional UNZA graduate and equivalent

   4. Four year professional UNZA graduate and equivalent

C. Medical Scale

   1. Junior Resident Medical Officer
   2. Senior Resident Medical Officer
   3. Veterinary Officer
   4. Registrar
   5. Government Medical and Dental Officer
   6. Newly qualified Health Inspector and Sister (Mental)
   7. Health Inspector with meat inspection
      qualifications.
   8. Pharmacy Technician, Registered Nurse, Medical
      Assistant (3 year Diploma and recognized by the
      Medical Council of Zambia). All other holders of
      school certificate of three GCE 'O' levels plus 3
      years training.

D. Technical Scales

   1. NRDC Diploma or Diploma from other recognized
      institutions obtained after a three year course of
      training.

   2. City and Guilds Certificate.

E. Educations Scales

1. Teacher untrained University Graduate

2. Teacher, trained University Graduate

3. Lecturer, Grade II.

4. i)   Non-graduate Secondary School Teacher with a
         year diploma.

    ii) Grade 12 Primary School Teacher with 2 years'
         training.

5. Non-graduate Secondary School Teacher with 3 years'
    diploma.

6. Continuing Education Organizer.

D. Technical Education Scales

1. Zambia Diploma in Technology, Accountancy or Applied
    Arts plus 2 years' relevant work experience after
    obtaining the qualifications or equivalent
    qualifications from a recognized training institute
    outside Zambia.

2. i)   Higher Technical Commercial or professional
         Diploma with 2 years' of relevant work
         experience after obtaining the Diploma.

    ii) First University Degree in Technology,
         Accountancy or Applied Arts plus 2 years'
         relevant work experience after obtaining the
         University Degree.

3. Masters Degree in Technology, Accountancy or Applied
    Arts, plus 2 years' or relevant work experience
    after obtaining the Masters Degree.

4. Trades School Leaving Certificate plus 2 years' of
    relevant work experience after obtaining the Trades
    Certificate plus a Technical Teacher's Certificate.

5. Advance Tehnician Certificate plus 2 years of relevant work experience after obtaining the Technician Certificate plus a Technical Teacher's Certificate.

Source: GRZ: Summary of the Main Recommendations of the Administrative Committee of Inquiry into the Salaries, Salary Structures and conditions of Service, together with the Party and Its Government's Reactions to the Recommendations. The Zambia Public and Teaching Service, The Judicial Service and the Zambia Police and Prisons Service. Government Paper No. 1 of 1985, Government Printer, Lusaka.

Appendix 13.

Educational Attainment of Population (5 years and over)
by Gender 1969 and 1980

	Male				Female				Total		
	1969		1980		1969		1980		1966	1980	
	No.	%T	No.	%T	No.	%T	No.	%T			
No Schooling	667316	40	798949	41	998259	60	1161226	59	1665575	1960175	
Primary	804990	59	1189484	52	593560	42	1039359	48	1398550	2138834	
Secondary	103661	70	307651	67	43842	30	154671	33	147503	462332	
Higher Education	64798	66	67866	74	33725	34	23796	26	98513	91662	
Not Stated	37253	44	38458	52	47215	56	35693	48	84468	74151	

Appendix 14: Full time Enrolment - College, Technical and Vocational
Institutions by Programme and Gender 1975, 1979 and 1982

Programme	1975		1979		1982	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Pre-Vocational Training	635	0	0	0	0	0
Academic	189	11	0	0	0	0
Trades/Crafts and Industrial Technical	2812	15	2511	26	2760	36
Engineering/Technician Science and Paramedical	196	64	230	78	217	76
Business Studies and Applied Arts	528	33	542	109	619	220
Secretarial	34	498	0	1027	1	840
Air Services	264	3	114	5	161	11
Technical Teacher Training	145	5	336	45	299	77
Other	0	0	0	0	216	63
Totals	4902	619	3929	1332	4264	1330
Percentage	89	11	75	25	76	24

Source: Bardouille, R. (1985) Women's Employment Patterns,

            Discrimination and Promotion in Zambia Unpublished
            ----
            Report for ILO/JASPA.

1985/1986	Full Time		Part Time		Correspondence		Postgraduate		Total	
School	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Agricultural Science	224	9	7	0	0	0	0	0	231	9
Engineering	320	0	35	0	0	0	2	0	357	0
Medicine	194	89	0	2	0	0	9	1	203	92
Mines	164	0	1	0	0	0	24	0	189	0
Natural Science	614	59	0	0	0	0	13	3	627	62
Veterinary Medicine	46	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	46	5
Environmental Studies	265	56	0	0	0	0	0	0	265	56
Business & Industrial Studies	143	13	16	19	0	0	0	0	159	32
Centre for Continuing Education	13	8	0	0	11	1	0	0	24	9
Education	572	180	14	5	392	42	23	10	1001	237
Humanities & Social Sciences	406	226	9	10	211	18	17	8	643	262
Law	68	32	29	2	0	0	11	3	108	37
Sub-Total	3029	677	111	38	614	61	99	25	3853	801

1984/1985										
Agricultural Science	231	15	0	0	0	0	0	0	231	15
Engineering	317	2	6	0	0	0	2	0	325	2
Medicine	184	98	0	3	0	0	6	2	190	103
Mines	180	0	2	0	0	0	15	0	197	0
Natural Sciences	572	46	16	3	0	0	12	4	600	53
Veterinary Medicine	27	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	27	5
Environmental Studies	116	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	116	12

Appendix 15 Cont'd

Business and Industrial										
Studies	338	77	3	2	0	0	0	0	341	79
Centre for Continuing										
Education	14	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	14	6
Education	557	179	32	9	366	38	11	4	966	229
Humanities and Social										
Sciences	390	209	12	13	195	16	16	11	613	249
Law	80	34	35	8	0	0	16	8	131	50
Sub-Total	3006	682	106	38	561	54	78	29	3751	803

1983/1984

Agricultural Science	204	13	2	0	0	0	*	206	13
Engineering	276	2	15	0	0	0		291	2
Medicine	182	90	0	0	0	0		182	90
Mines	181	1	10	0	0	0		191	1
Natural Sciences	609	57	12	3	0	0		621	60
Veterinary Medicine	12	2	0	0	0	0		12	2
Business and Industrial									
Studies	290	90	10	6	0	0		300	96
Centre for Continuing									
Studies	16	1	0	0	0	0		16	1
Education	485	185	44	2	334	42		863	229
Humanities and Social									
Sciences	336	242	12	3	171	12		519	527
Law	75	39	28	3	0	0		103	41
Environmental Studies	93	5	0	0	0	0		93	6
Sub-Total	2759	727	133	17	505	54		3397	798

Source: University of Zambia (Planning Office - Lusaka) March 1986 *Figures not available.

.6 : University of Zambia - Graduating Students by Programme and Gender
1974/1975 to 1983/1984

ate	1974/1975		1975/1976		1976/1977		1977/1978		1978/1979		1979/1980		1980/1981		1981/1982		1982/1983		1983/1984		To
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
hematics	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
cial Work	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Scocial																					
s	0	2	2	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	3	1	3	0	4	0	6	2	11	2	30
on	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	2	0	3	0	1	0	5	0	18
	1	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	1	0	2	1	1	0	3	0	2	0	5	0	19
, & Int.Law																					
ral													5	2	3	1	0	0	1	1	9
s	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	1	0	1	5
	3	2	3	0	1	1	3	0	2	0	10	2	11	3	16	1	11	3	22	4	82

Undergraduate - Science and En Engineering

	1974/1975		1975/1976		1976/1977		1977/1978		1978/1979		1979/1980		1980/1981		1981/1982		1982/1983		1983/1984		To
re	24	3	27	0	24	1	20	6	8	3	15	3	18	5	36	7	3	0	24	1	199
g	29	0	23	0	28	0	36	0	31	0	38	0	44	0	32	0	74	0	35	0	390
(Ch.B.Human																					
Surgery)	43	10	36	10	49	15	63	19	43	13	58	10	58	13	66	13	68	4	48	20	531
c Nursing	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	11	0
	4	0	5	0	10	0	11	0	13	0	35	0	31	0	31	0	44	0	37	0	221
ciences	31	0	52	7	56	2	52	6	20	1	16	1	20	3	38	2	31	1	39	5	355
	131	13	143	17	166	18	182	31	115	17	162	14	171	21	203	30	229	10	203	37	1696

Arts and Social Science

ation BA &																					
?. Sc.	89	23	102	29	106	29	126	33	126	23	172	36	144	30	139	43	116	43	103	26	1221 3
al Work	5	4	1	1	4	1	4	3	5	1	6	4	12 ·	8	11	14	3	7	6	6	57
sunting &																					
usiness Studies	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	0	0	69	7	82	11	79	16	47	17*	277
nities and																					
al Sciences	66	12	66	10	99	13	75	46	88	42	42	83	132	68	101	70	122	78	74	46	898
	42	6	32	2	49	1	56	9	43	6	6	46	34	9	43	14	45	11	31	7	427
ary Studies																					
?Sc	1	6	3	4	7	6	4	4	4	5	5	5	6	2	6	4	3	6	4	8	49
-Total	203	51	202	46	265	50	265	94	259	77	317	99	397	124	383	156	368	161	265	110	2923

Diplomas

t Education	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	41	0	3	0	23	0	0	0	0	0	67
ary Studies	1	0	0	0	0	0	9	1	0	0	6	2	0	0	0	3	7	4	5	3	29
ing Education	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	14	0	11	0	10	0	0	0	15	0	15	1	10	1
al Work	9	2 ·	9	5	6	6	0	0	6	1	4	3	3	4	2	0	3	4	4	3	46
her Education	25	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	25
-Total	35	7	9	5	6	6	9	15	6	12	51	15	6	4	25	18	10	23	10	16	167 1

. Cert. Education	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
. Adult Educ.	17	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	0	6	0	7	0	4	0	46
. in Law	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
.in Library																					
tudies	16	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	16
. Public																					
ealth and Nursing	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	0	14	0	10	0	0	0	9	0	10	0	9	0
-Total	33	7	0	0	0	0	0	12	0	14	0	10	12	0	6	9	7	10	4	9	0
ND TOTAL	485	80	357	69	438	75	459	152	382	120	548	140	597	152	632	214	616	207	504	176	4930

Source: University of Zambia, Lusaka, Planning Office, March 1986.

APPENDIX 17

Course Attendance Records: 1983-1985 National Institute
        of Public Administration (NIPA).

Workshop/ Seminar	Total Attendance	Male	Female
1. Workshop for Principals and Equivalent Positions.			
a) November/December 1983	22	20	2
b) May/June 1984	16	16	Ø
c) June/July 1985	24	21	3
2. Assistant Secretaries Workshop.			
a) September/ October 1984	13	13	Ø
b) August/September 1985	11	11	Ø
3. Under Secretaries/ Directors Workshop			
a) July 1983	14	14	Ø
b) July 1984	13	13	Ø
c) May 1985	8	8	Ø
d) October 1985	14	14	Ø

Source: Registry NIPA April 1987

Established Posts in the Civil Service (Excluding Parastatals)
Size of Civil Service 1983 - 1986

	1983	1984	1985	1986	1983-1986 Differential
Open Scale Posts	200	205	195	195	-5
Admin. Scale Posts	22789	18631	18891	18679	-4110
Gen. Prof. Scale Posts	1118	1209	1169	1203	85
Technical Scale Posts	4811	5063	5115	5199	378
Medical Scale Posts	9355	9992	9949	9849	494
Educ. Scale Posts	23330	24549	24557	24547	1217
Techn. Ed. Scale Posts	790	773	769	769	-21
Police, Prison, Rescue/ Fire Service	13650	12978	12952	12952	-698
District Mesenger Scale	1026	992	892	982	-134
Secretarial	1849	2257	2191	2188	339
Total	78918	76447	76580	76463	-2455

Decrease of 3 per cent

Source: GRZ Establishment Registers 1983, 1984
1985 and 1986, Government Printer, Lusaka.

Appendix 19

Number of Children of Respondents

Male Respondents

Age	No.	Average No. of Children	No. of Children
20-29	18	5.0	90
30-39	54	4.0	216
40-49	41	7.15	293
50-59	9	7.0	63
Total	122	5.4	662

Female Respondents

Age	No.	Average No. of Children	No. of Children
20-29	21	1.4	30
30-39	47	4.1	193
Total	68	5.5	223

All Respondents

Age	No. of Respondents	No. of Children	Average
20-29	39	120	3.1
30-39	101	409	4.1
40-49	41	293	1.15
50-90	9	63	7.0
Total	190	885	4.7

Questionnaire 1 for all Public Servants.

Personal Data

A.   Gender

    1.   Male

    2.   Female   [   ]

B.   Ethnic Origin

    1.   Bemba

    2.   Nyanja

    3.   Tonga   [   ]

    4.   Lozi

    5.   Other (Specify)

C.   Place of birth

Specify Village and District

D.   Marital Status

    1.   Single

    2.   Married

    3.   Divorced/Separated   [   ]

    4.   Widowed

    5.   Deserted

E.   Age

     1.   Under 20 years

     2.   20-29 years

     3.   30-39 years   [   ]

     4.   40-49 years

     5.   50-59 years

     6   60 years and above   --------

     Actual age

F.   Education

     Highest level attained

     1.   No education

     2.   Grade 1-4

     3.   Grade 5-7   [   ]

     4.   Form 1-3

     5.   Form 4-6

     6.   University

     7.   Other (specify)

G.   Where did you receive your education?

     Specify which Village or Town

     Primary

     Secondary

     Other   [   ]

H.   Subject read at highest
     educational institution attended.

I.   How many children do you have?

J.   **Ages** of children   <u>Male</u>   <u>Female</u>

      1.   Under 5 years

      2.   6-10 years

      3.   11-15 years

      4.   16-20 years

      5.   21-25 years

      6.   26-30 years

      7.   31-35 years

      8.   35 and above

K.   **Number** of children in School?   <u>Male</u>   <u>Female</u>

      1.   No. Schooling

      2.   Grade 1-4

      3.   Grade 5-7

      4.   Form 1-3

      5.   Form 4-6

      6.   Universitty

      7.   Other (specify).

L.   Occupation of working children?

      1.   Public/Civil Servant

      2.   Private Sector Employment   [   ]

            Specify occupation.

Respondent's Career Data

1. Date you joined public service

2. Grade on entering public service

3. Job title on entering public service

4. Present job title

5. Present grade

6. Number of promotions since you joined the service

7. Have you received regular annual increaments?

1.   Yes   2.   No.   [   ]

8. If the answer is No. why not?

    _____

    _____

9. Gender of your immediate supervisor

1.   Male   2.   Female   [   ]

1Ø. Do you work overtime?

1.   Yes   2.   No.   [   ]

If no, is it because

1.   Your spouse would disapprove?

2.   Lack of transportation?

3.   No one to mind the children?

4.   Unsafe?

5.   Other

11. Do you usually take work home?

1.   Yes   2.   No.   [   ]

12. Approximately how many times a week do you take
    work home?

    ----

13. Do you go to your office on Saturdays to work?

    1.   Yes   2.   No.   [   ]

14. Is Saturday a normal work day in your
    organization?

    1.   Yes   2.   No.   [   ]

15. Does your work involve travelling outside Lusaka?

    1.   Yes   2.   No.   [   ]

16. Have you ever had to decline promotion because
    it would involve moving to another part of
    the country?

    1.   Yes   2.   No.   [   ]

17. Have you ever had to decline promotion because
    the new position would involve travelling?

    1.   Yes   2.   No.   [   ]

18. Have you ever declined to compete for a job
    higher than your position?

    1.   Yes   2.   No.   [   ]

19. If yes, what was your reason for declining
    to complete.

    ----

20. Do you think your advancement/promotion has been

    1. very fast

    2. fast

    3. adequate

    4. not fast enough

    5. very slow

21. Please explain why?

    ----

22. Do you think promotion should be based on

    1. merit/performance

    2. seniority

    3. merit/seniority

    4. Other (please specify)

23. Please explain

    ----

24. What factors do you think helped or
hindered your advancement/promotion in
your present career?

    ----

25. If your spouse were transferred to another
job in another region, would you be willing
to resign from your job and relocate?

    1.   Yes   2.   No   [ ]

    (a)   If your answer is <u>Yes</u> please

          explain why?

(b)   If your answer is No please explain why?

----

26. Have you ever had to relocate because your spouse
     was transferred to another job in another region?
     1.   Yes   2.   No.   [   ]

27. If you were transferred to another region do you
     think your spouse would be willing to relocate?
     1.   Yes   2.   No.   [   ]

28. Please explain why?

----

29. Has your spouse had to relocate because you were
     transferred in your job to another region?
     1.   Yes   2.   No.   [   ]

30. What types of in-service training programmes in
     Zambia and overseas are available to persons
     in your grade?

----

31. How many have you attended? Please specify
     which ones?

----

32. How long did each course last?

----

33. Selection to attend the course was based on

    1. competitive examinations

    2. Nomination by supervisor   [   ]

    3. nomination by Public Service Commission.

34. What is your father's occupation?

----

35. What is your mother's occupation?

----

36. What was your father's attitude towards your

    choice of career?

    1. strongly approved

    2. approved

    3. indifferent   [   ]

    4. disapproved

    5. strongly disapproved

37. Did your father want you to "follow in his

    footsteps"?

    1.   Yes   2.   No.   [   ]

38. What was your mother's attitude towards

    your choice of career?

    1.   strongly approved

2.   approved

3.   indifferent   [   ]

4.   disapproved

5.   strongly disapproved

39. Did your mother want you to "follow in her footsteps"?

    1.   Yes   2.   No.   [   ]

40. Who influenced your choice of career?

    ----

41. What influenced your choice of career?

    ----

42. Would you choose the same career if you had to do it again?

    1.   Yes   2.   No   [   ]

1. What do you consider to be sexual harassment

    in your place of work?

    _____

    _____

2. Is it a frequent occurence?

    1.   Yes   2.   No.   [   ]

3. Do you consider it a

    1. misconduct by the person who initiates it

    2. discriminatory of females

    3. merely an encounter between the gnders   [   ]

    4. offensive behaviour

    5. other (specify)

4. How do you think the ombudsman should handle a

    report of sexual harassment?

    _____

    _____

5. How would you expect the female to handle such

    harassment?

    _____

    _____

F1   Questionnaire for Female Staff

1.   Do you practice family planning?

      1.   Yes   2.   No.   [   ]

2.   If not, why not?

      1.   my husband does not believe in family

            planning.

      2.   I do not believe in family planning

      3.   I do not practice family planning on

            religious grounds.

3.   Do you have a bank account in your name only?

      1.   Yes   2.   No.   [   ]

            Savings.   Current.   Life Insurance

4.   What portion of your salary do you budget for

      housekeeping expenses?

      1.   Total amount

      2.   Three quarters

      3.   Half

      4.   One quarter   [   ]

      5.   None

5. Do you belong to any Women's groups or
    associations?

    1.   Yes   2.   No.   [   ]

6. If you belong to any women's associations how
    often are meetings held?

    ----

7. How often are you able to attend meetings?

    ----

8. If you do not belong to any women's
    associations why not?

    ----

9. How many maternity leaves of absence have you
    enjoyed since you joined the service?

    ----

10. In your opinion have these leaves of absence affected
    your rate of promotion and advancement in your career?

    1.   Yes   2.   No.   [   ]

11. In what way have the leaves of absence affected
    your rate of promotion and advancement in your career?

    ----

12. **Please** indicate by marking with an X the reasons **why you** work.

    1.   financial reasons

    2.   my husband wants me to work

    3.   I want to have a career

    4.   for my own financial security

    5.   to provide for the needs of myself

    6.   to provide for the needs of my children

    7.   to provide for the needs of my extended family

    8.   working gives me a sense of independence

    9.   contribute my skills and expertise to the development of the country.

    10.   I enjoy my work

    11.   other

13. Why do you think there are so few women in decision making positions?

----

14. What do you think women can do to increase their numbers in decision making positions?

----

15. What can the government do?

----

16. What can men do?

   ----

17. Do you believe it is appropriate for a woman to be as
    ambitious in her career as a man?

   1.   strongly believe

   2.   believe

   3.   undecided   [   ]

   4.   do not believe

   5.   strongly against

n your home does the following (indicate
ionship of person to respondent).

	PERSON RESPONSIBLE								
	Self	Husband	Daughter	Son	Son s- Wife	My Mother	My Hus- band's Mother	Other	When do these Activi- ties take place
ouse									
ard									
shes									
ashing/									
Food & groceries)									
ern with homework									

F2	Questionnaire for Female Staff

1. How would you deal with sexual harassment?

2. Do you think a negative reaction to sexual harassment
    would result in

    1.   transfer from department

    2.   poor performance evaluation

    3.   loss of promotion

    4.   Other (specify)