A Social History of Domestic Service in Post-Colonial Zambia, c. 1964-2014.

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Short Abstract

This thesis examines the history of domestic service in Zambia from the 1960s to the present day. Domestic service was one of the largest sectors of urban employment throughout this period and involved large numbers of men, women and children selling and buying labour in a variety of working arrangements. The sector has, however, received little scholarly or official attention, reflecting a broader historiographical neglect of informal sector employment and the female workers who predominate in this area of the economy. The lack of attention paid to domestic service by academics and policy-makers has considerably limited the questions that have been asked about who workers are and how processes of reproduction and production have been organized at a household and societal level in Zambia, both historically and in the present. Most immediately, in order to work outside of the home, earn money and access crucial resources, thousands of Zambians needed to find someone else to take care of their homes and children.

Drawing on a wide range of source material, this study demonstrates the importance of domestic service to social and economic relations in post-colonial Zambia. The study centres on domestic service arrangements in black households in the capital city of Lusaka. It examines how and why men, women and children found work in service, how and why employers sought help with domestic and care labour, and the relationships that developed between these parties. The study illustrates the diversity of the sector, with working arrangements varying from seemingly-informal kinship-based labour relations at one end of the spectrum to formalised, contractual employment at the other. The study also explains the gendered and generational shifts that have reshaped domestic service over the last fifty years, drawing attention to the increased significance of women and female children's labour. Overall this thesis provides new insights into class formation, rural-urban dependencies, gender relations, and the nature of inequality in a post-colonial African city.

// Long Abstract

Domestic service, in its many forms, is a highly significant but hitherto little analysed area of African labour relations. In Zambia, domestic service has remained one of the largest sectors of urban employment since independence in 1964 and has involved large numbers of men, women and children selling and buying labour in a variety of working arrangements. Zambian domestic workers have participated in a form of labour relations informed by various historical processes, including the legacies of colonial domesticity and long-established practices of junior kin providing domestic labour to their seniors to both reinforce kinship ties and secure support. This thesis examines the complex history of domestic service in post-colonial Zambia, centring on the capital city of Lusaka. The study focusses on domestic service arrangements in black Zambian households and examines how and why domestic workers entered service, why employers sought to employ a domestic worker and the relationships that developed between these parties.

Under British colonial rule in what was then Northern Rhodesia, African men and women were brought into the homes of Europeans and 'trained' to do domestic work according to an idealised European model of domesticity. Relationships between employers and domestic workers were grounded from the start in inequalities of race, class and gender. Alternative domestic service arrangements existed in African households at this time, as African men and women turned to kin and young people for help with domestic labour in their homes. Such practices drew on local gendered and gerontocratic hierarchies. After independence, domestic service arrangements both persisted and were remade to reflect the predominant lines of cleavage in post-colonial society: urban socio-economic inequality, unequal development and access to resources in urban versus rural areas, and of course, gendered inequality.

Over the last fifty years the demographic composition of the sector has shifted markedly. Increasing numbers of black Zambian households employed domestic workers and, over time, black Zambians replaced Europeans as the largest group of employers. The number of men, women and children employed in domestic service also steadily increased, reflecting increased demand for their labour and, from the late 1970s, declining formal sector employment. As growing numbers of women and female

children entered domestic service, there was a marked shift in the gender and age demographic of domestic workers, away from the adult men who had dominated the sector in the colonial period and towards younger female labour.

Although tens of thousands of men, women and children have been involved in domestic service, either as workers or employers since Zambian independence, the subject has received little scholarly or official attention. Domestic workers are largely absent from the historiography, reflecting a broader neglect of both informal sector employment and female workers in Zambian history. For their part Zambian government officials, trade unionists and civil society activists have also largely ignored the domestic service sector for most of the period under study. This neglect of the history of domestic service within the broader narrative of the post-colonial period is significant for several reasons. First, as noted above, domestic service was one of the largest sectors of urban employment in the post-colonial context, as it had been under colonial rule. The sector steadily expanded during the independence era, as increasing numbers of domestic workers were recruited for a growing number of employers, even as formal sector employment – the subject of many studies - declined from the late 1970s onwards. By excluding the histories of domestic workers and employers from the broader history of the economy and labour relations, historians have clearly underestimated not only the scale of the domestic service sector, but also its significance in the wider urban economy.

The lack of attention paid to domestic service by academics and policy-makers has also considerably limited the questions that have been asked about who workers are and how processes of reproduction and production have been organized at a household and societal level in Zambia, both historically and in the present. Most immediately, in order to work outside of the home, earn money and access crucial resources, thousands of urban residents needed to find someone else to take care of their homes and children. This was particularly the case for women. The ways in which Zambian women and girls' economic roles have shifted during the last fifty years cannot be understood without appreciating the neglected history of domestic service.

With its strong focus on women and girls, this study challenges the industrial and androcentric focus of existing Zambian labour history. The study also explains the gendered and generational changes that have taken place within the domestic service

sectors over the last fifty years. The gender balance of the sector shifted markedly during this period, as increasing numbers of women and girls became employed in indoor domestic service roles and men were steadily pushed into outdoor roles. A wide range of qualitative sources are used to demonstrate that these shifts were the result of both broader increases in female labour-force participation and a related increase in demand for female labour for childcare.

Neither is it possible to understand class relations in the post-colonial context without considering relationships between domestic workers and employers. Although racial privilege declined in many post-colonial African cities, social hierarchies based on wealth remained firmly established. In the growing literature on the African 'middle class' very little has been written about the relationship between domestic service and class. This thesis, by contrast, illustrates the centrality of domestic service to the making of class identity and class relations. Socially, domestic service brought people together across class divisions. This occurred both within urban society and across urban-rural divides, as urban residents turned to their kinswomen to help meet their domestic labour requirements. Spatially, domestic service brought poor urban and rural residents into affluent areas of Lusaka. Moreover, the presence of servants' quarters in the back gardens of affluent black Zambian households reproduced in microcosm the juxtaposition of wealth that separated Lusaka's richer and poorer communities. These aspects of the history of domestic service draw attention to the ways in which post-colonial societies did not in many respects become more equal places after independence.

Unlike previous analyses of domestic service in African contexts, this study rejects a narrow focus on relationships between 'middle class' employers and their domestic workers, instead examining domestic service arrangements across the socio-economic spectrum. In doing so, the breadth and diversity of domestic service is illustrated and the significance of kinship-based labour relations comes to the fore. The testimonies of domestic workers and employers show that, throughout the period under study, both parties drew on kinship networks as sources of labour and support. Kinship-based labour relations were particularly important for poorer householders who needed help with domestic labour and for poor women and girls who needed a source of income. By studying domestic service relationships between kin, the thesis traces how this form of association has shifted over time in ways that shed light on broader economic and social

changes in Zambia. The study makes particular findings regarding the role of female-centred kinship networks and the ways in female employers and domestic workers mobilised and were drawn into domestic service via these networks.

The thesis draws on and contributes to several areas of scholarship. It purposively engages with a broad body of literature on African labour relations, from early studies of male industrial workers to more recent analysis of children's roles as productive members of the household economy. In doing so it seeks to overcome the failure to adequately incorporate either domestic workers or women and children into Zambian labour history. The thesis also draws on a range of studies of domestic service both in Africa and globally. This literature offers crucial insights into the importance of domestic workers to urban and rural economies over time, and draws attention to histories of women. Despite these contributions, existing studies of domestic service have, barring several recent examples, paid too little attention to the labour of children and to informal domestic service arrangements, two areas of research that this thesis addresses.

As domestic service is one of the least well-documented areas of post-colonial social and economic life this thesis draws on a broad range of sources. Oral history interviews offer the most extensive and rich source of material. The focus on oral history was also adopted in order to overcome many of the shortcomings of earlier research on both Zambian labour history and domestic service more broadly. As noted above, for too long the activities of women and of children have been excluded from both areas of scholarship. Such groups are conspicuously absent in archival records, including government labour reports. Oral histories thus provide unique and important insights into the working lives and experiences of women and children. Yet using this set of sources alone would not have provided an adequate picture of either the broader context of domestic service or of post-colonial economic and social life. The insights offered by oral histories are thus complemented by the study of colonial and postcolonial government documents, newspapers, materials from trade union archives, informal observations and a household survey.

The findings of the study are organised into five main chapters. The introduction outlines the historiographical basis of the study and provides an overview of the social and economic context of post-colonial Zambia. It also explains the methodological

approach of the thesis. The following chapter explores the lexicon of domestic service, looking specifically at the language used to describe the sector by the governments of colonial and post-colonial Zambia, the Zambian labour movement, international organizations and domestic workers and employers. The chapter illustrates that no one set of terms adequately captures the idiosyncrasies and nuances of domestic service in the post-colonial context. It also provides clarification of the terminology used in the following chapters.

The three central chapters focus on the labour process itself and relationships between individual domestic workers and employers. Chapter Two investigates the ways in which relations of class and kinship shaped domestic service arrangements. Although wealthy and middle-income households have been the traditional focus of research, this chapter shows that households across the socio-economic spectrum employed domestic workers and that they did so by drawing on a mixture of class-based and kinship-based labour relations. The chapter illustrates that, despite the inequalities of the labour process, domestic workers and employers became enmeshed in relations of dependency in response to the hardships of post-colonial urban life.

The gendered and generational demographics of the domestic service sector shifted significantly between the 1960s and 2010s. Chapter Three argues that such transitions were a result of increased female labour force participation more broadly, linked changes in the needs of employers, and the gendered association of childcare with female labour. Building on these arguments, Chapter Four examines how female employers used female-centred social networks to recruit fellow women and also female children into domestic service. The chapter considers the ways in which rural conditions prompted women and girls to migrate and how migrants have directly and indirectly supported rural communities. This chapter demonstrates that current work on migration fails to recognise the significance of migrant domestic workers, particularly women and girls, and the contributions that these workers have made to urban and rural households.

Chapter Five moves away from the labour process and examines the history of efforts to organise, formalise and professionalise domestic service since the late colonial period. The chapter focuses on three processes: attempts to organise domestic workers into associations and trade unions; government initiatives to legislate and to formalise

domestic service as an area of employment; and the rise of 'maid centre' employment agencies. The chapter demonstrates that both state and non-governmental interventions into domestic service have failed to address the full spectrum of domestic service arrangements and as such have had a more limited impact on the lives of domestic workers than was intended.

The findings of this research clearly illustrate that it is not possible to understand broader changes in social and economic relations in African cities like Lusaka without taking into account relationships between domestic workers and employers. For the inequalities that shaped and were reproduced within domestic service relationships reflected and perpetuated on a micro scale the broader social and spatial stratifications of post-colonial society. Overall this thesis provides new insights into class formation, rural-urban dependencies, gender relations, and the nature of inequality in a post-colonial African city.

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This thesis is the product of many people's hard work and contributions. To begin I must thank Miles Larmer for his guidance and encouragement. Miles was, quite simply, an outstanding supervisor and I cannot thank him enough. I was first inspired to pursue postgraduate research at the University of Warwick where I was lucky enough to be taught by a range of excellent historians. I particularly want to thank Daniel Branch and Carolyn Steedman. Later at the University of Manchester, Steven Pierce introduced me to innovative and exciting work in African studies and encouraged me to develop my interest in domestic service into a doctoral research project.

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Doctoral research can be a lonely and uncertain experience and above all I want to thank my family and my partner for providing much-needed encouragement, hugs and support throughout this process.

This thesis is dedicated to all of the domestic workers who participated in the oral history project. This history could not have written without each of your contributions. I want to thank you for your trust, warmth and kindness and I hope that the following does justice to your labour.

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List of Abbreviations

AfDB	African Development Bank
CSO	Central Statistical Office
FENZA	Faith and Encounter Centre of Zambia
FFTUZ	Free Federation of Trade Unions of Zambia
GDD	Gender and Development Division
ILO	The International Labour Organization
ILO-IPEC	The International Labour Organization-International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour
IRC	Industrial Relations Court
MMD	Movement for Multi-Party Democracy
MoL	Ministry of Labour
NAZ	National Archives of Zambia
NCDP	National Commission for Development Planning
NDHAZ	National Domestic Houseservants' Association of Zambia
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NUCHDW	National Union of Catering, Hotel and Domestic Workers
RLI	Rhodes-Livingstone Institute
SADWU	South African Domestic Workers Union
U-FFTUZ	United House and Domestic Workers Union of Zambia, affiliated to Free Federation of Trade Unions of Zambia
UHDWUZ	United House and Domestic Workers Union of Zambia
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNIP	United National Independence Party
UTUC	United Trade Union Congress
UNZA	University of Zambia
UPP	United Progressive Party
U-ZCTU	United House and Domestic Workers Union of Zambia, affiliated to Zambia Congress of Trade Unions
WI	Women's Institute
WIDD	Women in Development Department
ZCTU	Zambia Congress of Trade Unions
ZFE	Zambia Federation of Employers
ZNPF	Zambia National Provident Fund

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Introduction

Domestic service, in its many forms, is a highly significant but hitherto little analysed area of African labour relations. The International Labour Organization (ILO) estimates that approximately 5.2 million African men and women made their living by selling domestic labour in 2010, equivalent to just under five per cent of all paid employees on the continent.[1] In Zambia, these workers participate in a form of labour relations informed by various historical processes, including the legacies of colonial domesticity and long-established practices of junior kin providing domestic labour to their seniors to both reinforce kinship ties and secure support. This thesis examines the complex history of domestic service in Zambia from the 1960s to the present day. The study centres on domestic service arrangements in black Zambian households in the capital city of Lusaka and examines how and why domestic workers entered service, why employers sought to employ a domestic worker and the relationships that developed between these parties.

Under British colonial rule in what was then Northern Rhodesia, African men and women were brought into the homes of Europeans and 'trained' to do domestic work according to an idealised European model of domesticity. Relationships between employers and domestic workers were grounded from the start in inequalities of race, class and gender. Alternative domestic service arrangements existed in African households under colonial rule, as African men and women turned to kin and young people for help with domestic labour in their homes. Such practices drew on local gendered and gerontocratic hierarchies. After independence, domestic service arrangements both persisted and were remade to reflect the predominant lines of cleavage in post-colonial society: urban socio-economic inequality, unequal development and access to resources in urban versus rural areas, and of course, gendered inequality.

Over the last fifty years the demographic composition of the sector has shifted markedly. Increasing numbers of black Zambian households employed domestic workers and, over time, black Zambians replaced Europeans as the largest group of employers. The number of men, women and children employed in domestic service

[1] International Labour Organization (ILO), 'Domestic Workers Across the World: Global and Regional Statistics and the Extent of Legal Protection' (Geneva, 2013), p. 20.

also steadily increased, reflecting increased demand for their labour and, from the late 1970s, declining formal sector employment. As growing numbers of women and female children entered domestic service, there was a marked shift in the gender and age demographic of domestic workers, away from the adult men who had dominated the sector in the colonial period and towards younger female labour. According to official labour force statistics, out of the 27,500 people estimated to be employed in domestic service in 1964 only 700, or less than three per cent, were female.[2] Yet by 2014, an estimated fifty-six per cent of the 97,652 persons estimated to be employed in domestic service were female, a large number of whom were children.[3]

Although tens of thousands of men, women and children have been involved in domestic service, either as workers or employers since Zambian independence, the subject has received little scholarly or official attention. Domestic workers are largely absent from the historiography, reflecting a broader neglect of both informal sector employment and female workers in Zambian history.[4] For their part Zambian government officials, trade unionists and civil society activists have also largely ignored the domestic service sector for most of the period under study. This neglect of the history of domestic service within the broader narrative of the post-colonial period is significant for several reasons. First, as noted above, domestic service was one of the largest sectors of urban employment in the post-colonial context, as it had been under colonial rule. The sector steadily expanded during the independence era, as increasing numbers of domestic workers were recruited for a growing number of employers, even as formal sector employment – the subject of many studies - declined from the late 1970s onwards. By excluding the histories of domestic workers and employers from the broader history of the economy and labour relations, historians have clearly underestimated not only the scale of the domestic service sector, but also its significance in the wider urban economy.

The lack of attention paid to domestic service by academics and policy-makers has also considerably limited the questions that have been asked about who workers are and

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[2] National Archives of Zambia (NAZ), MLSS1/23 83, Annual Reports ILO Lusaka, 1959-1968, Annual Labour Report 1964.
[3] International Labour Organization (ILO), 'Magnitude of Domestic Workers in Zambia: Highlights of Domestic Worker Survey' (Lusaka, 2014), p. 2.
[4] Studies of labour have instead focused largely on formal sector employment and industrial activity. See for example M. Burawoy, *The Colour of Class on the Copper Mines: from African Advancement to Zambianisation* (Lusaka, 1972); and more recently, M. Larmer, *Mineworkers in Zambia: Labour and Political Change in Post-Colonial Africa, 1964-1991* (London, 2007).

how processes of reproduction and production have been organized at a household and societal level in Zambia, both historically and in the present. Most immediately, in order to work outside of the home, earn money and access crucial resources, thousands of urban residents needed to find someone else to take care of their homes and children. This was particularly the case for women. The ways in which Zambian women's economic roles have shifted during the last fifty years cannot be understood without appreciating the neglected history of domestic service.

With its strong focus on women and girls, this study challenges the industrial and androcentric focus of existing Zambian labour history. The study also explains the gendered and generational changes that have taken place within the domestic service sectors over the last fifty years. The gender balance of the sector shifted markedly during this period, as increasing numbers of women and girls became employed in indoor domestic service roles and men were steadily pushed into outdoor roles. A wide range of qualitative sources are used to demonstrate that these shifts developed because of both broader increases in female labour-force participation and a related increase in demand for female labour for childcare.

Neither is it possible to understand class relations in the post-colonial context without considering relationships between domestic workers and employers. Although racial privilege declined in many post-colonial African cities, social hierarchies based on wealth remained firmly established. In the growing literature on the African 'middle class' very little has been written about the relationship between domestic service and class.[5] This thesis, by contrast, illustrates the centrality of domestic service to the making of class identity and class relations. Socially, domestic service brought people together across class divisions. This occurred both within urban society and across urban-rural divides, as urban residents turned to their kinswomen to help meet their domestic labour requirements. Spatially, domestic service brought poor urban and rural residents into affluent areas of Lusaka. Moreover, the presence of servants' quarters in the back gardens of affluent black Zambian households reproduced in microcosm the juxtaposition of wealth that separated Lusaka's richer and poorer

[5] Recent studies of the African middle class include: M. O. West, *The Rise of an African Middle Class: Colonial Zimbabwe 1898-1965* (Bloomington IN, 2002); M. Bolt, 'Camaraderie and its Discontents: Class Consciousness, Ethnicity and Divergent Masculinities among Zimbabwean Migrant Farmworkers in South Africa', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 36 (2010), pp. 377-393; C. Mercer, 'Middle Class Construction: Domestic Architecture, Aesthetics and Anxieties in Tanzania', *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 52 (2014), pp. 227-250.

communities. These aspects of the history of domestic service draw attention to the ways in which post-colonial societies did not in many respects become more equal places after independence.

Unlike previous analyses of domestic service in African contexts, this study rejects a narrow focus on relationships between 'middle class' employers and their domestic workers, instead examining domestic service arrangements across the socio-economic spectrum. In doing so, the breadth and diversity of domestic service is illustrated and the significance of kinship-based labour relations comes to the fore. The testimonies of domestic workers and employers show that, throughout the period under study, both parties drew on kinship networks as sources of labour and support. Kinship-based labour relations were particularly important for poorer householders who needed help with domestic labour and for poor women and girls who needed a source of income. By studying domestic service relationships between kin, the thesis traces how this form of association has shifted over time in ways that shed light on broader economic and social changes in Zambia. The study makes particular findings regarding the role of female-centred kinship networks and the ways in female employers and domestic workers mobilised and were drawn into domestic service via these networks.

Context of the Study: Post-Colonial Lusaka

At Zambian independence in 1964, the country had a stable and growing economy. This early prosperity was founded on the successes of colonial-era copper mining. During the 1960s and early 1970s economic policy continued to depend on this key industry. Government and private sector investment in agricultural development and alternative industries such as manufacturing were inadequate and attempts to diversify the economy failed. The oil shock of the early 1970s, and subsequent decreases in the price and export-value of copper thus had a devastating impact on the Zambian economy and led the country into a prolonged and devastating process of economic decline.[6] During the 1980s the Zambian government, under pressure from international donors, pursued structural adjustment policies that exacerbated existing

[6] Studies of the impact of economic decline on Zambian urban and rural communities include J. Pottier, *Migrants No More: Settlement and Survival in Mambwe Villages, Zambia* (Manchester, 1988); J. Ferguson, *Expectations of Modernity: Myths and Meanings of Urban Life on the Zambian Copperbelt* (London, 1999); M. Larmer, *Mineworkers in Zambia*; M. Larmer, 'Reaction and Resistance to Neoliberalism in Zambia', *Review of African Political Economy*, 103 (2005), pp. 30-32; J. Gould, *Left Behind: Rural Zambia in the Third Republic* (Lusaka, 2010).

socio-economic inequalities and increased economic hardship for many rural and urban residents. The economic liberalisation policies of the 1990s and 2000s further intensified hardships for rural and urban Zambians as public services were slashed, price controls on key commodities were removed and agricultural subsidies were stopped.[7] By 2010 almost seventy-eight per cent of rural Zambians and a third of urban residents were living below the poverty line.[8] In Lusaka these broader historical processes of initial economic growth followed by economic decline were experienced on an intense scale, though hardship affected different socio-economic groups in contrasting ways.

These economic difficulties were further compounded by the devastating impact of HIV/AIDS. The first case of AIDS in Zambia was reported in 1984. Twenty years later, at the end of 2004, the Ministry of Health estimated that approximately one million Zambians were living with HIV/AIDS.[9] The intense social breakdown and economic hardship that households affected by HIV/AIDS have experienced cannot be underestimated. As Iliffe has suggested, the AIDS epidemic needs to be understood as 'a family disease whose impact fell first and most heavily upon the household, with young adults as the chief victims'.[10] The epidemic created many single-headed households, as men and women struggled to survive without their partners. It also led to a proliferation of households headed by the elderly or by children who had lost one or both parents.[11]

Lusaka is a particularly revealing site for the study of post-colonial economic decline and its social impacts. The history of Zambia's capital offers significant insights into processes of urban population growth amid broader economic hardship, changing employment structures in post-colonial cities, and continued urban-rural dependencies. Lusaka had been identified as the site of the new capital by the British colonial government during the 1930s. At that time, it was a small African settlement along the railway line connecting southern Africa with the mines of the Copperbelt and Katanga (in the then Belgian Congo). As the administrative centre of the colony, the

[7] Gould, *Left Behind*, p. 16.
[8] Central Statistical Office (CSO), '2010 Census of Population and Housing: National Analytical Report' (Lusaka, 2012).
[9] World Health Organisation (WHO), 'Zambia: Summary Country Profile for Treatment Scale-Up' (December 2005), p. 1. Accessed at http://www.who.int/hiv/HIVCP_ZMB.pdf on 1 August 2016.
[10] J. Iliffe, *The African AIDS Epidemic: A History* (Oxford, 2006), p. 112.
[11] Ibid, p. 116-118.

city was planned to incorporate both government and business districts and housing areas that were separated along racial lines.[12] Low-cost housing areas for African workers and their families were established from the earliest years of the city's existence, expanding as the urban population grew. Many of these settlements were unplanned and contrasted with the planned and orderly garden city that colonial officials sought to maintain as the preserve of Europeans.[13]

After independence Lusaka continued to grow at a rapid pace as a result of both natural population growth and high levels of rural-urban migration. In 1969 the city's population was an estimated 83,625; only twenty years later in 1980, this had increased to 535,830.[14] In 1990 the population stood at 761,064. By 2010, Lusaka was thought to be home to 1,747,452 of Zambia's total population of 13,092,666.[15] Lusaka's population had grown rapidly despite periods of wider economic decline, suggesting that many men, women and children saw the city as a source of employment and broader hopes for the future. Alongside this exponential increase, came growing demand for urban housing, services and opportunities for employment. Urban housing shortages had been identified as a problem since the colonial period and the various 'unofficial' settlements on the outskirts of the city grew to accommodate new urban residents.[16] Initially, employment opportunities increased more rapidly than the supply of housing. During the 1970s, formal employment stagnated and the informal economy became an increasingly important source of income for many residents.[17]

Despite the increasingly challenging economic environment, the demand for domestic workers continued to grow. During the 1960s and early 1970s, as increasing numbers of black Zambians entered professional and formal sector jobs, the demand for domestic workers grew. The demographic of employers steadily shifted away from Europeans and towards the local population. Even though from the mid-1970s onwards households across the socio-economic spectrum experienced hardship because

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[12] On the historical development of Lusaka under colonial rule, see K. T. Hansen, *Keeping House in Lusaka* (New York, 1997), pp. 21-46; G. A. Myers, *Verandahs of Power: Colonialism and Space in Urban Africa* (Syracuse NY, 2003), pp. 55-75.
[13] Hansen, *Keeping House in Lusaka*, pp. 27-28.
[14] Central Statistical Office (CSO), 'Census of Population and Housing 1969: Final Report Volume One-Total Zambia' (Lusaka, 1970); Central Statistical Office (CSO), '2000 Census of Population and Housing: Lusaka Province Analytical Report Volume Five' (Lusaka, 2004).
[15] CSO, '2000 Census of Population and Housing: Lusaka Province Analytical Report'; Central Statistical Office (CSO), '2010 Census of Population and Housing: Population Summary Report' (Lusaka, 2012).
[16] Hansen, *Keeping House in Lusaka*, pp. 27-28, pp. 51-53.
[17] Ibid, p. 51.

of structural adjustment and retrenchments, the need for help with domestic and care labour remained a constant. Children had to be taken care of, food had to be prepared, clothes had to be washed and ironed, and homes had to be kept secure.

This thesis also provides a study of the strategies that Zambian men, women and children have developed, successfully or not, to address the challenges of an economy in almost perpetual decline from the mid-1970s to early 2000s. The study shows that domestic service provided a safety net of sorts for both employers and workers. Although domestic service was grounded in and perpetuated social and economic inequality, it also provided both domestic workers and employers with vital forms of support. For many Lusakans, engaging in domestic service was the difference between economic survival and poverty. Domestic workers provided the labour needed to enable their employers to work outside of the home, while selling domestic labour provided domestic workers with access to cash, resources and, for some, the support of a patron.

Figure 1. Map of Lusaka, c. 2010. Accessed at http://www.footiemap.com/multiclubcities.php?co=zambia&season=2010&map=lusaka&league=1&trivia=1&showing= on 29 July 2016.

Because of the neglect of this important sector by government and academic analysts alike, it is difficult to obtain definitive figures on domestic service in Lusaka for the period under study and thereby to trace how the sector expanded and contracted over time. Though the colonial government had attempted to estimate the number of people employed in domestic service on a monthly and annual basis, after independence domestic service was only included in labour force reports and statistics as a specific category until 1970. From 1971 to 2013, figures for the sector are sporadic and patchy.[18] According to the limited statistics that are available for the period under study, the number of people employed as domestic workers increased from 27,500 in 1964 to 97,652 by 2013.[19] These figures are highly questionable. The available data is based either on estimates or sample surveys and generally excludes 'informal' domestic service arrangements and the employment of children. As this thesis will demonstrate by drawing on qualitative sources, these latter categories were central to the domestic service sector throughout the period under study.

Defining Domestic Service

In the Zambian context, and indeed more broadly, defining what is and is not 'domestic service' is far from straightforward. The definition of 'domestic service' that is used in this thesis refers to a spectrum of arrangements in which domestic and care labour are exchanged for cash and/or in-kind payments. We might place the employment of children in kinship-based labour relations at one end of that spectrum and formal contractual employment at the other. The labour performed by domestic workers may have included but was not limited to cooking and preparing meals, cleaning the house, washing and ironing clothes, childcare, sweeping the surroundings, gardening and security work. This definition has been developed to describe domestic service in the post-colonial Zambian context, but it could likely be applied elsewhere in the region. The first chapter of this thesis provides an extensive analysis of the language of domestic service in both African and non-African contexts,

[18] For example, during the 1980s and early 1990s the Central Statistical Office only included figures on the domestic service sector in its statistical digests for 1989 and 1991. Central Statistical Office (CSO), 'Monthly Digest of Statistics January-June, 1989'; Central Statistical Office (CSO), 'Monthly Digests of Statistics July-October, 1991' (Lusaka, 1991).
[19] Based on figures produced by the Department of Labour in 1964 and a survey of domestic workers conducted by the ILO in 2013. See MLSS1/23 83, Annual Reports ILO Lusaka, 1959-1968, Annual Labour Report 1964; ILO, 'Magnitude of Domestic Workers in Zambia', p. 2.

and aims to contribute to debates that developed out of feminist scholarship on the nature of paid and unpaid reproductive labour.

Now let us consider those who have employed domestic workers in Lusaka during the last fifty years. This group of people cannot be reduced to any specific category of gender, class, race or age. The exact demographics of employers are difficult to deduce because of the lack of quantitative statistics: the limited data provided in government reports did not contain the race, nationality, gender or age of employers.[20] A recent study by the ILO similarly did not break down employers by race or nationality.[21] It is clear, however, that after independence increasing numbers of black Zambians employed domestic workers, becoming the largest group of employers, and that white and Asian Zambians and expatriates of various nationalities became a smaller, though still important, group of employers. For example, according to research conducted by the anthropologist Karen Tranberg Hansen, in the mid-1980s approximately forty-two per cent of employers were black Zambians, thirty-three per cent were white (Zambian and expatriate) and twenty-five per cent were Asian (Zambian and expatriate).[22]

Black Zambian employers were diversely located in the post-colonial socio-economic landscape and varied in terms of gender, age, occupation, income, education, household size, and family background. Employers were not only located amongst the middle and wealthier households of the city, but also among the poor. To separate black Zambian employers into distinct class groups is difficult, in part because of the Eurocentric nature of class categories but also because individual employers' social and economic status shifted over time. For example, as will be discussed further in Chapter Two, as a result of the high demand for urban housing, many ostensibly middle-class employers lived in the city's low-income compounds. That being said, the majority of employers interviewed for this research could be categorised as 'middle class', mostly employed in white-collar jobs, various professions and operating businesses.

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[20] This was the case for labour reports produced throughout the 1960s. NAZ, MLSS1/23 83, Annual Reports ILO Lusaka, 1959-1968; and NAZ, MLSS1/23 102, Annual Report (Stats) 1968-1970.
[21] International Labour Organization (ILO), 'Draft Report: Patterns of Employment Relationships and Working Conditions for Domestic Work in Zambia' (Lusaka, 2014), pp. 12-14.
[22] K. T. Hansen, *Distant Companions: Servants and Employers in Zambia, 1900-1989* (Ithaca NY, 1989), p. 225.

The domestic workers examined in this thesis were similarly diverse, though generally located at the lower end of the socio-economic scale. Unlike previous studies, this thesis considers male and female, adult and child domestic workers together, in order to develop a comprehensive understanding of the nature of domestic service in a city like Lusaka.[23] These workers found employment as domestic workers for various reasons; while some sought work to support their spouse and children, others were 'brought' to town as children by urban relatives looking for cheap childcare. These are just two examples of the varied experiences explored in the following chapters. Men, women and children engaged in both 'live-in' and 'live-out' work, the latter often involving a commute on foot of around an hour each way. Forms of remuneration and working conditions also varied. While some domestic workers were paid in cash, others, particularly children and those working for kin, received in kind payments of accommodation, food and access to the resources of the household.

It is common in the reports of government and development organizations for a distinction to be made between paid domestic workers and unpaid family or relative workers.[24] The problem with such a distinction is that 'unpaid' relatives and family workers may receive payment for their work in kind or in an unrecognised form.[25] If a person performs domestic work and receives accommodation, food, and other non-monetary items, is it accurate to categorise that person as an 'unpaid' worker? As Jack Lord has suggested in relation to children and work in colonial Ghana, work that is unwaged is not necessarily unrewarded.[26] In the history of domestic service, in Zambia and elsewhere, payments in kind were and remain common, frequently accompanying payment in cash but also sometimes in lieu of cash payments. Such in-kind payments were often highly valued by the workers involved and were used to support both urban and rural households. This thesis will thus not make blanket distinctions between paid and unpaid work on the basis of the extent of cash remuneration.

[23] Hansen's seminal study of domestic service in Zambia focused on adult workers, primarily men. As will be discussed below, studies of domestic workers in Tanzania and South Africa similarly focus primarily on adult workers. See Hansen, *Distant Companions*, p. 221.
[24] This can be seen in official publications and in secondary works. See CSO, '2010 Census of Population and Housing: National Analytical Report'; O. D. Oyaide, 'Child Domestic Labour in Lusaka: A Gender Perspective' (University of Zambia. Bachelor's dissertation, 2000).
[25] International Labour Organization (ILO), 'Summary: Patterns of Employment Arrangements and Working Conditions for Domestic Work in Zambia' (Lusaka, 2014).
[26] J. Lord, 'Child Labor in the Gold Coast: the economics of work, education and the family in late-colonial Africa, c.1940-57', *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, 4 (2011), p. 105.

Domestic service changed significantly during the period under analysis, not just demographically but in terms of the nature of the work performed. The employment of multiple specialised domestic workers became less common, with most households increasingly employing one general indoor worker to take care of a range of tasks.[27] The employment of one indoor worker and one outdoor worker was a distinctive feature of post-colonial domestic service in many households. In households with greater means, two indoor workers might be employed: usually one female worker for childcare and a male or female worker for other indoor work. The needs of the employing household naturally shaped the tasks to be performed, something that was particularly clear in the case of childcare. The impetus behind many employers' decision to first employ a domestic worker was often directly linked to childcare. In households without children or in which the employer took care of her own children, the domestic worker's indoor tasks were often much reduced.

The gender dynamics of the labour force are also complex. Contrary to widespread stereotypes surrounding gender and domestic work, domestic service in Zambia, in a formal sense at least, was gendered male for much of the period under study. Indeed, it has been estimated that approximately three-quarters of domestic workers were men during the mid-1980s.[28] Yet by the 2010s the gender ratio of indoor work had reversed, with women and girls now doing the majority of indoor jobs and men dominating garden and security work. These gendered and generational transitions will be explained and analysed in more detail in Chapter Three.

Historiography

This thesis draws on and contributes to several areas of scholarship. It purposively engages with a broad body of literature on African labour relations, from early studies of male industrial workers to more recent analysis of children's roles as productive members of the household economy. In doing so it seeks to overcome the failure to adequately incorporate either domestic workers or female and child workers into Zambian labour history. The thesis also draws on a range of studies of domestic service both in Africa and globally. This literature offers crucial insights into the importance of domestic workers to urban and rural economies over time, and draws

[27] Hansen, *Distant Companions*, pp. 245-246.
[28] Ibid, p. 221.

particular attention to histories of women. Despite these contributions, existing studies of domestic service have, barring several recent examples, paid too little attention to the labour of children and to informal domestic service arrangements, two areas of research that this thesis addresses.

African Labour History

As a classic site of research in African labour history, scholarship on Zambian labour and labour migration is extensive and reflects broader trends in the historiography. During the 1960s and 1970s, African labour historians primarily examined macro-level developments in labour relations and the leadership of trade unions. These studies reflected the influence of European Marxist thought, focussing on the development of capitalist economic relations and the *making* of working class communities in African contexts. African workers were mostly studied in relation to industrial labour and organised labour movements, reflecting a focus on formal labour regimes and waged employment.[29] In his study of the Zambian Copperbelt, Michael Burawoy, for example, examined class relations in mining communities and the conflict-ridden relationship between mining unions and the Zambian government.[30] Such studies offered various insights into the development of urban economies and organised labour, but they offered few insights into work outside of the formal waged economy and, as a result of their andocentric focus, said little about the labour of women and children.

There were significant shifts in African labour history writing during the 1980s. In particular, historians began to problematize some of the underlying assumptions that had shaped earlier scholarship and drew attention to the experiences of individual workers.[31] Yet there remained substantial continuities in the analytical approach and gendered assumptions of African labour historians. Class relations were largely framed in Western modernist terms. Formal wage labour was the dominant focus of research, despite the fact that most African men, women and children did not engage in this

[29] See for example R. Cohen, *Labour and Politics in Nigeria 1945-1971* (London, 1974); R. Sandbrook and R. Cohen (eds), *The Development of an African Working Class* (London, 1975); A. J. Peace, *Choice, Class, and Conflict: a Study of Southern Nigerian Factory Workers* (Brighton, 1979).
[30] Burawoy, *The Colour of Class on the Copper Mines*, p. 3.
[31] Examples include B. Freund, *Capital and Labour in the Nigerian Tin Mines* (London, 1981); I. R. Phimister, *An Economic and Social History of Zimbabwe, 1890-1948: Capital Accumulation and Class Struggle* (London, 1988).

type of economic activity. The turn to individual experience focussed on adult male experience. Clearly both the concept of work and 'the worker' remained characterised in very particular and limited ways.

Only during the later 1980s and 1990s would historians thoroughly address the gendered biases that had shaped earlier labour history writing. Historians pursuing gendered and feminist analysis were at the forefront of these developments, highlighting in particular the problematic application of Marxist-influenced class analysis to African contexts and the need to expand definitions of 'production' and 'worker'. Iris Berger and Claire Robertson, for example, stressed the need to reconceptualise class to take into account the impact of qualifying categories such as gender, generation, and household relations.[32] Focussing on patriarchy and reproduction, Sharon Stichter and Jane Parpart highlighted the crucial role of women's domestic labour to the household and to capital in Africa.[33] Such studies were crucial interventions in a labour historiography that had been overwhelmingly sex-blind.

These historiographical developments influenced Zambian historiography, with studies by George Chauncey and Jane Parpart highlighting the economic activities of African women on the Copperbelt under colonial rule. Colonial anthropologists had noted the presence of women in the towns of the Copperbelt since the 1940s.[34] Yet these urban women had generally only been studied as the wives of migrants, not as individuals, or workers in their own right. Parpart's work examined how African women on the Copperbelt had played an important role in the urban economy, transferring and adapting their traditional rural responsibilities to the urban setting: selling domestic and sexual services, food, crafts, and beer.[35] Chauncey argued that mining company and colonial records underestimated African women's productive roles because few women were employed in the formal economy and he used oral

[32] I. Berger and C. Robertson, 'Introduction: Analysing Class and Gender- African Perspectives', in I. Berger and C. Robertson (eds), *Women and Class in Africa* (New York, 1986), p. 7.
[33] S. Stichter and J. Parpart, 'Introduction: Toward a Materialist Perspective on African Women', in S. Stichter and J. Parpart (eds), *Patriarchy and Class: African Women at Home and in the Workforce* (Boulder CO, 1988), pp. 1-2.
[34] See for example H. Powdermaker, *Copper Town: Changing Africa* (New York, 1962).
[35] J. Parpart, 'Sexuality and Power on the Zambian Copperbelt', in S. Stichter and J. Parpart (eds), *Patriarchy and Class: African Women at Home and in the Workforce* (Boulder CO, 1988), p. 118.

histories to explore women's perceptions of their migration to and purpose in town.[36] These studies made clear that women in town were involved in more than the social reproduction of the male workers within the household. During the 1990s, Moore and Vaughan's study of gender and nutrition in the Northern Province of Zambia provided a further challenge to the gendered assumptions of earlier labour history writing, illustrating in particular the significance of gender and age to labour migration strategies.[37]

Yet despite the contributions of Moore and Vaughan, Parpart and Chauncey, much remains to be done to highlight the multiplicity of labour and migration practices that Zambian workers have engaged in historically. There are clear gendered and generational issues to consider, for most women and children were excluded from formal sector occupations and so pursued employment in lesser-understood areas of the post-colonial economy such as domestic service. There is a literature on aspects of informal sector employment in post-colonial contexts, with particularly helpful studies of market trading and beer-brewing.[38] However too little is known about the history of the domestic service sector, particularly surrounding kinship-based labour arrangements and the female workers who predominate in this area of employment. This thesis provides new insights into this sector of the informal economy.

Histories of Paid and Unpaid Domestic Labour

Most of the literature on domestic service in Africa focuses on the colonial period. From the early years of colonial settlement in Africa, colonised peoples were brought into white households to engage in domestic service. Charles van Onselen's study of late nineteenth century Johannesburg notes that Africans were often employed as 'general servants' in the early years of colonial settlement, supporting the work of 'specialist' white domestic workers.[39] In her study of domestic service in Zambia, Hansen traced the spread of colonialism from the South African colonies into Central

[36] G. Chauncey, 'The Locus of Reproduction: Women's Labour in the Zambian Copperbelt, 1927-1953', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 7 (1981), p. 136.
[37] See H. Moore and M. Vaughan, *Cutting Down Trees: Gender, Nutrition and Agricultural Change in Zambia* (Portsmouth NH, 1994), pp. 141-142.
[38] On Zambia see K. T. Hansen, *Salaula: the World of Secondhand Clothing and Zambia* (Chicago IL, 2000). Edited volumes include K. T. Hansen and M. Vaa (eds), *Reconsidering Informality: Perspectives from Urban Africa* (Uppsala, 2004); and I. Lindell, *Africa's Informal Workers: Collective Agency, Alliances and Transnational Organizing in Urban Africa* (London, 2010).
[39] C. van Onselen, *Studies in the Economic and Social History of the Witwatersrand 1886-1914 Volume 2: New Ninevah* (Harlow, 1982), p. 3.

Africa, noting that as they moved north, British colonial officials, white mineworkers and their families similarly sought out African domestics to take care of domestic labour. These workers were trained to cook European-style meals, to clean the house, and to serve and wait on their employers.[40] In Northern Rhodesia, the colonial government estimated that 12,500 people were employed in domestic service by 1930,[41] increasing to 20,000 people by 1944.[42] By the eve of independence in 1964 the sector employed an estimated 27,500 people.[43]

By far the largest body of scholarship on domestic service in Africa has focussed on South Africa, where large numbers of African men were employed in service from the late nineteenth century. The South African literature offers crucial insights into the ways in which gender intersected with race and class in the structuring of domestic service, placing employers and workers into opposing and conflictual positions of power. During the early decades of the twentieth century increasing numbers of African women were employed in service, in part as a result of the changing gendered preferences of employers. Domestic service was one of the only forms of urban wage labour open to black women and as Jacklyn Cock suggests, acted as 'an important point of incorporation into urban-industrial society for many black women'.[44] Studies of South African domestic service also highlight the important relationship between labour migration and domestic service. Belinda Bozzoli and Suzanne Gordon's interviews with domestic workers, for example, revealed that individuals often followed routes their parents or kin had taken or had children who later followed them into service.[45]

In contrast to the diverse body of literature on domestic service in South Africa, Zambian domestic workers have received little historiographical attention. During the 1980s the anthropologist Karen Tranberg Hansen conducted the first extensive research into domestic service in Zambia. This seminal study examined the establishment of domestic service as an occupation for African men under colonial rule.

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[40] Hansen, *Distant Companions*, pp. 33-39, pp. 59-65.
[41] Bodleian Library, RHO 756.1 s. 2, Northern Rhodesia, Blue Book for the Year Ended 31st December 1930 (Livingstone, 1931).
[42] Bodleian Library, RHO 756.1 s. 2, Northern Rhodesia, Blue Book for the Year Ended 31st December 1944, (Lusaka, 1945).
[43] NAZ, MLSS1/23 83, Annual Reports ILO Lusaka, 1959-1968, Annual Labour Report 1964.
[44] J. Cock, *Maids and Madams: a Study in the Politics of Exploitation* (Johannesburg, 1980), p. 9.
[45] B. Bozzoli, *Women of Phokeng: Consciousness, Life Strategy, and Migrancy in South Africa, 1900-1983* (Portsmouth NH, 1991), pp. 97-98; S. Gordon, *A Talent for Tomorrow: Life Stories of South African Servants* (Johannesburg, 1985), p. xviii.

Hansen illustrated how domestic service in colonial households was structured around speciality, with 'servants' employed for cooking, cleaning, childcare and gardening in distinct roles.[46] Hansen also explored how domestic service shifted after independence, with significant social and economic leading to various transitions in the sector. Africans steadily replaced white colonial officials and settlers to become the largest single group of employers of domestic workers. Hansen argued that this racial shift resulted in new forms of servitude as the hierarchies of the domestic service relationship became structured primarily along class lines, a phenomenon also observed in other post-colonial African states.[47]

The gender demographics of domestic service in post-colonial states like Zambia shifted more gradually than racial dynamics. Hansen argued that although more women entered domestic service after independence, men continued to dominate the occupation into the 1980s, at just under three-quarters of the domestic service labour force.[48] For Hansen, this gender dynamic was the result of several factors. First, anxieties about the perceived sexual threat that female domestic workers presented to household relations seem to have continued to limit the willingness of female employers to employ women and girls in their homes. Young women who entered into domestic service after independence were thought to have found employment primarily as nannies, while older women, perceived as less of a sexual threat, were more likely to find long-term work in broader service roles.[49] Secondly, Hansen drew attention to Zambia's declining economy. Many men held onto or sought work in domestic service due to a lack of alternatives, particularly as unemployment increased from the mid-1970s and competition for work became increasingly intense.[50]

This thesis builds on Hansen's study of Zambia and the broader literature on domestic service in Africa while also making a number of departures. Few studies have explored the history of domestic service in Africa outside of white households.[51] Formal employment relations, whilst important, are only one element of a broader set of domestic service relationships. In many post-colonial African states, declining incomes

[46] Hansen, *Distant Companions*, pp. 61-64, p. 244.
[47] Ibid, p. 247.
[48] Ibid, p. 228.
[49] Ibid, p. 232, pp. 259-260.
[50] Ibid, p. 259.
[51] Luise White's work on domestic labour in colonial Nairobi is an important exception. See L. White, *The Comforts of Home: Prostitution in Colonial Nairobi* (Chicago IL, 1991).

have prevented many people from formally hiring salaried domestic workers. Declining economic security combined with established practices of sourcing labour through kinship networks. Thousands of women and children entered domestic service not on a formal contractual basis, but through the more informal and messy arrangement of kin working for kin. The current literature on domestic service has failed to adequately explore this diversity. Taking a qualitative approach, this thesis examines the experiences of those engaged in more informal domestic service arrangements and incorporates these histories into the broader body of research on Zambian labour relations.

To make these arguments, the thesis draws on insights from studies of domestic service in non-African contexts. Recent examples from this broader literature raise questions about the relationship between domestic service, gender relations, age and migration that have not been adequately explored in African studies. Selina Todd's research on young women and work in twentieth century England, for example, highlighted the importance of service as a source of employment and accommodation for young female labour migrants.[52] Parvati Raghuram's work on Delhi also drew attention to the relationship between gender, migration and service and illustrated the significance of female-centred kinship networks in shaping the experiences of migrant domestic workers.[53] In post-colonial Zambia, many women and female children have similarly migrated within and outside of kinship networks to engage in domestic service. Yet we know little about these female migrants or how their labour has supported rural and urban households. This thesis uses insights from Todd and Raghuram's work to provide a historical analysis of Zambian female domestic workers' experiences of labour migration.

Recent work on India draws attention to previously underexplored aspects of the relationship between domestic service and class formation in Africa. In their study of post-colonial Kolkata, Raka Ray and Seemin Qayum illustrated how domestic service facilitated the constitution and reproduction of class groups. Their study examined how middle-class householders adapted the spatial organization of domestic service in response to the declining economy; for these employers it was imperative that they

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[52] S. Todd, *Young Women, Work and Family in England 1918-1950* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 133-143.
[53] P. Raghuram, 'Interlinking Trajectories: Migration and domestic work in India', in J. H. Momsen (ed.), *Gender, Migration and Domestic Service* (London, 1999), p. 216.

continue to employ domestic workers despite the financial difficulties of doing so.[54] Similar processes, my research shows, have shaped domestic service arrangements in post-colonial Lusaka, as employers have sought to reconfigure the social and spatial dynamics of domestic service in response to economic crisis.

Historicising Childhood and Generation

The approach taken in this thesis is influenced by the emergent historiography on the history of childhood. Historians of childhood have shown that children should be studied as historical *actors* in their own right, with the capacity to shape their experiences and crucially to make choices about their lives and labour, even when constrained by generational hierarchies and age-based stereotypes. Yet while class, race and gender are established areas of study for Africanists, childhood and generational dynamics have received far less attention. Recent studies of the history of childhood in Africa have begun to challenge the limited ways in which labour relations have been understood, just as an earlier generation of gender historians highlighted the flawed assumptions of andocentric depictions of African labour history.[55] Beverly Grier's work, for example, illustrated that children and adolescents played a significant role in the economy of Southern Rhodesia, supporting settler farmers through their labour and supporting themselves and their families through cash and in-kind wage payments.[56]

This thesis seeks to challenge the orthodoxies of African labour history by highlighting the centrality of generational dynamics and children's labour. Large numbers of male and female children have been employed as paid and unpaid domestic workers in Zambia throughout the post-colonial period. Yet these young workers

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[54] R. Ray and S. Qayum, *Cultures of Servitude: Modernity, Domesticity and Class in India* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 43-46, pp. 62-63. On class and domestic service in India see also S. Dickey, 'Permeable Homes: Domestic Service, Household Space, and the Vulnerability of Class Boundaries in Urban India', *American Ethnologist*, 27 (2000).
[55] Recent historical studies of childhood and youth in Africa include W. Beinart, 'Transkeian Migrant Workers and Youth Labour on the Natal Sugar Estates 1918-1948', *The Journal of African History*, 32 (1991), pp. 41-63; W. C. Chirwa, 'Child and Youth Labour on the Nyasaland Plantations, 1890-1953', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 19 (1993), pp. 662-80; B. C. Grier, *Invisible Hands: Child Labour and the State in Colonial Zimbabwe* (Portsmouth NH, 2006); Lord, 'Child Labor in the Gold Coast', pp. 88-115; A. George, *Making Modern Girls: A History of Girlhood, Labor, and Social Development in Colonial Lagos* (Athens OH, 2014); S. E. Duff, *Changing Childhoods in the Cape Colony: Dutch Reformed Church Evangelism and Colonial Childhood, 1860-1895* (Basingstoke, 2015); E. Razy and M. Rodet (eds), *Children on the Move in Africa: Past and Present Experiences of Migration* (Woodbridge, 2016).
[56] Grier, *Invisible Hands*, pp. 1-2.

remain absent from the small body of writing on Zambian domestic service as well as from the broader history of labour in Zambia. Hansen's study of domestic service, for example, specifically excluded young people who exchanged domestic labour for care or payments in kind.[57] This thesis explores both the experiences of children who were employed in domestic service in Lusaka and the relationships they developed with urban employers. It demonstrates that some urban employers sought out the labour of female children in preference to other domestic workers. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, this thesis illustrates that female children could shape their working conditions even when operating within limited circumstances.

An important critique made by historians of childhood is that understandings of age are historically and culturally contingent. When defining childhood we must move beyond universal conceptions and develop categories that reflect local realities. As Grier suggests, in African contexts the definition of childhood involves the consideration of not just chronological age, which has become the defining characteristic in Western constructions of childhood, but also the 'mode of production, gender, class, birth order, and other social structures'.[58] In this thesis, the term 'child' is used to refer to those aged fifteen years and below. This definition is based on a consideration of chronological age, mode of production, gender and sexual maturity (the latter being a key issue, to be discussed in Chapter Three). This definition also reflects contemporary legal distinctions. According to legislation introduced by the Zambian government in 2011, it is illegal to employ anyone aged under the age of fifteen years as a domestic worker, an aspect of the law that is framed specifically as an effort to combat child labour.[59] Though this is considered to be the most accurate definition of 'child' for the context under study, the arbitrary nature of this definition is acknowledged.

Methodology and Sources

As domestic service is one of the least well-documented areas of post-colonial social and economic life this thesis draws on a broad range of sources. Oral history

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[57] Hansen, *Distant Companions*, p. 221.
[58] Grier, *Invisible Hands*, p. 22.
[59] Government of Zambia, 'Statutory Instrument No. 3 of 2011. The Minimum Wages and Conditions of Employment Act (Laws, Volume 15, Cap. 276). The Minimum Wages and Conditions of Employment (Domestic Workers) Order, 2011' (Lusaka, 2010).

interviews offer the most extensive and rich source of material. The focus on oral history was also adopted in order to overcome many of the shortcomings of earlier research on both Zambian labour history and domestic service more broadly. As noted above, for too long the activities of women and of children have been excluded from both areas of scholarship. Such groups are conspicuously absent in archival records, including government labour reports. Oral histories thus provide unique and important insights into the working lives and experiences of women and children. Yet using this set of sources alone would not have provided an adequate picture of either the broader context of domestic service or of post-colonial economic and social life. The insights offered by oral histories are thus complemented by the study of colonial and postcolonial government documents, newspapers, materials from trade union archives, informal observations and a household survey. This section provides an overview of the methodology and source material used in this thesis and discusses the benefits and drawbacks of each technique.[60]

Oral History

From July 2013 to September 2014 I conducted oral history interviews with over 140 domestic workers and employers.[61] The domestic workers I interviewed had been employed in various forms of labour relations, rooted in kinship to more explicitly formal and class-based arrangements. For their part, employers were located across the socio-economic spectrum and had similarly engaged in a variety of labour arrangements. Though I sought to speak with a diverse range of both groups, in terms of age, gender, and income level, this thesis does not claim to be based on a 'representative' sample of either domestic workers or employers. Instead interviews are used to provide an insight into the diversity of domestic service arrangements over time. Interviews were conducted in English and several Zambian languages. Though I had spent time learning Chinyanja, the language most commonly spoken in Lusaka, formal translation was provided by my research assistant Muyembe Kalobwe. Mr Kalobwe was a community worker with a wide network of contacts within Bauleni. His

[60] Please note that all references to the Zambian currency, the Kwacha (ZMW), are based on the new currency (ZMW). The currency was rebased on 1 January 2013 at a rate of 1000 old Kwacha (ZMK) to 1 new Kwacha (ZMW). An equivalent conversion to US Dollars (US$) is provided for comparative purposes. All Kwacha/Dollar conversions were calculated on 31 January 2016 using the online conversion tool at www.xe.com. It should be borne in mind that this exchange rate is highly volatile.
[61] A full list of oral history project participants is found in Appendix A. The names of certain interviewees have been changed to protect their anonymity. The locations and dates of interviews have not been changed.

background facilitated contact with a wide range of interviewees, including men and women within Bauleni and the representatives of community organisations and church groups.

Potential interviewees were identified in various ways. Initially interviews were conducted with women and men who were employed in domestic service at the Faith and Encounter Centre of Zambia (FENZA) in Bauleni, a low-income compound to the south-east of Lusaka city centre, where I stayed for four months in 2013 and 2014. These interviewees introduced me to friends and acquaintances from within Bauleni compound and the interview group was thus extended through personal recommendations. Contacts were also made with specific interviewees through church groups, trade unions, maid centres, and the ILO. The bulk of interviewees were identified not via such personal contacts but by spending time in different areas of the city and approaching individual households.

Mr Kalobwe and I spent many days walking around specified areas of the city, identifying domestic workers and employers at their places of work and residence respectively. The areas of Bauleni, Chilenje, Woodlands, Kabulonga and Kamwala were selected to provide broad coverage of the city's socio-economic neighbourhoods. Bauleni was selected to represent the lowest income urban residents; Chilenje and Kamwala for lower- to upper-middle income residents, with a large number of Asian and Zambian-Asian households in Kamwala; and Woodlands and Kabulonga representing middle to high-income urban residents of various nationalities, Kabulonga perhaps being the most affluent area overall. The precise location of each of these residential areas is indicated in Figure 1. Domestic workers and employers were interviewed in each residential area, though never from the same household.

During interviews, all domestic workers were asked about their childhood and early family life, their educational experience, work history and personal relationships. If born outside of Lusaka we also discussed their experiences of migration. Employers were asked similar questions about childhood, family background, education and work experience. This approach was adopted in order to locate each individual's experiences of domestic service as worker or employer (and on some occasions both) in a broader perspective and in relation to the life cycle. During interviews a basic list of questions

was used to prompt the discussion.[62] The interview process was also tailored to draw out the personal experiences of the interviewee. This approach yielded a great deal of relevant evidence. Many domestic workers spoke in great detail about their work experiences and also expressed passionate opinions about broader urban inequality, gender relations and government policy.

Although this thesis explores the employment of children in domestic service and seeks to understand children's perspectives, no interviews were conducted with children themselves. This was largely for practical reasons, as interviewing children requires a level of training that I did not have. But it also reflects the historical focus of the project: this thesis seeks to explore children's experiences of work and migration in the past and not the present. Childhood experiences were instead discussed during oral history interviews with adults. This approach was taken in order to place childhood experiences of work in a broader temporal context and to highlight the variety of employment, educational and migratory paths that individual children have pursued.

Though this thesis has an urban focus, it also seeks to provide an insight into the rural dynamics of kinship-based labour relations and the history of labour migration. Though the majority of interviews were conducted in Lusaka, a small number were also conducted in rural areas of Lusaka Province and Eastern Province. These rural interviews highlight the changing nature of dependency between rural and urban communities and the ways in which women and female children have supported rural households through migration into urban domestic service. In Lusaka, interviews were also conducted with the relatives of domestic workers, as well as with local residents employed in church organizations, trade unions, development projects, maid centres and the judiciary.

Interviews offered considerable insights into the history of domestic service, though there were some difficulties in accessing participants. Several employers were reluctant to discuss either their experiences as employers or the broader situation of domestic workers. In many cases this seemed to be related to the recent introduction of minimum wages and conditions of work for domestic workers and a suspicion that my research might be designed to monitor employer compliance with government regulations. Mr Kalobwe and I took care to explain that although this was a relevant

[62] A list of example interview questions is provided in Appendix B.

development, this was a historical rather than a contemporary project and that all participants could participate anonymously. Similarly, although many domestic workers were keen to talk about their experiences and seemed to actively engage in the project, others were more hesitant to participate. These workers expressed a fear that their current employers would disapprove of the interview or would have access to the material. As with employers, we took care to explain to these workers that they could participate anonymously.

The hesitance of some potential participants draws attention to the power dynamics of interviewing. This issue has been addressed by numerous oral historians and has been recognised as a particular problem for historians pursuing cross-cultural and/or feminist research.[63] In her study of domestic workers in Bolivia, for example, Lesley Gill found that while her gender helped to establish some common ground with female interviewees, her position as a comparatively wealthy and well-educated researcher from the 'Global North' also created an asymmetrical power dynamic that was at times difficult to overcome.[64] In the case of this project, the reluctance of some domestic workers to be interviewed seems to have been the result of several intersecting asymmetries of power: that between worker and employer, outlined above, and between interviewer and interviewee. To overcome this second issue, I took time to talk with each interviewee about my own life and motivations for undertaking the project; for example I explained that my mother and both of my grandmothers had also sold domestic labour, as part-time cleaners in the UK.

As well as addressing the issue of power dynamics during the interview process, it is important to consider the impact of memory on oral history narratives. Personal memory is refracted though later experiences and shaped by broader discourses. For example, the ways in which former child domestic workers described and understood their experiences of domestic service were likely influenced by subsequent experiences of work and perhaps also by recent public discourses on child labour. Although critics

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[63] On the cross-cultural dynamics of oral history interviews see W. Schneider, 'Interviewing in Cross-Cultural Settings', in D. A. Ritchie, *The Oxford Handbook of Oral History* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 51-64; on feminist approaches to oral history see S. Berger Gluck and D. Patai (eds), *Women's Words: The Feminist Practice of Oral History* (New York, 1991); on the history and practice of oral history in African contexts see L. White, S. F. Miescher and D. W. Cohen (eds), *African Words, African Voices: Critical Practices in Oral History* (Bloomington IN, 2001).

[64] L. Gill, *Precarious Dependencies: Gender, Class and Domestic Service in Bolivia* (New York, 1994), pp. 12-13. For more on the power dynamics of conducting interviews with domestic workers see Cock, *Maids and Madams*, pp. 18-20; R. Ginsburg, *At Home With Apartheid: The Hidden Landscapes of Domestic Service in Johannesburg* (Charlottesville VA, 2011), p. 19.

of oral history have suggested that such influences reduce the accuracy of oral testimony, it is also clear that all historical source material is both subjective and contextually-grounded.[65] Through the interview process, domestic workers sought to make sense of both their past experiences of service and their present situation as workers and urban residents. For example, interviewees frequently made direct comparisons between past and present employers and talked about the ways in which their relationships with kin in rural areas had changed over time. The oral testimonies of domestic workers thus provide both unique insights into individual experience and illuminate the ways in which understandings of work and kinship relations have changed over time and continue to be constructed.

Informal Observation and Household Survey

Informal observations and a household survey complemented the insights provided by formal oral history interviews. I observed interactions between domestic workers and employers in various settings, including in the private households in which I lived in Lusaka and in the homes of friends and acquaintances.[66] Observing interactions between workers and employers at close hand helped me to understand how both parties negotiated the intimacies and challenges of labour relations within the home. There are clear ethical dimensions to consider when using such material, which has been termed 'indirect' or 'unobtrusive' observation in the anthropological literature.[67] To protect the identities of those I observed and to mitigate against the potential negative impact of being included in this study, all names and locations from this material have been anonymized.

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[65] For further discussion of the relationship between oral history and memory see for example L. Passerini, 'Work Ideology and Consensus under Italian Fascism', in R. Perks and A. Thomson (eds), *The Oral History Reader* (London, 2006), pp. 53-62; A. Portelli, 'What Makes Oral History Different', in R. Perks and A. Thomson (eds), *The Oral History Reader* (London, 2006), pp. 63-74; A. Thomson 'Memory and Remembering in Oral History', in D. A. Ritchie (ed.), *Oxford Handbook of Oral History* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 78-95.

[66] Other scholars of domestic service have drawn on their observations of living alongside domestic workers and/or within servant-employing households. Karen Tranberg Hansen describes her experience of living with domestic workers in Kenya and Zambia, see Hansen, *Distant Companions*, pp. 7-8, pp. 206-211; in Tanzania Janet Bujra employed domestic workers and observed relationships in the households of friends and acquaintances, see J. Bujra, *Serving Class: Masculinity and the Feminisation of Domestic Service in Tanzania* (Edinburgh, 2000), pp. 188-190. In order to observe labour relations from the domestic worker's perspective Judith Rollins found work in domestic service in the United States; see J. Rollins, *Between Women: Domestics and their Employers* (Philadelphia PA, 1985), pp. 8-9.

[67] The key ethical issues surrounding forms of indirect observation are summarised in H. Russell Bernard, *Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 437-444.

The relationships I witnessed through informal observation all involved middle- and high-income employers and domestic workers engaged in formal relationships. In order to develop a picture of domestic service arrangements in poorer households, seldom explored in existing studies, I also conducted a household survey in the low-income compound of Bauleni. During July and August 2013, I spoke with a total of 28 Bauleni householders about their past and present housekeeping practices. Participants in the survey were identified through local church groups and specific introductions organised though my contacts at FENZA. The survey revealed that although most interviewees had never been able to afford to employ a domestic worker in a formal employment relationship, many had relied on the labour of others to meet their needs, often female kin. The findings of this survey are not intended to replicate social scientific survey methods but are instead used alongside other source material to build up a picture of domestic service practices in poorer households.

Archival Sources

This thesis also utilises various documentary sources held at the National Archives of Zambia (NAZ) in Lusaka, particularly the records of the Ministry of Labour (previously known as the Department of Labour) and publications of the Central Statistical Office (CSO). The records of the Ministry of Labour (MoL), in its various historical guises, provide some statistics on domestic service as well as official perspectives on the sector. The records of the MoL are particularly useful for the period from the 1940s to 1964, for colonial labour officers took great interest in domestic service relationships. They recorded significant data on the number and, to lesser extent, the gender and age of those employed as 'domestic servants' (in European households at least). These records also provide important insights into the history of trade unionism among domestic workers, with labour officers reporting on various episodes of union organization among domestic workers on the Copperbelt and elsewhere from the 1940s to the 1970s.

The thesis also draws on the archived papers of the United National Independence Party (UNIP), the ruling political party in Zambia from 1964 until 1991. The UNIP archive contained little of use in relation to domestic service, though it did offer some insights into the domestic pressures facing female political actors as they sought to manage their public and private responsibilities. In the post-colonial state, the amount

of attention paid to domestic service in the official record declined exponentially. There are very few mentions of domestic workers in MoL records after 1970. In addition, although the CSO published figures on domestic service as part of their Monthly and Quarterly Digests of Statistics from the colonial period into the 1990s, from 1970s onwards these figures are sporadic and patchy. The decline in official data on domestic service appears to be the result of broader political and economic dynamics. Despite official rules that public access to government records only be restricted for a twenty-year period, there are few government files available at NAZ beyond 1972. From this time, the one-party state introduced increasingly restrictive policies regarding access to government information, while the declining economy of the mid-1970s onwards curtailed the capacity of the state to keep extensive records.[68]

The dearth of data on domestic service from the early 1970s onwards also suggests another factor: the declining importance of domestic service as a topic for official concern after independence. For the colonial state, monitoring and intervening in domestic service relationships was part of a broader effort to maintain order and police the social boundaries in colonial society.[69] In contrast, after independence, though racial distinctions continued to distinguish domestic workers and employers in certain households, domestic service increasingly became an institution grounded in class-based and gendered inequality, two issues in which the state seemed largely reluctant or unwilling to intervene.[70]

Trade Unions

Though trade unions for domestic workers are mentioned in the records of the MoL, the records of the trade unions themselves are harder to come by. I was not able to access the records of any of the worker associations or unions that were active during the 1940s to 1970s. It was possible however to consult the records of the United House and Domestic Workers Union of Zambia (UHDWUZ), a trade union currently operating in Lusaka that was formed during the late 1990s. In the mid-2000s

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[68] As discussed in Larmer, *Mineworkers in Zambia*, p. 22. See also M. Larmer, '"If We Are Still Here Next Year": Zambian Historical Research in the Context of Decline, 2002-2003', *History in Africa*, 31 (2004), pp. 218-219.
[69] K. T. Hansen, 'Introduction: Domesticity in Africa', in K. T. Hansen (ed.), *African Encounters With Domesticity* (New Brunswick NJ, 1992), pp. 4-5.
[70] A similar phenomenon was observed by Janet Bujra in post-colonial Tanzania. See Bujra, *Serving Class*, pp. 5-8.

UHDWUZ split into two separate organizations, each affiliated to different national trade union bodies, the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) and the Free Federation of Trade Unions of Zambia (FFTUZ). To distinguish between the two organizations, the acronyms U-ZCTU and U-FFTUZ will be used hereafter. I consulted documentary records for both U-ZCTU and U-FFTUZ and conducted interviews with union officials and members of each organization.

The source material gathered from trade unions serves a dual purpose. First, these oral and written sources offer a window onto the recent history of labour organizing within the domestic service sector. Membership lists suggest the demographics of domestic workers involved in union activity while interviews with officials shed light on the relationship between the unions, their members, employers, the Zambian government and international organizations. Secondly, these records are also used to highlight the problematic nature of organizing workers in the informal sector. For example, as domestic workers are among the lowest paid workers in the urban economy, both organizations have had to develop forms of financing that do not rely on member contributions. This is but one instance of the ways in the traditional model of trade unionism has proven to be inadequate in addressing the challenges of organizing a workforce that is highly dispersed, low-paid and socially marginalised.[71]

Newspapers

Domestic workers have rarely featured extensively in the Zambian media but newspapers provide useful information on the broader political and economic context for the period under study. In particular, articles from both the *Times of Zambia* and *The Post* provided insights into the economic decline experienced by urban and rural communities from the mid-1970s onwards; the experiences of individuals gleaned from oral history interviews and informal conversations are better understood against this background. Furthermore newspaper coverage offers useful insights into public perceptions of the institution of domestic service. A comparative study of Zambian newspapers over time shows how public discourses surrounding domestic service have both shifted and endured. For example, there is an enduring discourse on the association of domestic workers with theft. This narrative has a long history and can be traced through newspapers from the 1940s to 2010s. From the late 1990s a

[71] These issues are discussed in detail in Chapter Five.

different discourse has achieved prominence in the Zambian press. Since this time *The Post* in particular has featured many articles exploring the employment of children in domestic service. Such coverage formed part of a broader turn towards human rights within Zambian civil society and at an international level. Though this international discourse did not necessarily reflect the concerns of everyday Zambians, it is suggestive of the ways in which public perceptions of domestic service have shifted over time and in relation to broader social, economic and political developments both within Zambia and more broadly.

Structure of the Study

The findings of the study are organized in five main chapters. This chapter has provided an introduction to the social and economic context of post-colonial Zambia and outlined the historiographical basis of the study. It has also explained the methodological approach of the thesis. The following chapter explores the lexicon of domestic service, looking specifically at the language used to describe the sector by the governments of colonial and post-colonial Zambia, the Zambian labour movement, international organizations and domestic workers and employers. The chapter illustrates that no one set of terms adequately captures the idiosyncrasies and nuances of domestic service in the post-colonial context. It also provides clarification of the terminology used in the following chapters.

The three central chapters focus on the labour process itself and relationships between individual domestic workers and employers. Chapter Two investigates the ways in which relations of class and kinship shaped domestic service arrangements. Although wealthy and middle-income households have been the traditional focus of research, this chapter shows that households across the socio-economic spectrum employed domestic workers and that they did so by drawing on a mixture of class-based and kinship-based labour relations. The chapter illustrates that, despite the inequalities of the labour process, domestic workers and employers became enmeshed in relations of dependency in response to the hardships of post-colonial urban life. The chapter ends with a discussion of how domestic workers cultivated relations of solidarity among themselves in response to the broader socio-economic inequality and the exploitation they experienced in the workplace.

The gendered and generational demographics of the domestic service sector shifted significantly between the 1960s and 2010s. Chapter Three explores how and why increasing numbers of women and female children entered domestic service during this period, causing a rebalancing of the labour force to roughly equal numbers of men and women by the 2010s. The chapter argues that such transitions were a result of increased female labour force participation more broadly, linked changes in the needs of employers, and the gendered association of childcare with female labour. Building on these arguments, Chapter Four explores how female employers used female-centred social networks to recruit fellow women and also female children into domestic service. The chapter examines the migration experiences of women and girls and their relationships with employers and other urban residents. This chapter demonstrates that current work on migration fails to recognise the significance of migrant domestic workers, particularly women and girls, and the contributions that these workers have made to urban and rural households.

Chapter Five moves away from the labour process and examines the history of efforts to organise, formalise and professionalise domestic service since the late colonial period. The chapter focuses on three processes: attempts to organise domestic workers into associations and trade unions; government initiatives to legislate and to formalise domestic service as an area of employment; and the rise of 'maid centre' employment agencies. The chapter demonstrates that both state and non-governmental interventions into domestic service have failed to address the full spectrum of domestic service arrangements and as such have had a more limited impact on the lives of domestic workers than was intended.

Finally, the Conclusion draws together the arguments put forward in Chapters One to Five and discusses the major findings of the study. This concluding chapter relates these findings to both the broader body of African historical research and to the work of international and local actors who campaign for domestic worker rights. The chapter ends with a discussion of possible future research on domestic service that have arisen because of this study, pointing to the need to engage more directly with the histories of children who have worked in domestic service. Overall the findings of this research clearly illustrate that it is not possible to understand broader changes in social and economic relations in African cities like Lusaka without taking into account

relationships between domestic workers and employers. For the inequalities that shaped and were reproduced within domestic service relationships reflected and perpetuated on a micro scale the broader social and spatial stratifications of post-colonial society. The thesis provides new insights into class formation, rural-urban dependencies, gender relations, and the nature of inequality in a post-colonial African city.

1

‘Maids’, ‘Garden Boys’ and ‘Domestic Workers’: Historicising the Language of Domestic Service

For the purpose of this Convention:

> *(a) the term domestic work means work performed in or for a household or households;*
> *(b) the term domestic worker means any person engaged in domestic work within an employment relationship;*
> *(c) a person who performs domestic work only occasionally or sporadically and not on an occupational basis is not a domestic worker.*[72]

My mother was a kitchen girl,
My father was a garden boy,
That’s why, I’m a unionist, I’m a unionist, I’m a unionist.[73]

Introduction

This chapter examines the language of domestic service. Domestic service relationships in post-colonial Lusaka have been diverse and multi-faceted. Throughout the post-colonial period, the sector has involved thousands of men, women and children, each of whom engaged in domestic service relationships in different ways and at different times of their lives. The way that these labour relations have been described and defined through language offers important insights into the labour process and worker experience. The study of the discourse of domestic service also provides a prism through which to view broader changes in Zambian political, social and economic relations.

The extracts above utilise just some of the terms that have been used to describe this particular form of labour relations. They draw attention to some of the local and

[72] International Labour Organization (ILO), ‘Domestic Workers Convention, 2011 (No. 189)’. Accessed at http://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO::P12100_ILO_CODE:C189 on 7 February 2016,

[73] This song was performed by members of U-ZCTU on 16 June 2014 at a march in Lusaka to commemorate the passing of the ‘Domestic Workers Convention, 2011 (No. 189)’ by the ILO. This song was not composed by U-ZCTU; various trade union movements in the Southern African region have adapted and used this song at marches and rallies.

international actors that have been involved in shaping discourses of domestic service, including international organizations and trade unions, as above, but also national governments and those engaged in the labour process. There are many questions that arise when thinking about the language of domestic service, both generally and in relation to Zambian history. For example, should a thirteen-year-old girl who performed domestic tasks for her cousin in exchange for accommodation and board be labelled a 'domestic worker'? Is it appropriate to refer to a fifty-year-old man as a 'garden boy'? The following chapters will examine the social, economic and cultural aspects of these questions in relation to the histories of those involved. This chapter will focus on the language itself and the historical contexts in which discourses developed.

This chapter's focus is influenced by broader turns towards discourse and language in historical research. Joan Scott's argument about the need to historicise the categories of analysis employed by historians is particularly persuasive.[74] Frederick Cooper has similarly argued that historians of Africa need to develop 'a precise and incisive vocabulary for analysing affinity, connections, and change'.[75] The categories of analysis used in this thesis, including class, gender, age and occupation, are recognised to be historical phenomenon that have changed over time. These categories were constructed in specific historical contexts and constituted in relation to each other. The vocabulary of domestic service should be understood within such terms, as historically contingent and contextually specific.

Early work on paid and unpaid domestic labour developed out of feminist critiques of Marxist economic theory. During the 1970s, feminist analysis challenged the limited definition of 'production' employed in Marxist class analysis and asserted the importance of reproductive labour to capital and the economy.[76] These arguments were crucial historiographical interventions. Out of this scholarship emerged a discourse that focussed on the economic value of women's household labour in its paid and unpaid forms. The vocabulary employed in this discourse thus emphasised that

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[74] J. Scott, 'The Evidence of Experience', *Critical Enquiry,* 17 (1991), p. 778.
[75] F. Cooper, *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History* (Berkeley CA, 2001), p. 10. See also A. L. Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton NJ, 2010).
[76] See for example W. Seccombe, 'The Housewife and Her Labour Under Capitalism', *New Left Review,* 83 (1974), pp. 3-24; J. Gardiner, 'Women's Domestic Labour', *New Left Review,* 89 (1975), pp. 47-58.

domestic labour was *work* and, over time, the term 'domestic worker' became the accepted term in feminist studies to refer to those employed in domestic service.[77]

In recent years, a specific language has also emerged to describe domestic service that is rooted in a broader discourse on human rights. The definitions of 'domestic work' and 'domestic worker' provided in the 'Domestic Workers' Convention, 2011 (No. 189)' (hereafter Convention 189), quoted above, illustrate the ILO's position that anyone engaged in a form of domestic service, regardless of gender or age, should be considered a 'domestic worker'.[78] This rights-centred discourse developed at a global level alongside, and shared some aspects with, continued feminist-related research into domestic service, particularly with regards to language. Most international organizations and international non-governmental organizations (NGOs) now utilise this specific rights-centred discourse centring on 'domestic workers' and 'employers'.[79]

Engagement with the feminist and global-rights discourse on domestic service within Zambia has however generally been limited to government, trade unions and certain civil society and media outlets. In everyday interactions between workers and employers such terms were not adopted. Instead a broader range of terms rooted in the language of colonial domesticity and kinship relations shaped the ways in which domestic workers and employers talked about this work. This local vocabulary of domestic service was one of 'maids', 'garden boys', 'madams' and 'bosses'. This local vocabulary of domestic service provides important insights into how local actors understood the labour process and conceptualised the class, gendered and generational hierarchies of working relationships. The complex and contradictory nature of domestic service is better captured by local terms tan by the rights-based discourse of governments and international organisations. These local terms enabled a discussion that simultaneously addressed experiences of exploitation and mutual dependency, of subordination and defiance.[80] Nevertheless, these terms should not be understood as

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[77] This can be seen throughout studies of domestic service published since the 1980s and is not limited by geographic context. See for example Cock, *Maids and Madams*, p. 5; B. Anderson, *Doing the Dirty Work? The Global Politics of Domestic Labour* (London, 2000), p. 1.
[78] ILO, 'Domestic Workers Convention, 2011 (No. 189)'.
[79] See for example ILO, 'Domestic Workers Across the World'; International Labour Organization-International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (ILO-IPEC) and Global March Against Child Labour, 'Tackling Child Labour and Protecting Young Workers in Domestic Work: A Resource Manual' (Geneva, 2014).
[80] On the definition of terms used to describe domestic service see also B. Anderson, 'Motherhood, Apple Pie and Slavery: Reflections on Trafficking Debates', Working Paper, Centre on Migration, Policy and Society, University of Oxford (2007).

being more 'authentic' than those employed in the international discourse. Though the meanings of these local terms shifted over time, particularly as race receded as the main marker of social difference between workers and employers after independence, this post-colonial discourse remained rooted in the language of colonialism and the racial, class and patriarchal hierarchies of colonial labour relations.

The chapter takes a broadly chronological approach and analyses how the occupation of domestic service has been categorised and theorised over time, both within Zambia and at an international level. The following section examines colonial domesticity and the specific vocabulary of domestic service that was employed in colonial housekeeping practices, before turning to the ways in which the Zambian government engaged with this colonial vocabulary during the early years of independence. The chapter examines the development of the discourses of feminism from the 1970s, and of human rights from the late 1980s. Finally, we turn to the ways in which Zambian actors, from government officials to those involved in the labour process, have engaged with these discourses and employed a broad and shifting range of terms over time.

Given the problematic nature of international feminist and rights-based discourse and local terminology, this chapter rejects the adoption of any one narrow set of terms to describe domestic service arrangements. The chapter makes an argument for the adoption of terms grounded in local usage but also utilising the broader categories of feminist discourse. This argument is made by drawing on a wide range of source material, including colonial government records, post-colonial census reports, documents produced by international and local NGOs, Zambian newspapers, and the testimonies of both those who call themselves 'maids' and 'garden boys', and those who employ them.

Colonial Discourses of Domesticity

The terms used to describe domestic service in post-colonial Zambia need to be understood in relation to the colonial domestic service sector and the language of labour used by colonial employers and domestic workers. Domestic service was a key part of a specific model of domesticity that was promoted and practiced under colonial rule. This model of domesticity was rooted in a domestic ideology that had developed in Western Europe over the course of the nineteenth century. Popular particularly

with the European middle classes, this model emphasised a gendered separation of spheres and was saturated with ideas of class and racial difference.[81] In Northern Rhodesia, the colonial government, settlers and missionaries, promoted variations of domesticity in line with this European domestic model. The forms of colonial domesticity that developed over time contributed to the ordering of colonial society ideologically, discursively and physically, influencing gender and class relations, the marking of racial categories, labour relations, and the organization of space.[82]

Colonial domestic service relationships were formally regulated by the state according to Master and Servants legislation. The Master and Servants Ordinance, introduced in North West Rhodesia in 1908 and extended to cover the whole of the territory in 1912, mirroring similar regulations that existed in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. The term 'servants' indicated not domestic workers but all African workers employed by Europeans, reflecting the racialised and paternalistic model of labour relations promoted by the colonial state. This legislation stipulated that employers pay a cash wage and provide housing, food and medical care. The Ordinance was extremely punitive and breaches of contracts, such as unauthorised absences from work, were punished as criminal offences. [83] As Hansen's study of colonial domestic service suggests, the imposition of such punitive legislation provides an insight into the colonial state's efforts to 'domesticate' the African population through labour and is suggestive of the conflicts that such efforts could provoke between workers and employers within the workplace.[84]

The language used to describe domestic service in colonial society was hierarchical and drew heavily on the mutually constitutive notions of gender, race, and class that had shaped nineteenth-century European domestic ideals. Colonial employers were known as 'masters' and 'madams', while domestic workers were labelled as 'boys' and 'girls'. The workers were differentiated beyond these infantilising titles by the type of

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[81] Further discussion of the relationship between gender, class and the making of ideologies of domesticity during the nineteenth century can be found in L. Davidoff and C. Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850* (London, 1987).
[82] Hansen, 'Introduction: Domesticity in Africa', p. 5. For more on the relationship between colonialism and domesticity see C. Hall *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination 1830-1867* (Cambridge, 2002); and A. L. Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley CA, 2002).
[83] As discussed in Hansen, *Distant Companions*, pp. 50-51. On the broader history of colonial domestic service legislation see D. Hay and P. Craven (eds), *Masters, Servants, and Magistrates in Britain and the Empire, 1562-1955* (Chapel Hill NC, 2004).
[84] Hansen, *Distant Companions*, pp. 50-51.

work they performed, the most prominent examples being 'cook', 'houseboy', 'housegirl', and 'garden boy'.[85] This vocabulary reflected a racialised and patriarchal ordering of labour relations, with male 'masters' controlling the labour of male and female adults and children of lower status. The madam was able to control the labour of male 'servants' by virtue of her accorded superior racial status.

Colonial labour reports provide important insights into how this language was employed in the colonial period. These reports show that labour officers took great interest in the regulation of the domestic service sector. Labour officers sought to classify and to count those involved in domestic service, writing reports and constructing tables that included a wide range of categories. Colonial labour reports thus did not refer solely to 'domestic servants' but identified specific categories of workers that centred on the tasks performed, such as 'cook', 'houseboy', 'garden boy', 'nursemaid' and 'nanny'. These categories were further divided into separate reports by race and gender and, sometimes, by age.[86]

In the late colonial period, the state made some attempts to reformulate the language of domestic service. In February 1961, a circular was sent to all Commissioners of Labour in Northern Rhodesia instructing them to start using the term 'garden hands' rather than 'garden boys'.[87] On the eve of independence in August 1964, an amended version of the 'Employment Services Manual', the guide for the operation of government Employment Exchanges, was issued. Here the linguistic shift was more dramatic: 'garden boys' were now to be referred to as 'garden workers'.[88] Despite these late-colonial attempts to alter the vocabulary of domestic service, 'domestic servants' remained the dominant way of referring to domestic workers until the end of the

[85] Such terms were commonly used to refer to domestic workers in the writing of colonial officials and other European residents. NAZ, MLSS1/15 96, Labour Officer Monthly Reports Lusaka, 1960-1961; NAZ, MLSS1/15 111, Labour Officer Monthly Reports Lusaka, 1961-1963; NAZ, MLSS1/15 126, Labour Officer Monthly Reports Lusaka, 1963-1965.
[86] As is evidenced by documents in NAZ, MLSS1/15 96, Labour Officer Monthly Reports Lusaka, 1960-1961; NAZ, MLSS1/15 111, Labour Officer Monthly Reports Lusaka, 1961-1963; NAZ, MLSS1/15 126, Labour Officer Monthly Reports Lusaka, 1963-1965.
[87] NAZ, MLSS1/19 17, Labour Exchanges and Agencies General, 1961-1964, notice to Employment Exchanges, February 1961.
[88] NAZ, MLSS1/19 18, Employment Exchange General 1962-1964, Employment Services Manual, August 1964.

colonial period, with terms like 'housemaid' and 'garden boy' retaining their common usage.[89]

Post-Colonial Continuities

After independence, 'domestic servants' remained an official occupational category, even though after 1970 the government stopped publishing figures for the domestic service sector in either labour reports or other official documents. Colonial ideologies of domesticity were also reproduced in new forms in the post-colonial context. The exact meanings of such terms have, of course, shifted over time, particularly as the racial element of servant-employer relations became less significant after independence and other forms of socio-economic inequality became the dominant forms of cleavage in servant-employer relations. Nevertheless, the language of post-colonial domestic service cannot be understood apart from the longer history of colonial domesticity, discussed above, and the ways in which the power dynamics of the sector were encoded in a specific vocabulary.

Newspapers shed light on how domestic service was discussed beyond official circles in the early post-colonial period. Newspaper coverage of domestic service was fairly rare at this time, but the language used in the classified sections of the main newspapers provides some insight into the discursive construction of the figure of the 'domestic servant' in public discourse. The descriptions of characteristics required for applicants are particularly insightful. In January 1965, for example, several employers utilised *The Times of Zambia* 'Employment Offered' section to look for domestic staff. One employer was looking for a 'Cape house servant (female)' with cooking experience. Another sought a 'reliable, willing and honest' servant.[90] It isn't clear from these advertisements if the prospective employer was a European or Asian settler or a black Zambian. Definitive arguments thus cannot be made about the impact of the language of colonial domesticity on black Zambian employers in this early period. However it seems clear that the language used by prospective employers in newspaper advertisements in the early years of independence drew on an established vocabulary of domestic service, reflecting in many ways the racialised, paternalist lexicon of the

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[89] This can be seen for example in the monthly reports of labour officers in Lusaka for August and October 1964. NAZ, MLSS1/15 126, Labour Officer Monthly Reports Lusaka, 1963-1965; monthly labour report for Lusaka, August 1964; monthly labour report for Lusaka, October 1964.
[90] 'Employment Offered', *The Times of Zambia*, 20 January 1965.

colonial period. That such terms were also used in classified adverts throughout the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s further suggests the enduring power of colonial ideologies of domesticity.

Feminist Approaches to Domestic Service

The vocabulary of domestic service in post-colonial Zambia was influenced not only by the older language of colonial domesticity but also by various ideological discourses that developed at a global level in the decades following independence. One of the most significant of these discourses was feminism. From the late 1970s feminist approaches to paid and unpaid domestic labour had a significant impact in academic and policy circles at an international level. The study of domestic service in Zambia, and Africa more broadly, needs to be understood in relation to the broader history of feminist critiques of the study of work and family and the reproduction of labour power.

Early feminist analysis of domestic labour developed out of the Second Wave feminism of the 1970s. As part of their critical engagements with Marxist class theory, feminists highlighted the limited attention paid to domestic labour and the reproduction of labour power. Feminists asserted that women's unpaid domestic labour in the home was essential to the economy and needed to be incorporated into class analysis.[91] Feminist theory also developed more nuanced definitions of reproduction, distinguishing between biological reproduction, the daily reproduction of labour power and the reproduction of the ideology of capitalism.[92] Domestic labour was, from this perspective, increasingly framed in terms of its economic value and understood to be a form of both productive and reproductive labour.

While early feminist research focused on women's unpaid labour, later studies examined paid domestic labour. In particular certain feminist historians working during the 1980s investigated and challenged the assumption embedded in earlier studies of domestic labour: that all women shared the burden of domestic work. These

[91] Early feminist studies of women and domestic labour include Seccombe, 'The Housewife and Her Labour Under Capitalism', pp. 3-24; Gardiner, 'Women's Domestic Labour', pp. 47-58.
[92] An example from African history is Margaret Strobel's work in Kenya. See M. Strobel, 'Slavery and Reproductive Labour in Mombasa', in C. C. Robertson and M. A. Klein (eds), *Women and Slavery in Africa* (Portsmouth NH, 1997), pp. 111-129.

studies of paid domestic labour, or domestic service, highlighted that class and racial privilege had enabled many women (and men of course) to buy their way out of performing domestic work.[93] This work explored how domestic service was the result of various forms of inequality and reinforced class privilege. By focussing on paid forms of domestic labour, the language used in these later studies necessarily framed the discussion in the general terms of workers and employers, though various categories were used to describe those engaged in the labour process, including 'domestic servant', 'housemaid' and 'domestic worker'.[94]

But over time the language used to describe domestic service in feminist analyses shifted from this broader vocabulary of service to a more explicit focus on 'domestic workers'. In African studies this shift had occurred comparatively early. In her ground-breaking study of domestic service under apartheid, Cock asserted that those employed in domestic service were 'domestic workers', in order to highlight the productive nature of their work and its contribution to the racist capitalist regime of South Africa.[95] Though Cock recognised the importance of the local vocabulary of domestic service in South Africa, for example entitling her book *Maids and Madams*, she eschewed the use of either term as a category of analysis. This rejection of the more explicit language of servitude, as expressed by terms such as 'servant' and 'madam', became a widely accepted approach in feminist scholarship.[96]

The turn towards a language of 'workers' was often part of a political project. Cock deliberately posed a stark challenge to the apartheid regime and the mutually constitutive structures of race, gender and class that rendered South African domestic workers at the bottom of the social hierarchy.[97] Writing almost thirty years later, Rebecca Ginsburg noted she had similarly been drawn to study domestic service in South Africa while campaigning against the apartheid regime.[98] This approach was also common outside of African studies. Bridget Anderson, for example, explicitly chose to use the term 'domestic workers' because of her involvement with political

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[93] See for example J. Filet-Abreu de Souza, 'Paid Domestic Service in Brazil', *Latin America Perspectives*, 7 No. 1 (1980), p. 35; and Cock, *Maids and Madams*, p. 1, p. 8.
[94] Cock and de Souza, for example, both use the term 'domestic workers'; Cock, *Maids and Madams*, p. 5; De Souza, 'Paid Domestic Service in Brazil', p. 35. In contrast Hansen uses the term 'servant'; Hansen, *Distant Companions*, p. 2.
[95] Cock, *Maids and Madams*, pp. 11-14.
[96] For an excellent discussion of the implications of this for historical research on domestic service see C. Steedman, *Labours Lost: Domestic Service and the Making of Modern England* (Cambridge, 2009), p. 31.
[97] Cock, *Maids and Madams*, p. 6.
[98] Ginsburg, *At Home With Apartheid*, pp. 12-13.

campaigns for the rights of migrant domestic workers in Britain.[99] The choice of terminology has thus often been grounded in attempts to challenge the structural and discursive factors that limited the recognition of the rights of domestic workers as working people. As will be explored in the following section, this approach was also influenced by the broader development of the discourse of human rights.

Though focussing on different aspects of domestic labour (paid versus unpaid), these different areas of feminist scholarship both characterised domestic labour as *work* in a productive sense. While housewives and children performing domestic labour in their own homes were not formally 'workers', they were involved in production via the reproduction of the commodity of labour power. Those who engaged in domestic service (almost always conceived to be in other people's homes and for cash wages) certainly were to be considered as workers and furthermore were to be understood as members of a broader working class.

Yet despite the importance of these interventions, the terminology employed in such analyses could also be problematic. For despite their political utility, terms such as 'domestic worker' may obscure more than they reveal about labour relations in the past.[100] As Julia Laite has argued, it is important to consider what terms we are using to describe domestic and sexual labour as historical phenomenon.[101] Laite has illustrated how the term 'sex worker' has become a common term in liberal discourse on prostitution and commercial sex in twentieth-century Western contexts. She argues however that 'it is not appropriate to apply this term [sex worker], which is tied to identity politics in the present day, to women in the past who, as far as we can know, did not apply it to themselves'.[102] There are clear resonances with the study of the history of domestic service and the imposition of the term 'domestic worker' onto those who were employed in domestic service in the past but did not define themselves in terms of their labour. Taking this into account, although the term 'domestic worker' is used historically in this thesis, it is not intended to overemphasise the extent to

[99] Anderson, *Doing the Dirty Work*, p. 159.
[100] For further discussion of this issue see Steedman, *Labour's Lost*, p. 31.
[101] J. Laite, *Common Prostitutes and Ordinary Citizens: Commercial Sex in London, 1885-1960* (Basingstoke, 2012), pp. 26-27. Similar arguments about the projection of modern concepts onto the past have been made by historians working on the history of state formation and offer useful ways of approaching the issue; see for example C. Tilly, *Coercion, Capital and European States, AD 990-1992* (Oxford, 1990).
[102] Laite, *Common Prostitutes and Ordinary Citizens*, p. 27.

which those engaged in service arrangements in the past would have identified themselves using this term.

The dominant themes of the feminist discourse on domestic service labour have also often eclipsed aspects of worker and employer experience that did not fit with perceived ideas about how labour relations in domestic service *should* be. Most studies of domestic service have particularly emphasised the significance of inequality, exploitation and the many forms of violence that domestic workers have endured in the workplace.[103] These issues are undoubtedly important and were found to be common themes in the interviews conducted for this thesis. However there is a danger of drowning out alternative narratives and casting all domestic service relationships as inherently antagonistic and problematic. This thesis illustrates that exploitation often existed simultaneously with affection in complex relations of dependency between domestic workers and employers. These complicated relationships should be recognised and incorporated into the history of domestic service for they arguably reveal as much about the contradictions of domestic service, and about post-colonial social relations more broadly, as do histories of violence, exploitation and inequality.

<u>Domestic Service and the Global Rights Discourse</u>

In addition to the language of colonial domesticity and feminism, the language of human rights has shaped the discourse of domestic service in Zambia. During the 1990s, a rights-centred language of domestic service developed at an international level. International organizations such as the ILO and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), alongside various international NGOs such as Save the Children, increasingly focussed on paid and unpaid domestic labour as part of broader projects on gender and development, childhood and forced labour.[104] The prominence of each of these issues in global discourse from the 1990s arose from shifting trends in international development and human rights activism, as gender and children's rights

[103] As argued by Steedman, *Labours Lost*, p. 27. Examples of such approaches include Bozzoli, *Women of Phokeng*, pp. 102-104; and S. Todd, *The People: The Rise and Fall of the Working Class, 1910-2010* (London, 2014), p. 29.
[104] This is clear from publications and projects undertaken by these organizations. See for example United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), 'The State of the World's Children 1997: Focus on Forced Labour' (Oxford, 1997); United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), 'Human Rights for Children and Women: How UNICEF makes them a reality' (New York, 1999); Save the Children, 'Gender and HIV/AIDS: Guidelines for Integrating a Gender Focus into NGO work on HIV/AIDS' (London, 1997).

in particular became key areas of concern for international development projects at this time.

The vocabulary of domestic service employed in this international discourse resembled that developed by feminist scholars, with 'domestic worker' the key term used to describe those involved in the labour process. As was suggested in relation to feminist discourses, the term 'domestic worker' as employed in the global rights discourse has similarly had the effect of limiting understandings of what the labour process of domestic service has involved. First the definition of this term has often involved a narrow conceptualisation of domestic service rooted in the more formal labour markets of Western countries. More broadly, internationally recognised definitions of domestic service have often failed to capture the scope of the labour process, particularly in relation to care labour.[105]

The most recent version of the ILO's 'International Standard Classification of Occupations' (2008) is particularly problematic. This classifies 'domestic housekeepers', 'domestic helpers and cleaners' and 'child care workers' as separate categories. The first two categories focus on cleaning and food preparation, completely excluding care work, while the latter covers those engaged in the supervision and care of children in private households.[106] This distinction between care work and other domestic tasks would clearly be inadequate for the post-colonial Zambian context. Many of the domestic workers interviewed for this study, particular female workers, described employment that combined cleaning and cooking with childcare, alongside other duties including fetching water, gardening, looking after pets and providing security.

Though the approaches of many international organizations and NGOs have become increasingly sophisticated, the tendency to frame complex labour practices in these universalizing (but essentially Western) terms remains a problematic feature of their work. This can be understood in relation to the nature of human rights discourse more broadly. As Harri Englund highlights, the 'persistent failure of liberal scholarship to

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[105] A point raised by Anderson in relation to the ILO's definition of domestic labour for 1990; see Anderson, *Doing the Dirty Work*, p. 15.
[106] International Labour Organization (ILO), 'International Standard Classification of Occupations ISCO-08. Volume 1: Structure, Group Definitions and Correspondence Tables' (Geneva, 2012), p. 241, p. 253, p. 338.

envisage African predicaments through anything other than analogies drawn from Euro-American examples' has hindered understandings of African history and contemporary African situations.[107] The term 'domestic worker' arguably fails to capture the heterogeneity of the domestic service sector in Zambia, both historically and in its contemporary forms, by de-emphasising the messy nature of kinship-based labour relations that many domestic service relationships have involved. Using this discourse alone as a framework for understanding domestic service relationships also risks foreclosing important questions about the ways in which the sector has changed over time, and how hierarchies of gender, class and generation have been both challenged and reinforced.

The international discourse on children employed in domestic service has been particularly problematic. As historians of Africa have largely neglected the study of children and work in the post-colonial period, the current literature on children and work is dominated by social scientists and, increasingly, international organizations and NGOs.[108] The discourse on children and domestic service has been particularly shaped by the concerns of these latter organizations. The overarching discourse on children employed in domestic service has focused overwhelmingly on exploitation, abuse and trafficking.[109] Children employed in domestic service are largely constructed as victims, unable to make decisions or to negotiate the conditions of their labour.[110] Although it is important to draw attention to the exploitation that many children employed in domestic service have experienced, the limiting vocabulary of the current discourse all too often clouds historical understanding of the nature of African children's work and their labour conditions.

The problematic categorisation of children's labour in Zambia has a long history. As Beverly Grier has suggested, the lack of understanding and theorisation on children's labour in African societies has in large part been the result of the collapsing of women

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[107] H. Englund, 'Introduction: Recognising Identities, Imagining Alternatives', in H. Englund and F. B. Nyamnjoh (eds), *Rights and the Politics of Recognition in Africa* (London, 2004), p. 2.
[108] B. Grier, 'Child Labour and Africanist Scholarship: A Critical Overview', *African Studies Review*, 47 (2004), p. 3
[109] This discourse on child labour is prevalent in recent publications of international organizations and NGOs. See International Labour Organization (ILO), 'Emerging Good Practices on Action to Combat Child Domestic Labour in Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia' (Geneva, 2006); ILO and Child Helpline International, 'Child Migrants in Child Labour'; International Labour Organization (ILO), 'Rural-Urban Migrants Employed in Domestic Work: Issues and Challenges' (Geneva, 2013).
[110] Grier, *Invisible Hands*, p. 7.

and children into a single category of analysis.[111] In Northern Rhodesia, the colonial government often categorised the labour of women, young people and children together. Ordinances were introduced on women *and* children's labour issues, marking these as a seemingly coherent group that was separate from 'the norm' of adult male workers.[112] Though there have clearly been certain overlaps in their primary sectors of employment (domestic work and agriculture in particular), women and children have different statuses and interests as workers. Indeed, in Zambia, as in many African contexts, many women have had an interest in maintaining control over the labour of children.[113] Furthermore, as will be explored in Chapters Three and Four, Zambian working children in both the colonial and post-colonial periods have negotiated complex hierarchies of generation, gender and status that have often brought them into conflict with both adult men and women.

The contemporary discourse on children and domestic service is, however, distinct from the global discourse on adult domestic workers in several respects. Understandings of children's employment in domestic service are rooted in a distinction that is often made between 'child work' and 'child labour'. The ILO's International Programme for the Elimination of Child Labour (ILO-IPEC) proposes that 'child work' could include a child helping with chores in their own home, working in a family business or earning 'pocket money'. These economic activities are said not to detrimental to the health and wellbeing of the child. 'Child labour' is defined in marked contrast as 'work that deprives children of their childhood, their potential and their dignity, and that is harmful to physical and mental development'.[114] ILO-IPEC notes that domestic service can be classified under both definitions, although most of its published work in the area focuses on the latter.[115]

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[111] Grier, *Invisible Hands*, p. 12.
[112] The institution of separate employment regulations for African women and children versus adult make workers under colonial rule illustrates this. NAZ, MLSS1/17 12, Employment of Women, Young Persons and Children Ordinance 1949-1959.
[113] The interest of women in controlling the labour of children was also observed by Grier in her study of Zimbabwe; see Grier, *Invisible Hands*, p. 13.
[114] International Labour Organization, 'What is Child Labour'. Accessed at http://www.ilo.org/ipec/facts/lang--en/index.htm on 12 February 2016.
[115] See for example International Labour Organization (ILO), 'Girl Child Labour in Agriculture, Domestic Work and Sexual Exploitation: Rapid Assessments on the Cases of the Philippines, Ghana and Ecuador Volume 1' (Geneva, 2004); International Labour Organization-International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (ILO-IPEC), 'Helping Hands or Shackled Lives? Understanding child domestic labour and responses to it' (Geneva, 2004).

Although there are clear and understandable reasons for seeking to identify forms of employment that are harmful to and exploitative of children, such definitions of 'work' and 'labour' are problematic. First these terms presume a universality of childhood that does not exist. As Lord's work on colonial Ghana suggests, the idea that childhood should be spent in education rather than employment is historically and contextually contingent.[116] Children in post-colonial Zambia have often had to earn more than 'pocket money' in order to support themselves and their families. In that context not working would arguably be more detrimental to the child's wellbeing, even if it were in domestic service.

The moral element of the discourse is also problematic, not least because of the imprecise and culturally defined nature of such distinctions. Grier highlights how the moral distinction between work and labour often fails to set out what is considered harmful or beneficial for the children involved.[117] As Grier suggests, rather than making blanket distinctions between exploitative and benign labour relations, this thesis suggests it is more analytically useful and accurate to focus on the actual relations of production in which children have been involved. As will be discussed in further detail in the chapters to follow, while certain interviewees did experience what they considered to be exploitative conditions, others did not.

Zambian Engagement with Global Discourses

During the post-colonial period, Zambians have employed a broad vocabulary to define and describe domestic service. As was illustrated above, following independence the government continued to use the language of the colonial period to categorise domestic service. This language was also used by employers seeking domestic workers through the classified columns of the most popular Zambian newspaper into the 1970s and 1980s. This section examines how from the 1990s, the language of domestic service used by government officials, civil society and the media, involved the adoption of the terms of the feminist and global rights discourses. Yet the usage of such terms failed to penetrate far beyond the official level. Those engaged in the labour process instead used a broader vocabulary that was rooted in both colonial labour relations of patriarchy and class and the hierarchies and dependencies of kinship.

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[116] Lord, 'Child Labor in the Gold Coast', p. 87, p. 90.
[117] Grier, *Invisible Hands*, pp. 26-28.

From the 1990s onwards the global discourse of domestic service discussed above came to be utilised by certain government officials and departments. It is significant that the adoption of this vocabulary occurred alongside broader turns towards gender and child labour as issues of immediate government concern. After independence the United National Independence Party (UNIP) Women's League had dealt with issues of 'women' and 'development' from a government perspective. But until the mid-1980s there was no explicit government policy on gender. In 1985 UNIP established a women's unit within the National Commission for Development Planning (NCDP). In 1990 the NCDP women's unit was upgraded to form the Women in Development Department (WIDD).[118] During the 1990s under President Chiluba, gender issues became more central to policy-making. In June 1996, for example, WIDD was remade into the Gender and Development Division (GDD) at the Cabinet Office and in 2000 the National Gender Policy was adopted.[119]

In the 2000s the Zambian government also began to engage in policy-making directly targeting the domestic service sector. Since the 1990s various governments around the world have introduced legislation and supported initiatives that have aimed to reconfigure domestic service into a modern, market-orientated form of labour relations.[120] The recent introduction of legislation covering domestic service in Zambia was similarly part of a broader initiative pursued by the government to formalise and professionalise the sector. In 2011 the government granted rights to those employed in domestic service through secondary legislation. The 2011 legislation extended minimum wage coverage and other rights to those employed in domestic service. The details of these legislative changes will be discussed in detail in Chapter Five, but here it is important to note that the language employed in the legislation noticeably reflected the global rights discourse, with 'domestic worker' replacing the use of 'domestic servant' as in earlier legislation.[121]

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[118] Government of Zambia, 'National Gender Policy' (Lusaka, 2000), p. 43.
[119] Ibid, p. i.
[120] This has been examined in the South African context by Shireen Ally; see S. Ally, *From Servants to Workers: South African Domestic Workers and the Democratic State* (Ithaca NY, 2009). In Latin America, Sarah Radcliffe described similar processes, see S. A. Radcliffe, 'Race and Domestic Service: Migration and Identity in Ecuador', in J. H. Momsen (ed.), *Gender, Migration and Domestic Service* (Abingdon, 1999), pp. 83-97.
[121] Government of Zambia, 'Statutory Instrument No. 3 of 2011'.

The global discourse on domestic service has also exerted an increasing influence on the Zambian press, particularly in relation to coverage of the employment of children. From the 1990s onwards, 'child labour' and 'exploitation' became the dominant categories for the portrayal of children's participation in the labour process. As noted above, newspaper coverage of domestic service was fairly rare for much of the post-colonial period. Beyond advertisements in the classified sections of newspapers, most coverage of the issue focussed on incidences of theft (on the part of the worker) and violence (again almost always committed by the worker). From the 1990s onwards, however, there was a significant increase in the number of articles focussing on children's work in the domestic service sector. These articles frequently linked the employment of children in domestic service to prostitution, sexual abuse and trafficking. Though these categorisations of children's labour didn't necessarily reflect local concerns, it did reflect the growing influence of global development discourse in shaping local conceptualisations of domestic service, children and work.[122] From examining the coverage of children and domestic service in the media it can thus be seen how global categories have increasingly eclipsed other ways of talking about domestic service, particularly where children are concerned.

These ways of interpreting children's engagement in domestic service also shaped Zambian academic research. The status of children became a topic of significant interest to Zambian researchers from the 1990s onwards, particularly in development studies and sociology. The universalizing concepts of 'child labour' and 'exploitation' clearly influenced this body of research.[123] In 1997, Stanley Kamocha, Themba Munalula and Phillip K. Miti, for example, framed their research as a study of child exploitation and employed the distinction between 'child work' and 'child labour' promoted by the ILO and other international actors.[124] Though such studies recognized the contextual dynamics that influenced children's entry into the labour process, including family poverty and the need for children to contribute to the household economy, they each adopted the universal framework of 'child labour' to interpret children and work, rather than using concepts rooted in the local context.

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[122] This is illustrated in the following sample of coverage: J. Banda, 'Zambia Should Save Its Own Children', *The Times of Zambia*, 11 July 2003; N. Mulenga, 'The Plight of an Exploited Domestic House Maid', *The Times of Zambia*, 25 September 2004; B. Kayaya, 'Tackling Child Labour in Zambia', *The Times of Zambia*, 3 June 2008.
[123] Examples include M. Banda and G. Nyirongo, 'The Extent of Child Labour in Zambia: An Exploratory Study', *Zambia Congress of Trade Unions Report* (Kitwe, 1994). S. Kamocha, T. Munalula and P. K. Miti, 'The Incidence of Child Labour in Zambia', *World Bank Study Fund Report* (Lusaka, 1997).
[124] Kamocha, Munalula and Miti, 'The Incidence of Child Labour in Zambia', pp. vii-viii.

More recently Zambian researchers have begun to pursue more nuanced approaches to children and domestic service. In 2000, Omolara Dakore Oyaide used a broader vocabulary than earlier studies to discuss children in domestic service relationships, including 'child domestics', 'live-in maid', 'live-out maid', 'relative worker', 'nanny', and 'house-boy'. Oyaide did not however attempt to interrogate the historical and constructed nature of such terms, nor did she examine how children themselves referred to such employment.[125] A more recent study of children, domestic service and migration conducted by researchers at the University of Zambia (UNZA) helpfully challenged the often taken-for-granted nature of such universal categories and highlighted the insights to be gained from examining the ways in which ordinary Zambians understand childhood, work and migration.[126]

Academic researchers and journalists were among a variety of Zambian non-state actors who engaged with the global discourse on domestic service from the 1990s onwards. Jean-Paul Dumont has argued that rights-based discourses have often been seen as useful tools by non-state actors involved in the domestic service sector, such as trade unions, because 'the phrase "domestic workers" presents itself as objective and neutral, as respectable and respectful'.[127] This argument seems applicable to the Zambian labour movement. For example, in 2011 the domestic workers' trade union U-FFTUZ successfully bid to be the local implementing agency for a major ILO initiative to promote domestic worker rights in Zambia. In its application, U-FFTUZ noticeably employed the global rights-based language. It is worth noting that as the ILO's local partner, U-FFTUZ gained access to c. K123,019 (US$10,925) of funding.[128] This is one example of how trade unions have utilised the language of the global discourse as a tool to access the resources controlled by more powerful national and international actors.

Both U-FFTUZ and U-ZCTU have also utilised the global rights discourse in their interactions with workers. This is exemplified by the recruitment methods pursued by

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[125] See Oyaide, 'Child Domestic Labour in Lusaka', p. 8.
[126] V. Bond, C. Chiiya, M. Chonta, and S. Clay with J. Hunleth, L. Kiss and C. Zimmerman, 'Sweeping the Bedroom: Children in Domestic Work in Zambia' (Lusaka, 2011), p. 8.
[127] J-P. Dumont, 'Always Home, Never Home: Visayan "Helpers" and Identities', in S. Dickey and K. M. Adams (eds), *Home and Hegemony: Domestic Service and Identity Politics in South and Southeast Asia* (Ann Arbor MI, 2000), p. 121.
[128] Interview with Kevin Liywalii, Lusaka, 27 August 2014.

both unions. While accompanying U-ZCTU Provincial Secretary Mwanza Matthews on a recruitment drive in Lusaka in September 2014, I noticed that Matthews specifically highlighted the relationship between language and respect when talking to potential members. Matthews urged the garden boys we encountered to challenge their employer's use of terms like 'boy' or *kaboy* ('small boy' in Chinyanja) and to insist on being referred to as a 'domestic worker'.[129] Matthews spoke passionately on this subject and argued that language was a key aspect of the oppressive conditions that many domestic workers continued to face. U-FFTUZ similarly used the terms of the global discourse in discussions with its members.

The adoption and promotion of this global vocabulary by U-FFTUZ and U-ZCTU has not however led to the rejection of the local terms of domestic service. Rather the use of terms like 'domestic worker' forms part of a broader vocabulary of domestic service that is employed by union officials depending on the context. The lyrics of the song performed by U-ZCTU members, quoted at the beginning of this chapter, highlight how the union also uses terms rooted in colonial domesticity.[130] U-FFTUZ has similarly adopted both the global discourse and local concepts. For example, while U-FFTUZ officials have followed the approach of international organizations in making a distinction between 'child work' and 'child labour', they also criticised the adoption of universalising approaches to child labour in which narratives of exploitation have eclipsed more nuanced interpretations of children and work.[131]

Maid centres have similarly combined both the global discourse and local terms rooted in colonial domesticity. These employment agencies have mushroomed across Lusaka in the last twenty years and have occupied an ambiguous place in the domestic service sector. Maid centres are embedded in local communities, sometimes operating from the premises of local church organizations, schools or restaurants. In conversations with the staff of various centres it was clear that no one set of terms is used across the sector. This is illustrated in Figure 1, a photograph of the types of posters displayed at the offices of Aunty Veronica's Maid Centre in Kabulonga. Similarly, the language used by maid centres in their advertisements and documentation draws on both local

[129] Author's observations from accompanying Mwanza Matthews of U-ZCTU on a recruitment drive in Northmead and Olympia on 3 September 2014.
[130] This song was performed by members of U-ZCTU at a march to commemorate the passing of 'Convention 189', on 16 June 2014.
[131] Interview with Kevin Liywalii, Lusaka, 27 August 2014.

terms and the global language of domestic worker rights. As will be explored in Chapter Five, the use of both the global and local vocabularies of domestic service reflect the complicated position of maid centres in the sector, as they simultaneously seek to engage with workers and employers, and the national and international actors who seek to regulate the sector.

Figure 2. Poster displayed at Aunty Veronica's Maid Centre in Kabulonga, Lusaka. Photograph taken by the author, 6 August 2014.

Though there are clear instances of the influence of the international rights-based discourse of domestic service within Zambia, it has seldom been adopted beyond the institutional level. Those engaged in the labour process instead used a broad vocabulary that was rooted in colonial domesticity and kinship. This local vocabulary is analytically useful, for it is constitutive of the labour relationships it describes, as

those involved defined the other party and their own identities through language.[132] For most the post-colonial period, the practical arrangements of domestic service in Lusaka were highly informal and idiosyncratic. The labour process involved complex intersections of class, patriarchy and, in some arrangements, race. Language played an important role in the production and maintenance of these hierarchical relationships.

The global rights discourse was noticeably absent from these local vocabularies of labour: in my interviews with over one hundred maids, garden boys and guards and over thirty employers none used the term 'domestic workers'. Most workers referred to themselves and their peers as 'maids' or 'garden boys' and to their employer as the 'madam' or the 'boss' (depending on gender). No employer described having employed a 'domestic worker'. Instead they too mainly used the terms 'maid' and 'garden boy'. While those employing domestic workers for cash wages were likely to call themselves 'employers', those who engaged in less formal arrangements, involving in-kind payments and/or the labour of children, often wouldn't define their role in employment terms. Most would instead state that they had 'kept relatives', employing the terms of kinship to describe such relationships.

The language of kinship was frequently used by those involved in the labour process to explain relationships between workers and employers. For example, Priscilla Njovu, a university-educated archivist, described her relationship with various female child domestic workers she had employed during the 1970s. Her first maid was named Esther. Esther was thirteen-years old when Priscilla 'brought' her to Lusaka from her elder sister's village in Eastern Province. Priscilla described this relationship in overtly parental terms: 'she was like our child'.[133] Many of those who had been employed as maids, nannies and garden boys, also used this vocabulary of kinship. Grace Musonda, for example, began to work as a live-in maid in 1990 when she was fifteen years old. Grace described her female employer from this time as 'like a sister'.[134] Priscilla and Grace's use of language clearly points to the enduring power of kinship as a means of defining labour relations involving domestic labour.

[132] On language and domestic service in Zambia see also Hansen, *Distant Companions*, p. 13.
[133] Interview with Priscilla Njovu, Lusaka, 22 July 2013.
[134] Interview with Grace Musonda, Lusaka, 13 February 2014.

The extent to which such terms indicate *actual* relations of kinship beyond the discursive level, with the reciprocities and obligations that such relations involve, is subject to debate. The use of kinship terms is widespread in Zambian society, and does not in all cases indicate the presence of kinship relations. Furthermore, according to Anderson and a number of other scholars, the familial terms used by Priscilla and Grace should be categorised as a strategy used by employers and workers in domestic service relationships to command concessions and loyalty.[135] When seeking to understand Zambian domestic service arrangements it is clearly important to question whether the use of kinship terms was actually a gloss for exploitation. The critique of kinship terms is certainly convincing to a degree and the asymmetrical nature of both familial and labour relations must not be overlooked.

Yet at the same time this critique risks ignoring the experiences of those engaged in the labour process. It is evidently possible that affective ties developed in domestic service relationships, particularly when they were framed from both perspectives as rooted in kinship terms. Indeed, terms such as 'domestic worker' and 'employer' risk overemphasising the *formality* of domestic service, arguably failing to capture the complex, shifting dynamics of human relationships and the ways in which class, gender and age have simultaneously shaped the labour process.

Conclusion

This chapter has illustrated that the vocabulary of domestic service in post-colonial Zambia has been shaped by a variety of local and international discourses. The linguistic legacies of colonial domesticity, feminist theory, the initiatives of international organizations and local worker organizations, and local practices of sourcing labour through kinship, have all impacted the ways in which domestic service has been defined and categorised. Zambian actors have not adopted any of these discourses wholesale. Rather they have drawn on multiple vocabularies and redefined the terms in relation to changing race, gender, class and generational relations.

The vocabulary of the feminist and global rights discourses, centring on the terms 'domestic worker' and 'employer', clearly risks narrowing the ways in which domestic service is discussed and understood. This is particularly the case in the publications of

[135] Anderson, *Doing the Dirty Work*, pp. 122-124.

international organizations and NGOs, media coverage and academic research, particularly in the social sciences. It is therefore important to use such terms with caution, particularly when discussing post-colonial African contexts. The global discourse on domestic service might be an accurate way of describing labour relations in certain (overwhelmingly Western) contexts, as a result of fairly extensive labour laws and regulations covering those working in private homes, but even this usage is questionable if one considers the working conditions faced by many migrant domestic workers.[136] This discourse does not capture the employment relationships in which most Zambian 'maids' and 'madams' have engaged during the post-colonial period.

This chapter does not seek to dismiss the argument that those who have worked in domestic service should be classed as 'workers' in a productive sense. In line with Marxist feminist arguments, this thesis argues that domestic service is productive labour, whether that labour is remunerated in cash or in kind. Nor does this critique seek to dismiss the legitimate claims of those employed in domestic service to be granted rights as workers under the law and to be accorded the same protections enjoyed by other workers. It is for these reasons that the term 'domestic worker' is used in this thesis as an overarching category for those who have sold domestic labour in post-colonial Lusaka, regardless of the terms of their employment. But this term is used with full recognition of its limitations as a tool for historical analysis.

To conceptualise and analyse domestic service in post-colonial Zambia, it is evidently also important to consider the terms used by those engaged in the labour process. The local vocabulary of domestic service utilised by 'maids' and 'madams' offers important insights into the ways in which both colonial domestic ideology and local kinship practices have shaped domestic service during the post-colonial period. The terms used by maids, garden boys and madams to describe themselves and each other reflect the nuances and complexity of the labour process and the conditions of work associated with it. For this reason, such terms will be used in this thesis alongside the overarching categories of 'domestic workers' and 'employers'. In line with local usage, women who worked inside the house and/or cared for children are referred to as 'maids' and men who worked outside of the house are referred to as 'garden boys' and

[136] On the exploitation of migrant domestic workers in Britain, for example, see Human Rights Watch, 'Hidden Away: Abuses Against Migrant Domestic Workers in the UK' (New York, 2014).

'guards'. Children who employed in domestic service are similarly defined by their role rather than their age.

Though this use of terms is clearly not without its limitations, it is hoped that by using a broad set of working terms, as part of an analysis that is grounded in the experiences of those involved in the labour process, this thesis can capture the diversity of both worker and employer experience in post-colonial Zambia. To most interviewees a maid was still a maid and a madam was still a madam, even if the madam followed the new labour laws and paid her maid the recently introduced minimum wage of K420 per month.

2

Unequal Dependencies: Class, Kinship and the Labour Process

Introduction

Relationships between domestic workers and employers are grounded in inequalities of power and status. This can be seen in the homes of post-colonial Lusaka and across the world. In Lusaka, inequality shapes current labour relations and is a historical phenomenon, the result of various forms of social and economic difference, turning on the class, race, gender, and generational hierarchies that structured post-colonial society. But to focus on inequality alone, often the main focus of studies of domestic service, is to miss a significant dimension of labour relations in a post-colonial context like Lusaka. For while domestic workers and employers were undoubtedly interacting from different and unequal positions of power and status, each party was also dependent upon the other for support and security of various kinds. This chapter unpicks the apparent contradiction of inequality and dependency that underpinned domestic service relationships. It focuses on the roles of class and kinship relations in structuring labour relations and explores how these intersected with gendered and gerontocratic hierarchies.

In many ways, the inequalities of power and status that distanced domestic workers and their employers reflected and reproduced the broader relations of inequality that structured post-colonial society. The African population of Lusaka had become increasingly divided along socio-economic lines under colonial rule and these divisions continued to widen after independence. As previously discussed, from the early 1970s the prosperity of the immediate post-independence period began to fall away; a decline that was largely generated by the oil shock of the early 1970s and subsequent decreases in the price and export value of copper. These processes and subsequent economic policies, including various rounds of structural adjustment, exacerbated existing socio-economic inequalities and led to severe economic hardship for many

rural and urban residents.[137] Yet despite these tumultuous shifts, the institution of domestic service remained a constant, albeit never static, feature of society.

Indeed domestic service was a taken-for-granted aspect of post-colonial social and cultural life. Domestic service, in its various guises, was normalized and generally placed outside of the realm of official and public concern. The taken-for-granted nature of domestic service, and the exploitative working conditions in the sector, need to be understood in relation to the longer history of servitude in Zambia. The labour relations of domestic service were grounded in both Zambian kinship obligations and the hierarchical model of domestic service that was established under colonial rule. In other words, the inequalities of the sector were the result of both class relations and the hierarchies and obligations of kinship. Both forms of affiliation also underpinned the dependencies that developed between individual workers and employers.

By their nature, both class and kinship relations are *mutually* constituted: each party (worker and employer, senior and junior) is defined in relation to the other, is obligated to the other and depends on the other for access to labour and various forms of support. The chapter examines how employers across the socio-economic spectrum sought out and employed domestic workers, cultivating relationships of dependency in the process. These relationships must be understood in relation to the hardships facing many urban and rural households as a result of widespread economic decline and insecurity from the late 1970s onwards.[138]

The range of households employing domestic workers is broader than has been acknowledged in existing studies. The overwhelming historiographical focus on formal, middle-class employment practices (conventionally the subject of class analysis) has hidden this diversity of domestic service practices from view, to the detriment of our understanding of the full range of housekeeping practices that have sustained Zambia's growing urban population. This chapter demonstrates the need to challenge conventional notions of class, going beyond strict measurements and categorisations such as level of income or occupation, to emphasise the cultural

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[137] Further discussion of Zambian economic decline and its impact on rural and urban households can be found in Pottier, *Migrants No More*, pp. 10-18; Ferguson, *Expectations of Modernity*, pp. 7-10; Larmer, 'Reaction and Resistance to Neoliberalism in Zambia', pp. 30-32; and Gould, *Left Behind*, pp. 2-4.
[138] Recent work on the history of dependency in post-colonial Africa includes J. Ferguson, 'Declarations of Dependence: Labour, Personhood, and Welfare in Southern Africa', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 19 (2013), pp. 223-242.

dimensions of class membership.[139] The history of domestic service rooted in kinship is particularly important for understanding the resources that poorer householders have drawn on to meet their needs. These relationships were grounded in inequality, including gendered and generational hierarchies and differential access to resources between urban and rural kin, but also emphasised the mutual obligations and dependencies of kin upon each other.

Alongside the relations of inequality and dependency that simultaneously distanced and linked workers and employers, domestic workers themselves were also often operating from different positions of power. The final section of this chapter examines the forms of dependency and solidarity that developed *between workers* as responses to the inequalities of the labour regime and broader economic hardship and insecurity. These relationships often crossed gendered, ethnic and generational lines. Here the chapter challenges the conventional wisdom that domestic workers are, by virtue of their employment in private homes, an atomised and fragmented workforce. Though most domestic workers interviewed for this project were the sole employees in the employing household, these workers were far from 'atomised'. In the gardens and streets around the workplace and on the commute to work, domestic workers socialised, shared stories and gossip, and helped each other to find new jobs and manage their personal difficulties. As will be examined below, solidarity between workers can and does exist outside of conventional class relationships and the spaces with which it is commonly associated. These relations of solidarity reflected both the increased disaffection of domestic workers with the inequalities they faced as workers, and their frustration with the urban and political elites for failing to support the urban poor.

The following section explores the relationship between class and domestic service and the history of middle-class domesticity. The chapter then turns to the history of kinship-based labour relations and assesses the impact of colonial rule on African housekeeping practices. The following section examines how relations of dependency developed between domestic workers and employers despite the exploitative working conditions previously discussed; this seeming contradiction is presented as a pragmatic

[139] Studies of the cultural dimensions of class membership include E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (London, 1963); L. Davidoff and C. Hall, *Family Fortunes*; and C. Steedman, *An Everyday Life of the English Working Class: Work, Self and Sociability in the Early Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 2013).

and coherent response to broader economic hardship. The last section, focussing on the affluent neighbourhood of Kabulonga, explores the ways in which domestic workers have developed bonds of solidarity in response to both the inequities of the labour regime and broader socio-economic inequality.

Class, Domestic Service and Colonial Domesticity

Post-colonial Lusaka was and remains a highly stratified city. Very affluent neighbourhoods such as Kabulonga have expanded over time, incorporating increasing numbers of wealthy black Zambians. Such affluence has developed directly alongside the growth of low-income and unauthorised settlements such as Kalingalinga and Bauleni.[140] In the colonial period, the spatial and social hierarchies of the city were founded on racial divisions. Race continued to be an important element in post-colonial social hierarchies, for even as formal racial distinctions were removed, the socio-economic distinction between the minority of White and Asian residents of Lusaka and the black majority of the city remained intact. But as increasing numbers of black Zambians entered professional and white-collar employment, the racial demographic of the city shifted. As a result, while in the colonial period domestic service had provided the most extensive contact between different racial groups, in the post-colonial period domestic service constituted the most extensive interaction across class lines.[141]

The relationship between class and domestic service is both fundamental and reciprocal. This can be observed not only in Zambia but also in various geographical and temporal contexts. As Janet Bujra has suggested,

> 'whilst appearing as a purely private and domestic solution to shortages of labour within the household, the employment of servants simultaneously speaks to a diversity of class projects within the overall ensemble of class relations- to accumulate through exploitation, to demonstrate material and social success, to survive through labour, to secure and improve the conditions of employment'.[142]

[140] Both areas developed as 'squatter' settlements but later became recognized by Lusaka City Council and granted authorised status.
[141] See Hansen, *Distant Companions*, p. 2.
[142] Bujra, *Serving Class*, p. 3.

In Lusaka, class has similarly both structured the relationship between domestic workers and employers and reproduced class as a set of social relations.

As might be expected given its prominence in shaping relations between domestic workers and employers, class is a dominant theme in studies of domestic service, both in the African literature and more broadly. As discussed in Chapter One, the first serious discussions and analyses of domestic service emerged during the late 1970s. Marxist-feminist analysis was at the centre of this new field of research. These analyses developed out of broader feminist critiques of Marxist categories, with the relationship between productive and reproductive labour receiving considerable attention. Feminists pointed to the failure of Marxist class analysis to account for the reproduction of labour power and asserted the contributions that women's household labour made to capital.[143] In African history this field of research was vibrant, with the arguments of Claire Robertson and Jane Parpart, among others, providing a much-needed challenge to a historiography that had been overwhelmingly gender-blind.[144]

However, this early work on the patriarchal nature of capitalism largely avoided questions about conflicts *between* women under capitalism. In the 1980s historians of colonial and post-colonial history and feminists of colour highlighted the need to address such gendered conflicts, particularly with regards to domestic service. These studies highlighted that not all women shared the burden of housework and childcare because some women had the means to buy their way out.[145] Hierarchies of class, often acting in collusion with racial privilege, were key, as women (and men) of superior status employed those of lower status as domestic workers. These arguments led to a move to study those women (and men) who were paid to perform domestic labour in other people's households.

Most studies of domestic service in Africa have focussed on relationships between European employers and African workers under colonialism or in apartheid South

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[143] See for example W. Seccombe, 'The Housewife and Her Labour Under Capitalism', pp. 47-58; Gardiner, 'Women's Domestic Labour', pp. 47-58.

[144] Early examples of feminist approaches in African studies include C. Robertson and I. Berger (eds), *Women and Class in Africa* (New York, 1986); and S. B. Stichter and J. L. Parpart (eds), *Patriarchy and Class: African Women in the Home and the Workforce* (Boulder CO, 1988).

[145] See for example D. M. Katzman, *Seven Days a Week: Women and Domestic Service in Industrializing America* (New York, 1978); De Souza, 'Paid Domestic Service in Brazil', pp. 35-63; R. Cox, *The Servant Problem: Domestic Employment in a Global Economy* (London, 2006); C. Steedman, *Master and Servant: Love and Labour in the English Industrial Age* (Cambridge, 2007).

Africa. Several of these studies challenged the very conceptualisation of the class structure in African contexts by arguing that domestic workers themselves were a huge yet ignored section of the working class. Cock for example convincingly illustrated that South African domestic workers in the 1980s were wage labourers who produced both use value and surplus value for capital.[146] It is necessary to review the arguments that were made about colonialism, class and domesticity in both this literature and broader studies of gender and empire, for these literatures provide crucial insights into the making of post-colonial domestic service arrangements.

The expansion of Western European colonialism during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries involved the export and promotion of a specific ideology of domesticity. The European domestic model associated women with housework, the rearing of children and the maintenance of domestic harmony. In Europe, these ideas had led to the gradual adoption of new gendered forms of household organization, among the middle classes in particular. As Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall's study of domesticity and class formation in Britain suggests, this model of domesticity became both a measure of civility in European society and a fundamental part of the expression of middle-class identity.[147] Western European domesticity also had a 'civilising' function, as various political and social organizations sought to improve the perceived poor housekeeping practices and immorality of the lower classes, particularly the urban poor.[148]

This need to 'civilise' was also built into the middle-class domestic ideals that colonial officials, settlers and missionaries sought to practice and propagate in colonial contexts. The civilising mission in the African colonies also took on additional and particular racial dynamics, building on the gender and class-basis of European domesticity. This is evident, for instance, in the leaflets and manuals on household management published by settlers and colonial governments.[149] During the late 1940s, the colonial government and Women's Institute (WI), inspired by the activities of the

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[146] Cock, *Maids and Madams*, p. 14.
[147] See Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*.
[148] As discussed in J. Comaroff and J. Comaroff, 'Home-Made Hegemony: Modernity, Domesticity, and Colonialism in South Africa', in K. T. Hansen (ed.), *African Encounters with Domesticity* (New Brunswick NJ, 1992), p. 37.
[149] Of particular interest for the Northern Rhodesian context is a set of three household management manuals published by Emily Bradley between 1939 and 1950. See E. G. Bradley, *A Household Book for Africa* (London, 1939); E. G. Bradley, *A Household Book for Tropical Colonies* (London, 1948); E. G. Bradley, *Dearest Priscilla: Letters to the Wife of a Colonial Civil Servant* (London, 1950).

WI in Southern Rhodesia, also developed a guide for newcomers to the colony entitled 'Hints to Settlers'. This pamphlet tapped into established ideas surrounding the management of African servants along with tips on how to decorate one's home and how to dress.[150] Such publications were developed on an *ad hoc* basis but should be understood as part of a broader colonial project to inculcate class, gendered and racialised values and practices through interventions in gender relations and domestic space.[151]

Colonial domestic ideals involved more than just the management of household relations: they were fundamental to the shaping of colonial society itself. As Hansen suggests, the ideology of colonial domesticity shaped 'notions of labour and time, architecture and space, consumption and accumulation, body and clothing, diet and hygiene, and sexuality and gender'.[152] In Northern Rhodesia the construction of particular household practices, including forms of domestic service that drew on established European concepts of class relations and patriarchy, was fundamental to the establishment of the broader racial, gendered and class logics of colonial governance. The establishment and maintenance of idealised domesticity, as described in household management manuals, depended on the labour of African male servants. Through their management of African labour, colonial housewives were also fundamental to the construction and maintenance of racial, class and gender hierarchies.

Post-colonial domesticity drew in part on these older models. An idealised version of the urban family, inherited in part from the colonial period, underpinned the identity of the black elite and middle classes. The established model of middle-class domesticity continued to centre on notions related to gender, morality and the separation of spheres, with Zambian wives charged with responsibility for domestic labour and day-to-day childcare. This drew on both traditional gendered household organization and a self-conscious modernising impulse. Max Bolt's study of class formation in post-

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[150] NAZ, MLSS1/9 33, Conditions of Employment in Certain Industries and Services: Domestic Servants, 1944-54, The Federation of Women's Institutes of Northern Rhodesia, 'Hints to Settlers', Lusaka, 1949.

[151] For further discussion of the importance of household management manuals to the construction of the colonial social order see S. Hepburn, '"Letters from the Wife of a Colonial Civil Servant": Domesticity, Gender, and Race in the Work of Emily G. Bradley' (University of Manchester. Master's dissertation, 2012). See also Hansen, *Distant Companions*, pp. 59-65.

[152] Hansen, 'Introduction: Domesticity in Africa', p. 5

colonial Zimbabwe highlights the importance of a similar concept of 'bourgeois domesticity' to the cultivation of black elite and middle-class identity and aspiration.[153]

Though the existing literature on colonialism, class and domesticity provides important insights into the making of middle-class domesticity and formal domestic service arrangements, there remain significant gaps in the historical narrative of domesticity and domestic service in Africa. Crucially, the overwhelming focus on middle-class households has detracted attention from the diversity of housekeeping practices and domestic service arrangements that have sustained households across the socio-economic spectrum in the post-colonial context. As will now be illustrated, in Lusaka the range of households that have someone to perform domestic labour is both broad and has involved a complex variety of labour relationships.

Recognising the Diversity of Employers in the Post-Colonial Context

Though white and Asian Zambians and expatriates of various nationalities continued to be a significant source of employment for domestic workers after independence, black Zambians became the largest group of employers. Unfortunately, as little published data on the domestic service sector is available from 1971 onwards, it is very difficult to trace the changing demographics of employers using official sources. It is nevertheless clear that this gradual reconfiguration of the demographic of employers led to important shifts in the structuring of inequality between employers and domestic workers, as a relationship formerly underpinned by racial difference became one mainly of economic distinction.[154]

After independence, domestic employers became increasingly diverse, not only in terms of race and nationality, but in terms of income. Black employers were not however limited to those with professional and white-collar jobs. They ranged from very wealthy individuals engaged in business or in political office to small-scale traders living in low-income compounds. Due to the dearth of data, it is difficult to know the exact income levels of employers or how these shifted over time. The 2013

[153] Bolt, 'Camaraderie and its Discontents', p. 381.
[154] This has been illustrated in various studies of domestic service in post-colonial contexts. On Zambia see Hansen, *Distant Companions*, p. 2; on Zimbabwe, see J. Pape, 'Still Serving the Tea: Domestic Workers in Zimbabwe 1980-90', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 19 (1993), p. 398; and on Tanzania, see Bujra, *Serving Class*, p. 4.

ILO survey suggests that the monthly household incomes of employers of domestic workers ranged from over K7,000 per month to c. K400 (US$621.67 to US$35.52).[155] It is unlikely that such variation is new.

This apparent diversity of incomes is significant for it draws attention to the precarious nature of life for many employers of domestic workers. Based on African Development Bank (AfDB) measurements, the minimum monthly per capita income for those considered middle class is US$60, which equates to approximately K675 (ZMW).[156] If the AfDB measurements were used, many of the employers interviewed in this research would be regarded as middle class. But given that the minimum wage for domestic workers was increased to K420 per month (excluding transport allowance) in July 2013, the income gap between employers and domestic workers in Lusaka has often been very narrow.[157]

The precarious situation of many employers in Lusaka is also suggested by the changing use of household space. The older spaces associated with domestic service, such as servants' quarters, were used in new ways over time. Servants' quarters were a standard feature of colonial and post-colonial house building in low-density areas of the city. Priscilla Njovu's narrative demonstrates how servants' quarters could be used in new ways. Priscilla had been a resident of Woodlands since 1980 when she moved to the area with her husband and young children. Her family began to struggle financially after her husband lost his job at Zambia Airways in 1994.[158] These difficulties were exacerbated when Priscilla's husband died in the early 2000s, leaving Priscilla as the sole provider for her family. Soon after the death of her husband Priscilla moved her family into the servants' quarters on her property so that she could rent out the main house. Priscilla also sold both cars owned by her family as part of broader strategy to finance both of her sons' university education.[159]

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[155] ILO, 'Draft Report', p. 13.
[156] See African Development Bank (AfDB), 'The Middle of the Pyramid: Dynamics of the Middle Class in Africa' (2011), p. 2.
[157] Government of Zambia, 'Statutory Instrument No. 45 of 2012. The Minimum Wages and Conditions of Employment Act (Laws, Volume 15, Cap. 276). The Minimum Wages and Conditions of Employment (Domestic Workers) (Amendment) Order, 2012' (Lusaka, 2012).
[158] Impacted by declining economic security and growing debt, the airline was liquidated in 1996. See Ferguson, *Expectations of Modernity*, p. 235.
[159] Interview with Priscilla Njovu, Lusaka, 22 July 2013.

Employers like Priscilla made such adaptations to the spatial organization of domestic service in an attempt to deal with the challenges of the broader economic decline and personal economic hardship. In their study of contemporary India, Raka Ray and Seemin Qayum's similarly noted how the spatial arrangements of domestic service have been reconfigured over time in response to changing economic fortunes and increasingly restricted domestic spaces.[160] In the Zambian context, such spatial reconfigurations are important for they highlight the precarious nature of middle class membership and draw further attention to the fact that the disparity between the income of employers and domestic workers has often been narrow.

Priscilla's case also provides important insights into the subjectivity of middle-class employers. For despite her financial difficulties, Priscilla continued to employ a gardener and a maid throughout this period.[161] This decision to continue employing two domestic workers, even when she was experiencing severe financial hardship, draws attention to the lengths that employers would go to in order to continue employing the labour of another. For Priscilla, having someone to do her domestic work was more important than having a car to get around the city. This is particularly significant as public transport remained limited until the mid-1990s and, even today, is not a quick or reliable way to move around Lusaka. For Priscilla, employing a domestic worker was an intrinsic part what it meant to be middle class. It was a taken-for-granted practice; it was something that one just did, like paying for utilities and other *essential* services.

In a post-colonial context, the employment of a domestic worker can thus be understood as part of broader claims that Zambians like Priscilla made to full membership in society. As was suggested above in relation to the recognition of African domestic employers by the colonial state, under colonial rule full social membership had been limited by racial distinctions. One aspect of the achievement of liberation from colonial rule was the freedom to access all aspects of social and economic life and to consume in ways that were no longer racially defined. After independence, employing a domestic worker can be seen as one part of a broader set of

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[160] See Ray and Qayum, *Cultures of Servitude*, pp. 43-46, pp. 62-63.
[161] Todd has examined a similar phenomenon amongst middle-class employers of domestic workers in twentieth century Britain; see Todd, 'Domestic Service and Class Relations', p. 195.

consumption practices that middle-class householders pursued to display their status and claim full membership as both a citizen and consumer.[162]

Employing a domestic worker was also of course about survival. For many employers including those precariously located within the post-colonial economy, having someone to take care of domestic labour often underpinned their ability to work outside of the home. Yet the historiography on domestic service overwhelmingly presents a history in which the poorer members of society work as 'servants' but do not themselves employ them.[163] Such an argument may hold for formal worker-employer relationships - it is unlikely that those on low incomes could employ a domestic worker under such terms - but it fails to consider the diverse labour strategies that have been available to poorer households over time to meet their domestic labour requirements.

In order to develop a picture of the history of domestic labour practices in poorer households of post-independence Lusaka, this chapter now turns to a household survey conducted with residents of Bauleni, a low-income compound located to the southeast of central Lusaka. Domestic service has been a vital part of the economy of Bauleni since the 1960s. The compound has supplied domestic workers to nearby middle- and high-income residential areas for many years. Men, women and children have commuted to areas such as Nyumba Yanga, Woodlands, Chalala, and Kabulonga (see Figure 1) throughout the post-colonial period and have provided a source of live-in domestic workers. Bauleni residents also relied on domestic workers to meet their own domestic labour requirements. As noted in the introduction to this thesis, although most participants had never employed a domestic worker in a formal employment relationship, many had relied on the work of others to help them to meet their domestic labour requirements.

Among survey participants in Bauleni, two out of twenty-eight had employed a paid domestic worker in a formal arrangement. One of these interviewees employed a maid for three days per week. This household was comprised of a married couple and their

[162] For more on the relationship between consumption and class formation in Africa see A. McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Context* (London, 1995); T. Burke, *Lifebuoy Men, Luxe Women: Commodification, Consumption, and Cleanliness in Modern Zimbabwe* (London, 1996).
[163] Pape raised an important challenge to such representations of domestic service in his study of Zimbabwean domestic workers; see Pape, 'Still Serving the Tea', pp. 387-404.

six-year-old daughter. Both adults in the household were employed, the husband as a technician and the wife at a local supermarket. The second interviewee who employed a domestic worker had hired a live-in maid recruited through a maid centre.[164] This second family was larger, comprised of ten members including relatives from the extended family. The marital couple who headed the household were employed, the wife as a teacher and the husband as a businessman. The wife's elder sister worked at a local development project and the household heads' two adult children were also both employed. The link between household need and financial capability was clear: both households relied on outside help to meet their domestic labour needs but could only do so because they had the financial means. The histories of housekeeping practices in these two households also draw attention to the heterogeneity of Lusaka's residential areas and highlight the limits of looking for the history of domestic service in only the wealthier suburbs of the city.

Most survey participants stressed that they had periodically faced severe challenges in meeting their basic subsistence costs. In these households, the budget had never been able to stretch to employing domestic help in a formal sense. Instead, the periodic visits of young relatives provided the main source of extra-household domestic labour. Half of those interviewed in the survey relied on the labour of relatives outside of the nuclear family. These arrangements often involved payments of both cash (for school fees and related expenses in four cases) and other forms of recompense (accommodation and board most commonly, but also the provision of clothes and other payments in kind). Inevitably the presence of more people in the house in turn created more domestic work. The chores performed by young people during such visits helped with this additional work and may or may not have relieved the householder of their normal domestic duties.[165] However survey participants did suggest that the use of the labour of such young kin was part of the strategy of interviewees to meet their domestic labour needs.

Most participants had 'kept' younger relatives only periodically. Young people most commonly visited in the school holidays and returned to their rural school during

[164] The history of maid centres is discussed in detail in Chapter Five.
[165] In her study of Kenya, for example, Sharon Stichter found that the presence of relatives often increased the amount of domestic labour that needed to be taken care of and as such increased the burden on housewives. See Stichter, 'The Middle-Class Family in Kenya', in S. Stichter and J. Parpart (eds), *Patriarchy and Class: African Women at Home and in the Workforce* (Boulder CO, 1988), p. 199.

term time. Four interviewees said that they had paid the school fees of the young people who had helped with domestic work in their houses. Various households had often kept multiple visitors per year over time, though interviewees commonly remarked that they could support only one relative at a time with school fees. The young person in receipt of such support had tended to visit more consistently while other visitors were said to have visited only for 'holidays'.

Kinship, Labour Relations and Inequality

The experiences of employers across Lusaka clearly draw attention to the importance of kinship relations as a source of labour and a structuring factor in labour relations. Indeed, throughout the post-colonial period, Zambian domestic workers and employers have both drawn on kinship networks as sources of labour and support.[166] An explanation of inequality between workers and employers that focuses solely on class relations is of limited use in a context in which non-capitalist modes of production and social relations were a source of labour. As Shula Marks and Richard Rathbone have argued for South Africa, in Zambia kinship did not exist outside of the sphere of production, rather kinship relations 'actively entered into and structured relations of production'.[167]

In Zambia, the provision of domestic labour through kinship has long involved men, women and children working for kin, in relationships between seniors and juniors.[168] Inequality is an intrinsic aspect of these kin-based labour relations, as those involved were enmeshed in social hierarchies founded on seniority, gender, and marriage, among other factors. Moore and Vaughan thus suggest that labour relations rooted in kinship are 'always unequal', as senior kin seek to exploit the labour of juniors and juniors seek to manipulate the terms in their favour.[169] This argument, while accurate in itself, risks overemphasising the power of senior kin to wholly define the labour relationship.

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[166] The longer history of kinship-based labour can also be understood in relation to the reformulations of labour relations that took place after the formal abolition of slavery. For further discussion see P. E. Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa* (Cambridge, 1983). S. Stilwell, *Slavery and Slaving in African History* (Cambridge, 2014).
[167] S. Marks and R. Rathbone, 'Introduction', in S. Marks and R. Rathbone (eds), *Industrialisation and Social Change in South Africa: African Class Formation, Culture, and Consciousness, 1970-1930* (London, 1982), p. 19.
[168] For more on kinship, labour and service in the Zambian context see Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting Down Trees*, pp. 193-197, pp. 222-226.
[169] Ibid, p. 223.

Existing studies of domestic service in Africa, with their overwhelming focus on class relations, have not addressed the scale of domestic labour relations rooted in kinship, nor have they fully considered the ways in which kinship dynamics shaped class formation.[170] Determining the precise nature of labour relations involving kinship is admittedly difficult for several reasons. First is the issue of the presence of both hierarchical relations and the capacity for mutual dependencies and loyalty to develop between kin. Kin-based domestic labour relations often involved the development of affective ties and loyalty. Second is a problem of definition, for as Moore and Vaughan note, 'the distinction between labourer and dependent kin is not always an easy distinction to make'.[171] Though such ambiguities have often obscured the labouring element of the relationship, it is a key argument of this thesis that such arrangements should be considered alongside more explicitly formal employment.

The propensity of labour relations rooted in kinship clearly suggest the need for a much more complex explanation of inequality as it is experienced in Africa's post-colonial cities. For example, consider the forms that remunerative kin-based arrangements have often taken. The use of in-kind payments of food or accommodation as remuneration between kin challenges the model of domestic service that most studies have explored i.e. a 'formal' labour relationship. The benefits of various forms of non-cash payments, such as membership of the urban household or the expectation of future support towards education and employment, should not be discounted or undervalued. Not least because as the cost of housing, food and utilities in urban environments was high, payment in kind could have a considerable economic value.

The ways in which gender intersected with age in shaping the inequalities of kinship relations were made clear in interviews conducted across the city. The contribution to domestic work made by visiting relatives was evidently shaped by a patriarchal division of labour, with women and children most likely to do some form of work in the house and men more likely to spend their time looking for paid employment in town. The labour of female siblings was also particularly important. In terms of age

[170] The following studies all examine class dynamics without paying significant attention to intersections with kinship: Cock, *Maids and Madams*; Hansen, *Distant Companions*; Bujra, *Serving Class.*
[171] Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting Down Trees*, p. 223.

dynamics, children who stayed with survey participants only occasionally were perceived to be 'helping' with domestic work as part of the traditional patriarchal division of labour, with children helping their elders by performing household chores.

The range of domestic service arrangements practiced in the poorer households of Lusaka is part of a longer history of urbanisation, gender and changing housekeeping practices. Under colonial rule, specific domestic labour arrangements developed among African urban residents out of the migrant labour system and the uneven sex ratios of towns. In colonial towns a reconfigured gendered division of labour rendered many women dependent on men for survival, even if those men actually did little to support them.[172] Some women performed domestic labour in the urban households of their relatives in exchange for a place in the city, as well as for strangers in commoditised arrangements, in a context of huge demand for housing.[173] For many women and girls performing domestic labour was thus part of enabling them to be in town, and once there, to survive and make a life for themselves.

In contemporary Lusaka, sourcing domestic labour through kinship shows no sign of declining in importance, whether in the poorer households of Bauleni or those of greater means. This seems to be rooted in both ideological and economic factors. Kinship continues to be an important aspect of Zambian social organization, as family networks spanning rural and urban areas rely on each other for support. Furthermore, since the 1970s, socio-economic inequality has increased both within urban areas and between urban and rural areas. Domestic service has been reformulated to suit the shifting challenges of both household survival and the need to meet domestic labour requirements such as childcare and household security. Employers across the socio-economic spectrum have relied increasingly on the labour of rural migrants and relatives to meet these needs.

There also appear to be parallels between the late colonial period and the current economy. As in the late colonial period, in the 2010s many urban residents are precariously located in the urban economy. Though organizations like the AfDB define many of these households as 'middle-class', many are nonetheless subsisting on

[172] Parpart, 'Sexuality and Power on the Zambian Copperbelt', pp. 118-119.
[173] See Chauncey, 'The Locus of Reproduction', p. 153; Parpart, 'Sexuality and Power on the Zambian Copperbelt', p. 118.

incomes that only just cover housing and utilities, food, school fees and basic needs.[174] In such a context, the domestic labour of kin and young people continues to be a vital resource for urban employers. For their part, those who have migrated to Lusaka from rural areas have often done so as part of individual and family survival strategies in a context of extreme rural poverty, in a similar way that migrants in late colonial Northern Rhodesia sought new opportunities in the urban areas. The existence of older forms of domestic service arrangements alongside more explicitly commoditised practices can be understood as a particular set of responses that Zambian employers have made to the shifting challenges of the post-colonial economic context.

Domestic Service and the Reproduction of Inequality

Relations of inequality between workers and employers were not static: they needed to be produced and reproduced. In particular, the asymmetries of these power dynamics needed to be reinforced and made explicit to those involved. This was true for employment arrangements rooted in kinship and for seemingly more distant relationships between strangers. One of the most explicit differences in power relations between domestic workers and employers was unequal access to resources. Employers could and did use their control over wages, in-kind payments and space as a means of reinforcing hierarchies of power. For their part, domestic workers thus experienced their relative lack of power through daily, repeated actions on the part of the employer.

It is worth exploring these processes of making and reinforcing inequality in more detail. Payments-in-kind offer particularly interesting insights. The provision of payments-in-kind reflected the semi-personalised nature of domestic employment and the ways in which ideas about obligation and reciprocity continued to shape labour relations after independence. Payments-in-kind varied greatly in type and frequency. They could be regular, such as the provision of accommodation or daily meals at work, or irregular, in the case of sporadic gifts of second-hand clothes and household items. Such payments often subsidised or, in the case of many kin-based arrangements, replaced cash-wages.

[174] AfDB currently measures middle class membership as those with per capita consumption of US$2-20 per day. See AfDB, *The Middle of the Pyramid*, p. 2.

These payments could also be used to control and to discipline workers to the labour regime and reinforce class relations. As in Van Onselen's analysis of late nineteenth and early twentieth century Johannesburg, the infrequent and often erratic nature of in-kind payments 'had the largely unconscious, but nevertheless desirable consequence of increasing the dependency of the servant'.[175] As in-kind payments were frequently made at the employer's discretion, many domestic workers have described behaving with deference towards their employer in order to generate goodwill and hopefully increase the chance of receiving an additional payment.

Food was one of the most common of in-kind payments and a frequent source of grievance for interviewees. While working for a black Zambian employer in Woodlands, during 1988 and 1989, Mary Chirwa cooked every meal for her employer on weekdays and prepared breakfast and lunch on Saturdays, her half-day. Mary could eat some of the *nshima* (a maize-based porridge that is a staple food) and relish she had prepared. Yet although Mary had access to staple items, she was only given meat occasionally and on those occasions she would usually be given one small leg of chicken to share with the garden boy; she was never allowed to eat any other part of the chicken.[176] Though a common form of payment in-kind, food was thus part of the complex nature of power relations within the worksite: Mary had access to basic food items, but she did not know when her employer would allow her to eat more costly items such as meat. Though such an arrangement likely reflected the relative expense of meat compared with *nshima* or vegetables, it also shows how access to resources within the household could serve to reinforce unequal power relations.

Mary's narrative also draws attention to the fact that not all domestic workers had equal access to food. Garden boys were in a particularly ambiguous position. Some garden boys interviewed for this project had been provided with food, either by an individual employer or, if employed at a block of flats, by the manager of the development. However, many interviewees explained that as outdoor workers they were not supposed to enter their employer's home and so couldn't access food in the same way as maids. Neither were most garden boys provided with the same access to cooking facilities or to food allowances as some guards were. One response to the inequalities of such working conditions, as manifest in the refusal of many employers

[175] Van Onselen, *Studies on the Social and Economic History of the Witwatersrand*, p. 39.
[176] Interview with Mary Chirwa, Lusaka, 4 February 2014.

to provide adequate provision of food, was the fostering of solidarity among domestic workers, the subject of the final section of this chapter.

Relations of Dependency between Workers and Employers

The post-colonial domestic service sector fostered and fulfilled relations of dependency that spanned rural and urban divides. Interviews with Bauleni householders suggest how migration through kinship networks was a key part of the survival strategies of both urban and rural residents. As will be discussed in detail in Chapter Four, migration to the city for domestic service took many forms, with children having migrated from villages across the country, from within Lusaka and from the Copperbelt towns. Live-in domestic service was a crucial resource for rural-urban migrants and their natal family, providing access to housing and subsistence in the city for migrants, relieving the natal family of the migrant's upkeep and often providing them with income through remittances. Urban employers depended on the migration and labour of their kin to enable them to meet their domestic labour requirements, particularly when it came to childcare.

The role of dependency in domestic service must be understood in relation to the longer history of kinship as a source of domestic labour for urban Zambians. The relationship between kinship and domestic labour has of course not been static and the dependencies of kin upon one another have changed markedly over time as a result of the development and spread of capitalism, associated changes in labour migration patterns and challenges to gendered and gerontocratic hierarchies.[177] Kinship relations should not be understood as a 'pre-modern' form of association, a traditional practice that has endured despite the incursion of the more 'modern' form of economic organization of colonial and post-colonial capitalism. And, when seeking to understand the nature of dependency in domestic service relationships, claims to the support of one's employer should not be understood as a mere replication of the paternalistic relationships between colonial 'Masters' and 'Servants'.

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[177] Studies of the changing nature of relations of patrimonialism and kinship in post-colonial Africa include J. F. Bayart, *The State in Africa: the Politics of the Belly* (London, 1993); P. Chabal and J. P. Deloz, *Africa Works: Disorder as Political Instrument* (Oxford, 1999); J. Herbst, *States and Power in Africa* (Princeton NJ, 2000).

Dependency should instead be understood as a pragmatic and reasoned response to the changing nature of inequality in Zambian society and the insecurity of protracted economic decline since the mid-1970s. James Ferguson has similarly suggested that dependency could be a vital resource for those living in difficult economic and social circumstances in post-colonial contexts.[178] According to Ferguson, the emphasis on individual freedom promoted by both capitalist relations of production, and the neoliberal agenda that has come to dominate national and international policy-making is not usually a 'liberating' experience for those in precarious economic situations; it is commonly a terrifying one, as the poor and marginal members of a society are cast out into 'the social void'.[179] The findings of this study suggest that for many men, women and children living in post-colonial urban African contexts, including domestic workers, having a patron has often offered a much-needed source of security.

Domestic workers and employers have clearly engaged with each other from unequal positions of power because of the hierarchies of both class relations and kinship. Nevertheless, though their relationships were often highly asymmetrical, they also developed relations of dependency. For those seeking work, domestic service could offer access to the resources needed to survive in the city. The support of one's employer or kinswoman could enable one to develop social standing and prospects, for example through the payment of school fees or supporting one's family in a rural area. For employers, particularly women, employing a domestic worker was often a prerequisite to being able to go out to work in the first place (childcare being gendered as the mother or female guardian's responsibility). Each party was thus dependent on the other, albeit not necessarily to an equal degree. These relations of dependency developed in both kin-based and more explicitly class-based arrangements and were a resource on which both parties drew to survive in a context of inequality.

Dependency was not only a characteristic of labour relations rooted in kinship. The impact of worsening economic security meant that domestic workers and employers engaged in various forms of labour relations were tied to each other. Fears about the security of the home combined with the scarcity and expense of labour-saving devices and the lack of alternative childcare provision, made employing a domestic worker a

[178] Ferguson, 'Declarations of Dependence', p. 224.
[179] Ibid, p. 232.

necessity for many employers.[180] For domestic workers, employment meant substantially reduced economic insecurity, no matter how low their wage. The findings of this research suggest that relationships between domestic workers and employers must be understood in terms of these mutual, even if highly unequal, dependencies.

The relations of dependency that developed between domestic workers and employers often developed into relationships of loyalty and even affection. Affective language was commonly used, for example, in interviews with former child domestic workers and their employers. Priscilla recalled with maternal affection her distress and disappointment when her domestic worker Esther, then aged thirteen, had become pregnant in the early 1980s. Esther's mother had demanded she return to her natal home in Eastern Province. However, Esther rejected her parent's attempts to control her labour and mobility and ran away from home to return to Lusaka. When she arrived in the city, Esther turned to Priscilla for support and advice. Priscilla had already employed another child domestic worker but helped Esther to find another live-in position. The two women kept in contact over the following decades. Priscilla happily described how Esther had later married and established a stable business selling second-hand clothes in a central city market.[181] It seems clear that in this case the dependency between and Priscilla translated into affective ties that outlasted the working relationship.

Several interviewees who had sold their domestic labour domestic as children also described feeling ties of affection and loyalty towards their employers. Grace Musonda migrated to Lusaka in 1999 and quickly found a live-in position. Grace received a small cash wage, accommodation and food. She described having access to everything in the household. She ate with her employers and shared a room with her employers' daughter. Grace used her wages to pay for her school fees and attended classes in the afternoons. She described how her employer was kind and had 'treated her like a sister'. Nevertheless, Grace was aware that her wages were very low; sometimes she had to take on piecework to top-up her wages and cover her school expenses.[182] Grace's experience illustrates that affective ties didn't necessarily limit the exploitative

[180] Hansen, *Distant Companions*, p. 252.
[181] Esther's story was told to me by her former employer, Priscilla Njovu. Interview with Priscilla Njovu, Lusaka, 22 July 2013.
[182] Interview with Grace Musonda, Lusaka, 13 February 2014.

nature of child domestic service arrangements. In her case 'sisterly' affection certainly did not translate into a decent wage. These findings further support the arguments made by Rollins and King regarding the exploitative nature of maternalist labour relations.[183]

The use of familial, and what is termed here maternal, language by employers or domestic workers is commonly dismissed in the literature. Talking about one's worker in familial terms is seen at best as a false perception of the relationship on the part of the employer, and at worst as a tool used deliberately to disguise the exploitative nature of labour relations.[184] This thesis doesn't seek to dismiss the exploitative labour relations that domestic workers experienced but it does reject the dismissal of the experiences of those involved in the labour process. Even if these experiences are seemingly 'contradictory', Grace and Priscilla's narratives suggest that the mutual dependencies of domestic workers and employers could develop into genuine feelings of affection, even in situations of exploitation.

Affection and exploitation were not mutually exclusive and in domestic labour relations, the two could co-exist. As will be explored in greater detail in the following chapter, the seeming paradoxes of gendered and generational hierarchy existing alongside affection and exploitation seem less out of the ordinary if we interpret these relationships through a maternalist lens. Rebecca Ginsburg's arguments about the intimate, dependent relations that developed between domestic workers and employers are similarly apt. As she suggests, 'in many cases the best word to describe [relationships between domestic workers and employers] would be *love* - the fractured, conflicted, pathological, self-doubting love that often exists between family members in a dysfunctional household'.[185] That a worker like Grace could feel affection for her employer even when working under exploitative conditions can similarly be understood as a product of the dysfunctional nature of maternal, and other familial, relationships. For Grace, and for countless other domestic workers, employment, even under exploitative conditions, provided a source of security in an environment with few safety nets.

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[183] See Rollins, *Between Women*, p. 179; and King, 'Deference and Disdain', p. 31.
[184] Bozzoli, *Women of Phokeng*, p. 102; see also Todd, *The People*, p. 29.
[185] Ginsburg, *At Home With Apartheid*, p. 138.

Relations of Dependency Between Workers

Domestic workers also depended on their fellow workers as sources of practical and moral support. It is commonly assumed that domestic workers are 'atomised' and 'fragmented' workers.[186] This perceived fragmentation has been used by many scholars, historians included, to explain the limited engagement of domestic workers in trade unionism and labour politics and the apparent 'low' development of class consciousness among domestic workers.[187] Far too little attention has been paid to the development of distinct work cultures and solidarities among domestic workers. This section illustrates that domestic workers have developed distinct bonds of solidarity and mutual support, in part as responses to the inequalities described above. To support this argument, this section focuses on the gardens and streets of the affluent residential neighbourhood of Kabulonga. These outside spaces surrounded homes in Kabulonga and were key sites for domestic workers to socialise, share stories and gossip, and help each other to manage the challenges of the workplace.

Kabulonga is one of Lusaka's most prosperous neighbourhoods. The area developed into a low-density housing area out of various white-owned farm settlements during the 1950s. Kabulonga expanded considerably during the 1960s and 1970s, both geographically with the building of new housing, and demographically, as the population both increased and became more racially diverse.[188] Throughout the period however, housing in Kabulonga has remained accessible only to the wealthiest urban residents and their domestic staff with live-in accommodation. When walking through an area like Kabulonga during the day, the streets are heavily populated by those live-in domestic workers and their commuting colleagues. Maids wearing colourful *chitenge* wraps, garden boys in their distinctive blue overalls and guards opening gates to let cars into the many gated-communities share the streets with school children and other pedestrians. The residents of Kabulonga, and the employers of these workers, pass through public space in their cars and jeeps, largely shut off from the life on the street and the workers around them.

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[186] See for example Van Onselen, *Studies in the Social and Economic History of the Witwatersrand*, pp. 1-2.
[187] Ibid, pp. 1-2.
[188] The domestic workers and employers of Kabulonga are also discussed in Hansen's study. See Hansen, *Distant Companions*, pp. 223-224.

In part because of the perception that domestic workers are a 'fragmented' work force, many studies of domestic service have examined individual rather than collective forms of resistance to the labour regime. Such studies have often focussed particularly on 'hidden' resistance, such as defiance towards employers and the mental rejection of exploitation. Jacklyn Cock, for example, argued that the deference that domestic workers are often accused of displaying towards their employers was a mask to hide their true feelings of anger and hopelessness.[189] In her study of domestic workers in England, Todd proposed a different argument, arguing that domestic workers' apparent acceptance of the hierarchies of the labour regime reflected detachment. For Todd, domestic workers saw their job as a means to an end, a way to get by until a better opportunity arose.[190] These studies rightly emphasised that domestic workers were not reactionary or passive and that even in tightly controlled labour regimes workers could exert limited control. But each study still largely conceptualised domestic workers as individuals in lone struggles against their employers.

The findings of this study suggest something else entirely. By socialising with other workers during their lunch breaks, when playing with children on the street, hanging out the washing or gardening, maids, garden boys and guards developed an awareness of other workers' problems and the working conditions in other houses in the area. Commuting home to areas such as Bauleni provided further opportunities to talk and share stories. Evans' recent work on the Copperbelt has similarly explored the development of forms of association between women workers, though she suggested that domestic workers had less opportunity to develop such forms of association than women in other occupations.[191] This may also be the case for some workers in Lusaka, but interviews suggest that the relationships that domestic workers formed with each other around the worksite and on the commute to work could develop into meaningful relations of solidarity, relations that could have a significant impact on both work experiences and relations with employers.

There has been some acknowledgment of the significance of networks of support among domestic workers. Hansen's study of domestic service in Northern Rhodesia stressed, for example, the importance of ballroom dancing clubs to the development of

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[189] Cock, *Maids and Madams*, p. 8
[190] Todd, 'Domestic Service and Class Relations', p. 198.
[191] Evans, '"Women Can Do What Men Can Do"', pp. 104-109.

an associational culture among domestic workers. Bozzoli described what she has termed the 'rich suburban subculture' of female Bafokeng and Tswana domestic workers in mid-twentieth century Johannesburg who socialised and attended church together during their limited time off.[192] Shireen Ally similarly drew attention to the various forms of communal activity that domestic workers engage in around the domestic worksites of contemporary Johannesburg.[193] These are all insightful examples. However, overall studies of domestic service both in African contexts and more broadly must go further in challenging the stereotypical view of domestic workers as a fragmented labour force and address the ways in which workers could develop bonds of mutual support though interactions around the worksite.

The visibility of domestic workers in the public space of Kabulonga is an important part of the culture of domestic service in Lusaka. Though maids are 'atomised' workers, in the sense that most perform their daily tasks by themselves and within the home, they interact with other workers at various points throughout the day. This is particularly true for maids who care for children as they accompany those in their care out onto the street to play and to chat with other maids. Maids often also talk over garden walls, in the alleyways that run between the back gardens of the houses in which they work and in other communal spaces around the worksite. Guards and garden boys are also part of this work culture, creating a community of workers who talk and interact regularly during the working day.

The sense of community that has existed between domestic workers was made clear in interviews with male and female domestic workers. Security guards in Kabulonga described how they and their fellow guards, along with the many maids and garden boys in the gated development where they worked, supported each other both with work-related tasks and personal difficulties. Access to food was an important area of support. The guards and garden boys were employed by the management board of the development and were supposed to be provided with monthly rations of mealie-meal to make *nshima* (a maize-based porridge that is a staple of Zambian meals) and vegetables to make relish. However, such provisions were often not issued or were inadequate to last for the whole month. The guards described how various maids who were employed on the development would provide them with food once their own

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[192] Bozzoli, *Women of Phokeng*, pp. 100-101.
[193] Ally, *From Servants to Workers*, p. 8.

employers were out of the house; this food was sometimes freshly cooked or was left over from the maids' employer's lunch or dinner.[194] In daily interactions around the worksite, these men and women thus became aware of each other's personal problems and common grievances, and through such awareness developed bonds of solidarity.

As the example above suggests, such bonds generally did not develop into traditional labour organizing. Most domestic workers that I spoke with in Kabulonga were not even aware that a trade union existed for domestic workers and none were members. Rather, these workers engaged in discussions about socio-economic inequality and pursued individual and collective strategies to challenge such inequalities in the workplace. Helping each other to leave difficult jobs and find new employment was a particularly common way of providing support and asserting control. This is illustrated by Clarence Chiteta's experience. Clarence was employed as a maid on the development in which I lived for several months. She was thirty-four, a mother of two children and recently divorced. Clarence was deeply unhappy in her job and had a fractious relationship with her employer. I witnessed several conversations between Clarence and other workers on the development in which she described her difficulties and was offered advice from other workers, both in terms of how to manage her employer and how to find another job.[195]

Domestic workers such as Clarence vented their frustrations to their friends and neighbours and pursued their grievances against their employers with the support of their fellow workers. The collective element of such struggles has often been overlooked or undervalued. Todd, for example, has argued that domestic workers' 'responses to [inequality] were often individualistic, and rarely challenged class inequalities' in a structural sense.[196] This may have been the case in the context of Todd's study, but it is worth asking how domestic workers could mount a challenge to the class-based structures of society. The findings of this chapter certainly challenge the potential universality of Todd's arguments, for although domestic workers did pursue individual strategies, they also pursued collective ones. While relationships of dependency between domestic workers did not necessarily present a challenge to the

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[194] Interview with Augustine Mulanda, Lusaka, 12 August 2014; interview with Andrew Banda, Lusaka, 12 August 2014; interview with Teophilous Mufonko, 12 August 2014.
[195] Interview with Clarence Chiteta, Lusaka, 25 August 2014.
[196] S. Todd, 'Domestic Service and Class Relations in Britain 1900-1950', *Past and Present*, 203 (2009), p. 190.

structures of inequality in Zambian society, they could have real material impact for those involved, providing sources of food, emotional support and information.

The absence of formal organizations thus did not mean the absence of collective forms of action. Interactions around the work place facilitated the development of solidarity among domestic workers, albeit solidarity that was distinct from conventional notions of what 'class-consciousness' *should* look like i.e. an awareness of common grievances expressed through formal participation in labour politics and trade unionism.[197] Domestic workers in Lusaka were and are highly aware of their place within the broader inequalities that shaped post-colonial society. In their communities, both as workers and citizens, domestic workers have contributed to broad discussions about inequality and the position of poorer Zambians in relation to wealthier residents of the city.

Conclusion

In its myriad paid and unpaid forms, domestic service was fundamental to the social and cultural reproduction of relations of inequality in post-colonial Zambian society. This chapter has demonstrated how relations between domestic workers and employers were shaped by and contributed to both the making of class relations in the post-colonial context and to the maintenance of kinship networks. These processes intersected with gendered and generational hierarchies, to be discussed in the following chapter, to place the men, women and children who have engaged in domestic service relationships at different locations in a complex set of power relations.

Class relations were made and challenged daily in interactions between domestics and their employers. In a contemporary context of increasing (and largely theoretically and empirically inadequate) commentary on the 'rise' of the middle class in Africa, the insights provided by studying class relations at the micro-level of relationships between domestic workers and employers are of vital importance. The findings of this

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[197] Thompson's description of class consciousness has been highly influential in African labour history. See Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, pp. 9-10. Thompson's influence can be seen in, for example, R. Sandbrook and R. Cohen, 'Workers and Progressive Change in Underdeveloped Countries', in R. Sandbrook and R. Cohen (eds), *The Development of an African Working Class* (London, 1975), pp. 1-8; Peace, *Choice, Class, and Conflict*, p. 14, pp. 17-18.

research draw attention to the precarious economic situations facing many African households considered to be 'middle class' according to the measurements of international financial institutions. Many ostensibly middle-class employers could not afford to employ domestic workers in formal contractual relationships and so turned to kin and the labour of children to help them to manage full-time employment and domestic labour. Others, like Priscilla, tried to hold on to their perceived middle-class status - in which the employment of domestic workers was a key element - despite economic hardship by pursuing new forms of living arrangements and reducing other areas of household consumption.

It is also important to consider how other forms of social relations have shaped the labour relations of domestic service. Understanding the history of labour sourced through kinship is of vital significance. Domestic service was never fully commoditised after independence. Across the period under study employers have turned to their rural kin to help them to meet their needs for childcare and labour. Female kin were particularly important in meeting the rising demand for childcare.[198] Such kin-based labour relations were not only a resource for poorer urban residents. The findings of this research instead demonstrate that households across the socio-economic spectrum have mobilised their kinship networks to find domestic workers.

Urban residents have combined various strategies to meet their domestic labour needs. These have spanned formal, contractual employment relationships between strangers, to longstanding practices of sourcing labour through kinship networks. These diverse arrangements involved various forms of remuneration and degrees of formality. The actual labour involved in domestic service similarly spanned divisions of formal and informal, involving the reproduction of labour power and of the ideologies of inequality that underpinned domestic service and the broader culture of domestic service. The overwhelming historiographical focus on formal, middle-class employment practices has hidden the heterogeneity of post-colonial domestic service sector from view, to the detriment of our understanding of both the reproduction of the urban population, and the dynamic processes of class formation that have taken place across the city's communities.

[198] The roles that women played in stimulating demand for and sourcing female domestic workers will be discussed in detail in Chapters Three and Four.

Despite the inequalities of the labour regime, domestic workers and employers cultivated and engaged in relations of dependency. These dependencies were clearly different, and unequal, for the parties involved. Employers relied on the labour of their domestic workers to enable them to go out to work. For some, employing a domestic was about the display and cultivation of class status, but for many, including poorer residents, it was a question of economic survival. For their part, domestic workers relied on their employer for the payment of wages and in-kind payments. This simultaneous experience of both dependence and inequality in domestic service should be understood as a reaction to the changing nature of inequality in the broader context of Zambian post-colonial society and the insecurity of protracted economic decline.

In this context, domestic labour relations could develop into relations of affection between some domestic workers and their employers. Interviews with Grace, Priscilla and others demonstrate that such affective ties have developed in both kinship-based and more formal employment relationships. It is important to take seriously the importance that interviewees placed on the affection that they felt for either their worker or their employer, for these descriptions provide crucial insights into how the domestic labour process was lived and experienced. This was a labour regime of exploitation and dependency, pragmatism and, for some, genuine affection.

Even in the asymmetrical power dynamics that many domestic workers encountered, there were avenues for domestic workers to exert forms of control over the labour regime. But rather than engage in the broader labour movement or pursue communal class-based struggle against their employers, most domestic workers took a pragmatic response to the hierarchical labour relations and exploitation they faced, mobilising the idiosyncrasies and intimacies of the work process when they could or quitting when they saw no possibility for negotiation with their employer. The inequalities that many domestic workers experienced also prompted the development of relations of solidarity between domestic workers. These relations of solidarity developed and were cultivated around the worksite and on the commute to work. Interviews demonstrate that many domestic workers supported each other through the sharing of food and material resources. Domestic workers also shared information, both about their employers and possible alternative sources of employment and offered each other a space to debate the nature of socio-economic inequality.

The examples of informal organization and debate discussed in this chapter clearly contradict arguments often made about the 'low' level of class-consciousness among domestic workers. Carolyn Steedman's arguments about working-class culture in Britain are apt: rather than try to fit workers into a mould of how they 'ought to have been', historians should try to understand workers as they defined themselves.[199] Zambian domestic workers understood their position within the broader social structure and felt a strong sense of commonality against those who would exploit their labour and economic vulnerability. As will be discussed in Chapter Five, these expressions of solidarity need to be understood in relation to a longer history of attempts to organize domestic workers in Zambia, most of which proved far less successful in generating communal support.

[199] Steedman, *An Everyday Life of the English Working Class*, pp. 7-8.

3

Gender, Age and Labour Relations

Introduction

This chapter explores how gender and generational relations shaped the domestic service sector. At independence in 1964, the gender and age profile of Zambia's domestic workers was extremely unequal. According to the then Department of Labour's Annual Labour Report for 1964, the overwhelming majority of domestic workers were men. Out of the 27,500 people thought to be employed in domestic service, only 700, or less than three per cent, were female.[200] Over the next fifty years, however, this gender balance appeared to shift remarkably, as increasing numbers of women and female children became domestic workers. By the 2010s men no longer dominated the sector. Estimates suggest that by 2013 fifty-six per cent of domestic workers were female, a large proportion of whom were female children and young women.[201]

This significant demographic shift has reshaped not only the proportion of men and women, adults and children, employed in domestic service but also the work itself. In particular, there has been a marked spatial shift in the work performed by men, with male workers now mostly concentrated in outdoor work, maintaining gardens and providing security, and female workers overwhelmingly employed for the indoor tasks of cleaning, cooking and childcare. This increased spatial division of labour had significant generational dynamics, with many adult and child domestic workers increasingly performing tasks that were gender and age-specific. This chapter places these gendered and generational shifts into historical perspective and relates changing employment patterns to broader societal changes in gender relations and age- and class-based hierarchies.

The changing gender dynamics of the domestic labour sector was the result of significant shifts in broader gendered societal dynamics. First, it must be recognised that the 'feminisation' of domestic service took place alongside a marked increase in

[200] NAZ, MLSS1/23 83, Annual Reports ILO Lusaka, 1959-1968, Annual Labour Report 1964.
[201] ILO, 'Magnitude of Domestic Workers in Zambia', p. 2.

female labour force participation more broadly. Educational and employment opportunities gradually opened to women after independence, in line with wider global changes. From the 1970s, many women entered the labour force to pursue professional careers. Over the period as a whole, there was a gradual increase in the employment of women and female children in various occupations including domestic service and within the informal economy.

Second, and related to the increased employment of female domestic workers, was an increasing demand for childcare. The demand for childcare was intrinsically linked to increased female labour-force participation, as many working women sought 'substitutes' to care for their children and take care of domestic tasks in their absence. Thirdly, this type of domestic service generated a demand for female workers because of the influence of gendered discourses linking childcare with female labour. Though men had been employed to look after children during the colonial period and indeed continued to do so after independence, employers increasingly sought out female workers for childcare.

These factors all suggest the significance of intersections of gender and age in shaping both access to employment and the demand for domestic workers. The history of childcare in particular draws attention to the fact that gender must be considered in relation to generational dynamics. The need for childcare was clearly linked to the lifecycle of the employing household. When it came to looking for someone to care for a child, many employers across the socio-economic spectrum appear to have preferred to employ older female children for this purpose. These preferences were rooted in a gender/age-based stereotype that cast the female child as the preferred person to employ for childcare. In examining how both gender and age influenced the structure of the domestic labour force, the chapter both sheds light on how relationships between domestic workers and employers were made, and contributes to the emerging literature on gender and generation in African history.

The chapter also demonstrates that gender, generation, class and kinship-based hierarchies were mutually constitutive aspects of domestic labour relations throughout the period, clearly shaping the relations of inequality and dependency that simultaneously distanced and connected domestic workers and their employers. Taking a gendered approach to the history of domestic labour relations also

demonstrates the need to rethink narrow understandings of class and the economy. Crucially, for our context and more broadly, the definition of 'economic activity' needs to include the paid reproductive and care labour most often performed by women and girls.[202]

The chapter first examines the ways in which domesticity and domestic labour were constructed in gendered and generational terms during the colonial period. It then discusses the post-colonial gender shift in more detail, beginning with the gradual spatial division of male and female workers into outdoor and indoor roles. The reasons for the feminisation of the sector and the spatial division of labour will then be addressed in turn, beginning with the increase in female labour force participation and followed by the significance of increased demand for childcare and the association of this type of labour with young female workers. The final section addresses the ways in which domestic labour has reproduced gendered, generational and class-based inequalities.

Gender and Colonial Domesticity

In order to analyse the shifting gender dynamics of domestic service in the post-colonial period, it is important to first understand the ways in which gender shaped domesticity and domestic labour practices before independence. One of the most significant developments in domestic labour practices that occurred under colonial rule was the creation of the role of the male 'domestic servant' and the recruitment of tens of thousands of men and male children into formal domestic service. The gender and class-based hierarchies that were established through colonial labour relations continued to influence both the recruitment of domestic workers and the conditions of their work in the post-colonial period. This section will examine the gendered division of labour that shaped gender relations in African households in the early period of colonial rule and explore how both African and colonial housekeeping practices were influenced by European gendered models of domesticity.

[202] This argument is of course not new, with feminist historians calling for the recognition of the value of reproductive labour since the late 1970s. For a review of this debate see J. Acker, *Class Questions, Feminist Answers* (Oxford, 2006), p. 8.

To begin let us examine the ideologies and practical arrangements that shaped gender relations in African communities during the early years of colonial settlement. Allowing for some geographical and temporal variation, African gender relations in Northern Rhodesia were based in large part upon a complementary gendered division of labour. Women took care of domestic labour, childcare and the cultivation and preparation of food, often performing most agricultural labour in the process. Men took charge of the production of crops, hunting, cattle-rearing and fishing for sale and exchange and also supported women's agricultural labour by performing the most physically arduous tasks such as clearing land and chopping down trees. Men and women thus controlled different aspects of the household economy, their status shaped by gendered, generational, and economic factors. Though households were structured along asymmetrical hierarchies, the gendered division of labour was, in theory at least, grounded in complementarity and the dependence of household members upon each other.

Studies of African rural households and communities have suggested that the complementary gendered division of labour in African households was gradually eroded under colonial rule.[203] The government in Northern Rhodesia, as in most colonies, pressured African colonial subjects to pay taxes in cash, to grow cash crops for sale under capitalist economic relations and to provide a ready supply of labour for mines, farms, and urban employment. Increasing numbers of men pursued labour migration, particularly to the mines of the Copperbelt and South Africa. Though gendered divisions of labour endured, they were put under immense pressure as the gender balance in many rural areas became unevenly distributed towards women, children and the elderly. Over relatively short spaces of time, these processes profoundly altered the availability of labour in rural areas and undermined many rural households' abilities to meet their own needs.[204]

Interventions in the legal sphere also contributed to the redefinition of gender, in the process further undermining local gendered divisions of labour. In his study of colonial Malawi and Zambia, Martin Chanock illustrated how 'customary law' was selectively

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[203] See Coquery-Vidrovitch, *African Women*, p. 59; J. Allman, S. Geiger and N. Musisi, 'Women in African Colonial Histories: an Introduction', in J. Allman, S. Geiger and N. Musisi (eds), *Women in African Colonial Histories* (Bloomington IN, 2002), p. 6, p. 8; B. M. Cooper, 'Women and Gender', in J. Parker and R. Reid (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Modern African History* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 348-350.
[204] On the complex impact of labour migration on rural Zambian communities see Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting Down Trees*, pp. 46-48, pp. 80-85, pp. 180-182.

codified and interpreted in order to privilege male authority over female, and senior control over juniors.[205] Jean Allman, Susan Geiger and Nakanyike Musisi reach similar conclusions for colonial Africa generally, suggesting that as a result of legislation 'African relational concepts such as "daughter," "wife," and "mother" were redefined, often through court cases and disputes, to better conform to Western ideological notions of these female social positions. Such redefinitions were undertaken with the full support of African (male) authorities'.[206] The institutionalization of patriarchal authority provided a way for senior men to exert control over the labour and mobility of women (and younger men) and for husbands to control the productive and reproductive labour of their wives.[207]

Various European actors sought meanwhile to reshape African subjects through interventions in family life and domestic practices. To do so colonial officials, settlers and missionaries drew on an idealised model of European domesticity that had developed over the course of the nineteenth century, discussed in the previous chapter. As Davidoff and Hall argued in their pioneering study of the British middle classes, this ideology of domesticity emphasised a gendered separation of spheres and differential responsibilities between men and women vis-à-vis domestic and family labour. These ideas associated women with housework, the rearing of children and the maintenance of domestic harmony. These ideas had led to the adoption of new gendered forms of household organization in Western Europe, particularly among the middle classes.[208]

Under colonial rule, African men and women's 'proper' roles were revised and narrowed over time according to this Western European model of domesticity. African women's level of civility became increasingly associated with 'tables and chairs, doilies and crockery, curtains and bedspreads, books and polite conversation'.[209] In Northern Rhodesia, the colonial government organized training for African women in 'homecraft' and domestic science in attempts to promote this gendered domestic

[205] M. Chanock, *Law, Custom, and Social Order: The Colonial Experience in Malawi and Zambia* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 15-16, pp. 192-193.
[206] Allman, Geiger and Musisi, 'Women in African Colonial Histories', p. 6.
[207] Chauncey, 'The Locus of Reproduction', pp. 155-157.
[208] See Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, pp. 25-27, p. 30.
[209] Allman, Geiger and Musisi, 'Women in African Colonial Histories', p. 6.

ideology.[210] African men's roles were also reconfigured according to European standards. Colonial gender ideology cast men as the breadwinners and household heads. Men also needed to cultivate particular domestic arrangements in order to achieve full masculine status; marrying a 'civilised' African woman was a key part of this.[211] Though Africans did not adopt European practices wholesale, and instead selectively adapted European domestic ideals in relation to their interests and values, it does seem clear that many African men and women, resident in urban areas and aspiring to middle-class status, did adopt domestic practices that emulated the European model.[212]

The colonial influence on domesticity that impacted upon African urban households during the mid to late colonial period often placed African women in a precarious and dependent position. As cash became increasingly important as the means of exchange, it became more and more difficult for women to survive without male support. Across colonial Africa women were largely excluded from the labour force and often depended on men for access to housing and cash to buy food and essential commodities. In colonial towns, a reconfigured gendered division of labour thus rendered many women increasingly dependent on men (husbands, lovers, fathers, uncles and brothers) for survival, even if in practice those men did little to support them.

Yet despite restrictions on their movements and gendered labour policies, many urban women in Northern Rhodesia found ways to make their own money, often by commodifying skills associated with housekeeping and domesticity. For example, many women in the Copperbelt towns made money by brewing beer and selling food, crafts and a variety of domestic and sexual services. Both Jane Parpart and George Chauncey's studies of women's activities in the mining towns of the colonial Copperbelt illustrate this.[213] On the Copperbelt as elsewhere, African women thus transferred and adapted their older rural responsibilities to the urban setting, making

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[210] The content of 'homecraft' and domestic science courses for women is discussed for example in NAZ, CNP1/2 138, Educational Courses: Provincial Women 1961-1971; letter from P. M. Trowse, Woman Education officer, Ministry of Education Central Province, to all education secretaries, all education managers, all managers of schools, 31 January 1961; NAZ, MLSS1/23 94, Department of Labour Annual Report 1962. The provision of domestic science training to African women in Northern Rhodesia is also discussed in Hansen, *Distant Companions*, p. 127, pp. 136-137.
[211] Cooper, 'Women and Gender', pp. 348-350.
[212] Hansen, 'Introduction: Domesticity in Africa', p. 2.
[213] Chauncey, 'The Locus of Reproduction', p. 153; Parpart, 'Sexuality and Power on the Zambian Copperbelt', p. 118.

a significant contribution to the urban economy as a result.[214] The extent to which women could support themselves independently should not however be overestimated, as most areas of employment and independent access to housing remained closed to women.[215]

The gendered middle-class model of colonial domesticity most profoundly shaped housekeeping practices in the households of colonial officials and other European residents. According to European domestic ideals, white women were expected to fulfil their gendered duties by taking responsibility for the home and the children. As 'managers' of the domestic sphere, colonial housewives also bore the main responsibility for the management of servants. These workers played a crucial role in helping women to fulfil their gendered duty to maintain a clean and 'modern' home by performing most physical household labour, including cleaning, washing clothes, ironing, cooking, gardening and household repairs. In the colonial context, labour-saving devices were rare and such housekeeping practices were thus often physically arduous.

In Northern Rhodesia, as in many parts of colonial Africa, a preference for male African servants was established from the earliest period of settlement. It is important to consider why such preferences developed, not least because they would continue to influence gender relations within the domestic service sector long after independence. Van Onselen's study of late nineteenth-century Johannesburg noted that African men were often employed to work as 'general servants' in the early years of colonial settlement, supporting the work of 'specialist' white servants.[216] Hansen suggests that the preference for male domestic workers during the early years of settlement in what became Northern Rhodesia was rooted in the history of porterage and personal service that had developed in South Africa.[217] The early gendering of the domestic worker as male thus developed, at least in part, out of the spread of domestic labour relations alongside colonial expansion.

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[214] Women's involvement in such economic activities cuts across much of the wider literature on women in colonial African towns. See for example C. Robertson, *Sharing the Same Bowl? A Socioeconomic History of Women and Class in Accra, Ghana* (Bloomington IN, 1984); G. Clark, *Onions Are My Husband: Survival and Accumulation by West African Market Women* (Chicago IL, 1994).
[215] Chauncey, 'The Locus of Reproduction', p. 150; Hansen, *Distant Companions*, p. 121, pp. 130-133.
[216] Van Onselen, *Studies in the Economic and Social History of the Witwatersrand*, p. 3.
[217] Hansen, *Distant Companions*, pp. 31-33.

The gendered construction of the ideal domestic worker was also the result of mutually constitutive colonial discourses on race, gender and sexuality. In South Africa fears over 'black peril' i.e. black men attacking white women, contributed to the gradual replacement of black men by black women in domestic service in Johannesburg, beginning before the First World War.[218] Similar fears also contributed to the 'feminisation' of domestic service in Southern Rhodesia around this time.[219] But the same shifts did not occur in Northern Rhodesia. Though a discourse on black male sexuality was common in colonial circles in Northern Rhodesia, this seems to have had less of an impact on employer preferences, particularly compared with South Africa.

In contrast to South Africa, in Northern Rhodesia colonial sexual anxieties focussed primarily on African women and not men. In part this related to demographics: white settlement was lower in the territory compared with either South Africa or Southern Rhodesia and far fewer women were present. There are reports of European men in Northern Rhodesia, and in other colonies in the region, engaging in sexual relationships and sometimes cohabiting with African women.[220] However the propensity for coercive and voluntary intimate/sexual relationships to develop between European men and African women became an increasing source of embarrassment for colonial states and local officials, particularly as increasing numbers of white women accompanied their husbands to Northern Rhodesia from the interwar period. As Hansen has suggested, many of these white women were also reluctant to employ African women in their homes due to fears of sexual relationships developing between female workers and male householders.[221] Unions between European men and African women were thus policed more overtly as the gender balance of colonial settlement became more even.[222] These sexual anxieties would continue to shape European preferences throughout the colonial period and, as will be explored later in the chapter, continued after independence.

The gendering of domestic service as a 'male' occupation under colonial rule was of course not only the result of colonial preferences. The differential availability of

[218] Van Onselen, *Studies in the Economic and Social History of the Witwatersrand*, pp. 45-50.
[219] E. Schmidt, 'Race, Sex and Domestic Labour: the Question of African Female Servants in Southern Rhodesia, 1900-1939', in K. T. Hansen (ed.), *African Encounters with Domesticity* (New Brunswick NJ, 1992), p. 223.
[220] Hansen, *Distant Companions*, p. 87-99.
[221] Ibid, p. 87, p. 142.
[222] Schmidt's work suggests that this fear was also influential in Southern Rhodesia from the mid-colonial period onwards. See Schmidt, 'Race, Sex and Domestic Labour', p. 224.

African men and women for employment outside their own family economy was particularly significant. As explored above, although rural households depended upon a complementary gendered division of labour, women bore the main responsibility for daily social reproduction and food crop production. African women were thus generally 'not available' to perform domestic labour in colonial households. Studies suggest that African women rejected the idea of leaving their own family to care for someone else's, particularly under the strict supervision of a colonial housewife.[223] Furthermore, both African women and their families appear to have viewed domestic service as an unsuitable employment option for women. Schmidt's study of gender in colonial Zimbabwe and van Onselen's history of the Witwatersrand, for example, suggest that African parents and husbands rejected the idea of their daughters and wives entering domestic service because they feared the sexual threat of white employers and perceived urban environments as immoral.[224]

The employment of African men as domestic workers appears to contradict the ideal gendered divisions of household labour that underpinned both European and African gender relations. Janet Bujra's study of domestic service in Tanzania suggests that both workers and employers held contradictory views about gender and domestic labour. In Tanzania, as in Zambia, men appear to have dominated formal domestic service employment for most of the twentieth-century. Bujra summarises the apparent contradiction between gendered ideology and labour policy in Tanzania particularly well, noting that performing domestic labour was perceived to be 'unmanly in the home, but manly if it generates a wage packet'.[225] This same explanation of contradictory understandings of gender and domestic labour may helpfully be applied to Zambia, where domestic service provided a steady income for male workers throughout the twentieth century.

Although colonial labour statistics seem to suggest that domestic service was established as and remained a male dominated occupation in Northern Rhodesia up until the end of colonial rule, it is unclear if this male bias extended to domestic service practices outside of the European domestic model. Africans also employed domestic help in various paid and unpaid arrangements under colonial rule. The history of

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[223] Van Onselen, *Studies in the Economic and Social History of the Witwatersrand*, p. 17.
[224] Ibid; Schmidt, 'Race, Sex and Domestic Labour', p. 224.
[225] Bujra, *Serving Class* p. 73.

African domestic employment practices is difficult to trace in colonial government sources. The colonial state evidently knew that Europeans were not the only employers of domestic workers, as is suggested in several brief but highly suggestive mentions of such practices in colonial labour reports. In early 1950, for example, labour officers discussed African employment of domestic servants in relation to the introduction of the legislation to regulate the employment of women and young persons. It was noted that 'very large numbers of Africans themselves employ youngsters as domestic servants'.[226] Despite this acknowledgement there doesn't seem to have been an attempt on the part of the colonial government to collect data on domestic workers in African households.

The statistics compiled by the colonial state on domestic service were instead based almost solely on European households.[227] This was likely the result of several factors. First, because arrangements in black households were more 'informal' than in European households, involving children who were often relatives. Such practices would certainly be difficult to trace. The colonial government struggled to monitor practices in European households and these were far fewer in number than African households. Second, the exclusion of African employers from the colonial record also needs to be understood as the result of a refusal to admit Africans to full membership of colonial society as employers on equal terms. It is possible that labour relations between African employers and African domestic workers were not considered to be important enough to colonial labour policy to be worth measuring.

In the secondary literature more broadly, only a small number of studies have explored labour relations in colonial households outside of European homes. In his study of Broken Hill during 1939 and 1940, Godfrey Wilson observed that a minority of African mineworkers employed domestic servants, including these workers in a list of professions.[228] It seems that a significant number of these domestic workers were male children. Wilson noted the high cost of keeping children in town, as mineworkers

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[226] There were some brief references to African employers in debates surrounding child labour during the 1950s. See NAZ, MLSS1/17 12, Employment of Women, Young Persons and Children Ordinance 1949-1959; letter from Senior Labour Officer to all colleagues in the Labour department, February 1950.
[227] The number of domestic servants employed in Asian households does seem to have been counted at certain times but not as consistently as European households. Bujra found a similar phenomenon in colonial Tanganyika; Bujra, *Serving Class*, p. 6.
[228] G. Wilson, *An Essay on the Economics of Detribalization in Northern Rhodesia Volume 1* (Livingstone, 1941), p. 19.

received rations only for themselves and, if married, a part-ration for their wives.[229] The children of mineworkers seem to have helped to support the family economy by selling domestic labour for cash or in-kind payments. Other children came to town without their parents, instead accompanying a young male member of their kinship network. In such arrangements male children provided domestic labour to a small group of single mineworkers in town.[230] Hansen's work on child migration in Northern Rhodesia similarly drew attention to the labour of child domestic workers in African urban households and the role of kinship as a source of labour.[231] Both studies helpfully draw attention to the fact that the demand for children's labour in African urban households has a long history in the Zambian context, one bound up with kinship networks and migratory labour.

Luise White's work on prostitution in colonial Nairobi provides perhaps the most overt challenge to narrow understandings of domestic service in colonial contexts. Crucially, White draws attention to the centrality of female labour to domestic service practices among urban Africans. White showed that, through prostitution, African women provided a range of domestic and sexual services to urban men, many of whom were single migrant workers. These services included washing clothes, cooking meals to providing migrant workers with housing.[232] Wilson similarly noted that prostitutes in Broken Hill provided additional services to their customers, but he did not characterise this as domestic labour.[233] White's study, by contrast, emphasised the importance of the care labour and practical support that women provided. In doing so she drew attention to the variety of forms that domestic service could take in colonial contexts.

Because domestic service in black households and outside of the European model have largely been ignored in studies of colonial domesticity, our understanding of the gendered and age-based dynamics of domestic service in colonial contexts is certainly skewed. As in White's study, in Northern Rhodesia women were also key to the provision of domestic labour. Chauncey's work drew attention to the importance of

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[229] G. Wilson, *An Essay on the Economics of Detribalization in Northern Rhodesia Volume 2* (Livingstone, 1942), pp. 27-28
[230] Wilson, *An Essay on the Economics of Detribalization in Northern Rhodesia Volume 2*, pp. 75-76.
[231] K. T. Hansen, 'Labor Migration and Urban Child Labor during the Colonial Period in Zambia', in Bruce Fetter (ed.), *Demography from Scanty Evidence: Central Africa in the Colonial Era* (Boulder CO, 1990), pp. 220-221, p. 223, pp. 226-227.
[232] White, *The Comforts of Home*, pp. 10-12, pp. 55-58, pp. 79-80.
[233] Wilson, *An Essay on the Economics of Detribalization in Northern Rhodesia Volume 2* , pp. 66-69.

gender dynamics in the organisation of domestic labour on the Copperbelt, as mining companies encouraged their African workers to live with their wives in town in an effort to harness women's reproductive and agricultural labour and subsidise the cost of wages.[234] Wilson's work also highlights how women in Broken Hill exchanged domestic and sexual labour for access to cash and resources and varying degrees of security and companionship.[235] This thesis suggests such relationships should be considered as domestic service, not least because the men involved in such relationships undoubtedly benefitted from the domestic and care labour provided by their female companions. Wilson and Hansen's studies also draw our attention to the importance of male child domestic workers in colonial towns.

Women and children's labour has played a more significant role in the domestic service sector than has generally been acknowledged. Although employment as a domestic worker in European households was gendered as a 'man's' job, men were clearly never the sole source of paid domestic labour in the colonial period. The gendered, racialised and class-based model of domestic service practiced in European households simply does not capture the range of domestic service arrangements under colonial rule. The following section explores the gradual increase in female domestic workers after independence and relates this to broader gender shifts in labour force participation. The question of 'hidden' domestic service practices, including the employment of kin and children, is further explored later.

A Post-Colonial Gender Shift: Men Outdoors and Women Indoors

After independence, there was a gradual but marked increase in the number of female domestic workers in Zambia. Female domestic workers did not immediately replace male workers as they had in other parts of southern Africa.[236] Interviews suggest, for example, that significant numbers of men continued to be employed into the 2010s. But, gradual or not, a gendered transition did take place. This is illustrated by recent ILO data, collected as part of arguably the most extensive study of the domestic service sector since independence. The ILO suggests that as of late 2013 at least fifty-

[234] Chauncey, 'The Locus of Reproduction', p. 137, pp. 139-140.
[235] Ibid, p. 148. See also Parpart, ' Sexuality and Power on the Zambian Copperbelt', pp. 123-124.
[236] The early employment of women in domestic service was most pronounced in South Africa, as discussed in Cock, *Maids and Madams*, p. 224-226; and Van Onselen, *Studies in the Social and Economic History of the Witwatersrand*, pp. 16-17.

six per cent of domestic workers were women and female children aged ten years and above.[237] This gender shift has involved not only a change in the demographics of the sector but a change in the types of work that male and female workers were employed to undertake.

Though this thesis has a qualitative focus, it is important to outline in broad terms the quantitative shifts that have occurred in relation to the gendered and generational composition of the labour force. It is admittedly difficult to trace precisely how these shifts unfolded over time using the documentary sources available. The data for the 1960s does not provide a breakdown of the gender or age of those employed in domestic service, instead providing government estimates of the total number of domestic workers at a national level.[238] Furthermore, from 1971 onwards government labour reports explicitly excluded domestic service and only sparse figures are available for 1971 onwards.[239]

Alongside these limited government labour statistics, there are two further sets of data available for the 1980s. For the period 1979 to 1990, the Zambia National Provident Fund (ZNPF) published figures on the number of domestic workers registered with the organization. In 1979 36,115 domestic workers were registered with ZNPF. By 1985 this had risen to 49,286 and by 1990 it had reached 55,486.[240] These figures were the result of the voluntary submission of records by employers of domestic workers and of a registration campaign that was carried out by ZNPF and students at the University of Zambia in 1984 and 1986. However, these figures provide only a limited insight into the size and demographic composition of the work force employed in domestic service. They do not capture those workers who were not registered for ZNPF coverage and, given the often-informal nature of domestic service arrangements, it is likely that only a minority of employers registered their workers. Furthermore as the ZNPF did not break down its figures by gender or age, these

[237] ILO, 'Magnitude of Domestic Workers in Zambia', p. 2.
[238] See for example labour reports for 1960-1969 in NAZ, MLSS1/23 83, Annual Reports ILO Lusaka, 1959-1968; NAZ, MLSS1/23 102, Annual Report (Stats) 1968-1970.
[239] The CSO Monthly Digest of Statistics offer the most data on domestic service for 1970 onwards, though this data is based on estimates and sample surveys. Central Statistical Office (CSO), 'Monthly Digest of Statistics Vol. VI, No. 8- August 1970' (Lusaka, 1970); Central Statistical Office (CSO), 'Monthly Digest of Statistics Vol. XVI, Nos. 1-3 January/March 1980' (Lusaka, 1980).
[240] Central Statistical Office (CSO), 'Monthly Digest of Statistics January-June, 1989' (Lusaka, 1989); Central Statistical Office (CSO), 'Monthly Digest of Statistics July-October, 1991' (Lusaka, 1991).

records contribute little to analysing how the demographics of the sector shifted over time.

A second set of data published in the 1980s offers more useful insights into the gendered dynamics of the domestic service sector. Between 1983 and 1985 Hansen conducted a sample survey of domestic workers and employers in Lusaka. Hansen's data is very useful for understanding the demographic composition of those employed in service in mid-1980s Lusaka, because she disaggregated her data on both workers and employers by gender, age, race and nationality. Hansen also collected data on wages and in-kind payments.[241] Hansen used this sample survey to make broader projections, estimating that in the mid-1980s there were approximately 100,000 domestic workers in Zambia and that slightly fewer than twenty-five per cent were female.[242] Hansen's figures therefore suggested that although men continued to dominate the sector in the 1980s, there had been an increase in the number and proportion of female domestic workers over time. Hansen's research provides less useful insights into the age profile of the labour force, as she explicitly excluded young people who exchanged domestic labour for care or payments in kind.[243]

For the 2000s the most extensive data on the domestic service sector comes from the ILO study previously mentioned. In 2013 the ILO commissioned a survey of domestic workers in Zambia, as part of its broader work to promote domestic worker rights. The survey sought to establish how many people were employed in the sector, to capture the demographic profile of both the labour force and the employers, and to develop an understanding of the sector in both rural and urban areas. This survey suggested that 97,652 people were employed in domestic service across Zambia as a whole, with fifty-six per cent of workers female and forty-four per cent male. In terms of age, sixty per cent of domestic workers were aged between twenty and thirty-nine. The survey also suggested that a sizeable number of children and adolescents were employed, particularly among female workers, with fifteen per cent of female domestic workers aged between ten and nineteen years, compared with eleven per cent of male workers.[244] This survey is the most comprehensive set of figures on the sector published in around thirty years. As such it is a valuable source but not one without its

[241] Hansen, *Distant Companions*, pp. 225-229.
[242] Ibid, p. 221.
[243] Ibid.
[244] ILO, 'Magnitude of Domestic Workers in Zambia', p. 2.

limits. The overall estimates suggested in the report were based only on sample surveys, in this case conducted in Lusaka and Kitwe to capture urban dynamics and in two rural areas in Lusaka and Copperbelt provinces to capture rural dynamics.

Despite the sporadic and limited data available for the period under study, it is possible to construct a broad narrative of the changing gendered dynamics of the labour force engaged in domestic service over time. It seems clear that both the number and proportion of females employed in domestic service has increased over time, though not as rapidly as in other countries in the region. Several explanations have been advanced to account for such processes of gendered transition in domestic service. These include arguments about processes leading to the gradual 'feminisation' of the labour force, of 'supplementation' and of 'occupational desegregation'; these will now be discussed.

The gradual transition in the gender dynamics of the domestic labour force could be understood as a process of 'feminisation', as increasing numbers of female workers entered the labour force over time, leading to a shift in the overall proportion of female to male workers. According to the limited data available, the increased 'feminisation' of the domestic service sector in Zambia was slow compared with other contexts in the region. This process certainly took place much more gradually than in South Africa, where, as was noted above, the number of women employed in domestic service increased rapidly during the early twentieth century and women came to replace men as the dominant group in the labour force.

Bujra's study of domestic service in Tanzania suggests that the 'feminisation' of the domestic service sector in post-colonial states took place only gradually, the result in large part, of limited industrial development and economic diversification after independence.[245] Bujra suggests that compared with more industrialised contexts like South Africa, wage-earning men in post-colonial Tanzania had few opportunities for employment. Male domestic workers were thus determined to hold onto the jobs that they had in domestic service. Such an argument likely also helps to explain the gender dynamics of domestic service in the Zambian context. Even though the number of women engaged in the labour force increased over time in Zambia and despite having higher levels of industrialisation than Tanzania, the contraction of formal sector

[245] Bujra, *Serving Class*, p. 4.

employment in Zambia from the mid-1970s onwards and the limited diversification of the economy, meant that many male domestic workers had restricted opportunities for alternative employment and so held onto domestic service jobs in the face of increased female competition.

Hansen interpreted the gradual shift in the number of female domestic workers as a process of 'supplementation' rather than 'feminisation'. Hansen suggests that the increase in the number of women and girls who found employment in domestic service after independence 'supplemented' the male workers employed in service, often by taking on roles involving childcare. Young women in particular are thought to have found employment as 'nannies', while older women were more likely to find more long-term work as domestic workers.[246] Hansen suggests that this was the result of two linked factors. First, like Bujra, Hansen proposes that male domestic workers were determined to hold on to jobs in domestic service because of extensive economic hardship and limited alternatives. But in addition, Hansen draws attention to sexual anxieties. Hansen found that female employers in 1980s Lusaka worried about the sexuality of female domestic workers and the potential threat to marital relations they supposedly posed.[247] The 'supplementation' argument is fairly convincing and likely captures an important aspect of the gender shift during the 1960s to 1980s, particularly regarding demand for female child carers. The entry of increasing numbers of females into the labour force certainly expanded the pool of domestic workers available to urban employers. Interviews suggest that many women and female children became employed to care for children in households that continued to employ male workers for cooking, cleaning and outdoor work.

However, understanding the gendered transition in domestic service as one of 'supplementation' is limited in certain respects. For although many women were employed for childcare alongside male workers, there are also many examples of female domestic workers who were the sole employee in a household going back to the 1960s. The work that such female workers performed, whether they were the only domestic worker or part of a larger team, frequently extended beyond watching the children. By its very nature childcare encompasses a range of physical and emotional tasks, including more general cooking and cleaning duties. To argue that these female

[246] Hansen, *Distant Companions*, p. 142, pp. 232-234.
[247] Ibid, pp. 263-266.

workers simply 'supplemented' the male labour force underestimates the demand for female workers (implicity suggesting that female workers were a 'second choice' to male workers), and overlooks the range of tasks these female workers were employed to undertake.

Rather than 'feminisation' or 'supplementation', could it be that the sector underwent a process of gendered 'occupational desegregation'? In her recent research on gender and labour relations on the Copperbelt, Alice Evans argued that during the 1990s and 2000s Zambia experienced a significant degree of 'occupational desegregation', as women increasingly entered occupations historically dominated by men. Evans suggests that this was the result of both worsening economic insecurity and an associated weakening of gender stereotypes regarding employment. Evans suggests that processes of occupational desegregation have gradually taken place across the socio-economic spectrum, from skilled manual work to professional occupations.[248] Interviews for this project also suggest a link between worsening economic insecurity and the weakening of gender stereotypes surrounding employment. Yet despite the shifts illustrated by Evans, it appears that gendered occupational segregation continued to be a key organizing principle in domestic service during the 1990s and 2000s.

Indeed, gendered occupational segregation in domestic service appears to have been reorganized over time rather than ended. For while increasing numbers of women have entered this formerly 'male' occupation, men, women and children were increasingly employed to fulfil specific *types* of domestic service positions that were gradually reconstructed along separate gendered lines. Certainly, men did not leave domestic service as increasing numbers of women and female children entered it. Many men continued to be employed as domestic workers inside their employer's homes throughout the period, cooking, cleaning and washing clothes, as they had long been employed to do. But alongside continuity in certain men's working conditions, there was a gradual but significant increase in the number of men employed solely for gardening and security work. The mushrooming of the security industry was particularly significant in this regard, with increased demand for domestic workers to engage in security work occurring alongside a broader increase in the employment of

[248] A. Evans, '"Women Can Do What Men Can Do": The causes and consequences of growing flexibility in gender divisions of labour in Kitwe, Zambia' (London School of Economics. PhD thesis, 2013), p. 83.

watchmen and private security across Lusaka since the 1980s.[249] This likely related to growing socio-economic inequality in the city and the incidence and fear of robbery and violence.[250]

Men thus increasingly moved into different types of domestic service positions as the sector expanded. As men moved into outdoor work, women and female children were increasingly employed in 'traditional' indoor domestic service roles. In practical terms, domestic service roles that involved cooking, cleaning and other inside tasks were increasingly gendered as female. As the following sections will explain, the employment of female labour inside the house was largely the result of increased female labour force participation and associated demands for childcare, as urban working women sought out the labour of women and female children of lower status so that that could manage employment and domestic labour.

When viewed over the long term, the history of post-colonial domestic service has involved a gradual but marked gendering of the spaces in which domestic workers were employed. This gendering of the domestic service environment was one of the most significant changes in the sector during the period under study, for it has had a profound impact on the nature of work performed by men, women and children of both sexes, the relationships that workers developed with their employers and the resources that workers have had access to. Indoor and outdoor workers, increasingly defined along gendered lines, often had very different access to the resources of the workplace. We first encountered Mary Chirwa's experience of the ways in which food was used to reinforce hierarchical labour relations in Chapter Two. While Mary was provided with food on a daily basis, albeit rarely more expensive items such as meat, the garden boy who was also employed at the property in which she worked was not, and often depended on Mary's willingness to share the food that she had been provided.[251] It seems likely that such hierarchies of access to the resources of the household built on

[249] Similar processes of have occurred in the broader Southern African region, with private forms of security and policing extremely prominent in South Africa. For more on the South African context see B. Baker, 'Living with Non-State Policing in South Africa: The Issues and Dilemmas', *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 40 (2002), pp. 29-53; and J. Steinberg, *Thin Blue: The Unwritten Rules of Policing South Africa* (Johannesburg, 2008).
[250] Hansen observed during fieldwork in Lusaka in the mid-1980s that the fear of robbery was extremely high among wealthy Lusaka's wealthier residents; Hansen, *Distant Companions*, pp. 277-278.
[251] Interview with Mary, Lusaka, 4 February 2014.

longer precedents of occupational prestige within the domestic service sector.[252] But it is important to note how gendered occupational segregation seems to have had a disproportionate impact in reducing men's access to resources, as female workers came to dominate indoor positions.

Though these gendered demographic and spatial shifts were significant, there is another dimension to the relationship between gender and domestic service that the narrative of change over time thus far outlined does not capture. For alongside significant shifts in the number of female workers employed in formal labour relations and the gradual spatial division of labour, employers continued to rely on an alternative set of domestic service practices: kinship-based labour relations. Though never static, these labour relations certainly reflected a high degree of continuity over time, particularly with regards to gender and generational dynamics. Such arrangements were not considered in most of the analyses of gendered dynamics of domestic service considered above. The Ministry of Labour, in its various guises, and ZNPF focussed on formal, contractual employment. Hansen's figures similarly excluded young people who exchanged domestic labour for in-kind payments and/or care.[253]

Yet despite the limits of the data, interviews with domestic workers and employers strongly suggest that many women and female children were employed by kin throughout the period. The prevalence and popularity of such kinship-based domestic service practices over time is suggested throughout the qualitative material gathered as part of this project. This suggests that the relationship between gender and domestic service needs to be reinterpreted. This thesis argues that both the number and proportion of women and female children employed in domestic was and still is higher than has been previously acknowledged, both under colonial rule and in the period under study from 1964 onwards.

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[252] During the colonial period, it was common for domestic service positions to be hierarchically organized, with cooks at the top of the hierarchy and garden workers at the bottom. This had a clear spatial dimension, with the kitchen being the most prestigious area of employment, followed by work in other areas of the house, and finally by the outside spaces. See Hansen, *Distant Companions*, pp. 59-60. Interviews conducted for this thesis suggest such spatial occupational prestige continued to influence the standing of indoor and outdoor domestic workers after independence.
[253] Hansen, *Distant Companions*, p. 221.

Explaining the Gender Shift: Increased Female-Labour Force Participation

The gendered transition in domestic service need to be understood in relation to broader changes in women's employment patterns. From the 1960s onwards increasing numbers of Zambian women entered employment. Between 1980 and 1990 female labour force participation increased exponentially.[254] This shift was part of broader changes in female labour force participation at a global level. The demand for domestic help increased, in large part because domestic labour continued to be gendered as a female responsibility.[255] Increased female labour force participation also expanded the pool of labour available to employers, as more women and female children began looking for work in domestic service. This section will examine these linked gendered processes, relating them to both changing employer demands and generational dynamics.

During the late 1960s and 1970s increasing numbers of Zambian women entered professional and white-collar employment. Ilsa Schuster has termed these female workers the 'New Women of Lusaka', to capture both the opening up of educational and employment opportunities to women and the new ways of living that young urban women engaged in.[256] Interviewees for this study similarly illustrate how young women were able to take advantage of opportunities that opened up after independence. Stella Soko's experience demonstrates this well. During the late 1950s and 1960s Stella attended Catholic boarding school in Kitwe. Stella described attending a career talk during her final year of secondary school; her teachers asked about her aspirations and helped her to organize work experience at a nearby hospital. In 1969 Stella travelled to the UK to study radiography at the University of Carlisle, her studies funded by the local Rotary Club. Stella was the only African woman at the training hospital in Carlisle. She returned to Lusaka in 1973 and became the first female radiographer to be employed at the University Teaching Hospital.[257] Priscilla Njovu's experience also fits into this narrative of 'New Women'. Ten years after Stella began her studies in the UK, Priscilla was awarded a scholarship to attend university

[254] Central Statistical Office (CSO), 'Census of Population, Housing and Agriculture 1990: Volume 10 Zambia Analytical Report' (Lusaka, 1994).
[255] The gendering of domestic labour as a female responsibility is of course not unique to Zambia. Indeed, it is a remarkably robust gendered assumption that has been observed in contexts across the world. For a summary of such arguments see Anderson, *Doing the Dirty Work*, p. 162.
[256] I. M. Glazer Schuster, *New Women of Lusaka* (Palo Alto CA, 1979), pp. 1-2.
[257] Interview with Stella Soko, Lusaka, 29 May 2014.

in Nigeria.[258] Women like Stella and Priscilla clearly enjoyed opportunities that had not been open to previous generations of women.

Stella and Priscilla were members of a new group of educated and professional young women with a new way of living in the city. These women adopted new styles of dress and consumption patterns and many lived independently of their parents and without male partners, either renting their own apartments or sharing with other women. For example, after finding work at the National Archives of Zambia, Priscilla moved from her brother's house into her own apartment in a newly built development. In many ways, these women experienced a 'golden age' of opportunities that opened to men and women from the mid-1960s to mid-1970s. As will be discussed below and in Chapter Four, such opportunities for social and geographic mobility declined rapidly from the 1980s onwards. Men and women who came of age during the 1980s and in subsequent decades could only easily access such opportunities for education, employment and independent living if they were the children of elites.

It is important to note that although increasing numbers of women found professional employment from the late 1960s onwards, women remained a minority in the broader labour force. According to census data, women and girls aged fifteen and over constituted less than twenty-nine per cent of the labour force by 1969.[259] Though such figures massively underestimated the extent of women's productive activities, for example by not recognising and valuing the extent of domestic and care labour that women and girls engaged in, they show that men dominated formal sector employment. By 1980 the number of women in paid employment as a proportion of formal employees had not markedly increased. Data from the 1980 census, for example, suggested that just over thirty-seven per cent of women and girls aged 12 and over were considered to be 'economically active' compared with over seventy-two per cent of men and boys.[260] There are limits to the reliability of the data, particularly with regards to the narrow categorisation of activities as 'economic' or 'non-economic'. But labour force participation evidently continued to be highly unequal between women and men into the 1980s.

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[258] Interview with Priscilla Njovu, Lusaka, 22 July 2013.
[259] CSO, 'Census of Population and Housing 1969: Analytical Report'.
[260] Central Statistical Office (CSO), '1980 Census of Population and Housing: Analytical Report Volume 3 Major Findings and Conclusions and Policy Implications' (Lusaka, 1985).

The unbalanced nature of labour force participation reflected broader gender relations for, despite an opening up of opportunities to women and girls, gender relations remained highly asymmetrical in the decades following independence. Both jobs and relationships could be short-lived and housing was often difficult for single women to find.[261] These practical gender asymmetries were compounded by the endurance of gender stereotypes in wider public discourse. Young urban women were often regarded as sexually dangerous and immoral, reflecting long-standing gendered and generational anxieties that had also shaped perceptions of urban women under colonial rule.[262] The discourse of immorality was not restricted to professional women. Other young urban women were also often classified in this way, including female domestic workers. Indeed, as will be explored below, sexual anxiety could be a significant barrier to women seeking employment in domestic service throughout the post-colonial period, as it had been under colonial rule.

Female labour force participation did increase more rapidly from the 1980s onwards. Data from the 1990 census suggests that women's participation increased by over 155 per cent between 1980 and 1990.[263] This sharp increase was largely the result of women's increased involvement in the growing informal sector in urban areas but it also suggests better remuneration of women's economic activities. During the early 1980s various scholars argued that narrow understandings of economic activity led to a skewed perception of both men and women's participation in the Zambian labour force. Many productive activities, including urban subsistence agriculture, various forms of family labour and some forms of care work have been missed from analyses.[264] As would be expected this has had a disproportionate impact on the measurement of women's and female children's participation in the economy because care labour and household agricultural production have tended to be gendered as female responsibilities.

The undervaluing of domestic and care labour has also influenced how women have understood their own participation in the economy. In interviews, it was common for

[261] On the gendered nature of access to housing in Lusaka see Hansen, *Keeping House in Lusaka*, pp. 102-106.
[262] As discussed in Schuster, *New Women of Lusaka*, pp. 145-151.
[263] CSO, 'Census of Population, Housing and Agriculture 1990: Volume 10'.
[264] L. Benería, 'Conceptualising the Labour Force: The Underestimation of Women's Economic Activities', *The Journal of Development Studies,* 17 (1981), pp. 10-11; C. Rakodi, 'Urban Agriculture: Research Questions and Zambian Evidence', *The Journal of Modern African Studies,* 26 (1988), p. 497, p. 501; Evans, "Women Can Do What Men Can Do", p. 81.

many working and non-working women to refer to themselves as having been 'just a housewife' in the past, even if they had engaged in some form of income generation such as selling vegetables from home or mending clothes. These narratives seem to reflect an internalisation of gender stereotypes surrounding economic activity that has been observed by feminist scholars working in various contexts. Evans, for example, recently described a similar phenomenon on the Copperbelt, with many of her interviewees not recognising women's home-based work as 'work' even if it had generated an income.[265] This has likely led to an underreporting by women of their economic activities in both governmental and non-governmental surveys of the labour force.

The increases in female employment in both the formal and informal sectors that occurred during the 1980s took place alongside both decreases in male employment and worsening economic security more broadly. Between 1980 and 1990 formal sector employment declined from 381,490 to 359,620.[266] However although overall rates of labour force participation declined in both rural and urban areas and for men and women, male participation declined more extensively than female.[267] As the economic climate worsened and many men lost or struggled to find employment, it is likely that many women entered the labour force to try and support themselves and the household economy. Indeed, as noted previously, the number of women and girls who were employed in the labour force increased by 155 per cent during the 1980s; for comparison, male employment increased by sixty-four per cent.[268] These rates of course reflect that more men were already 'economically active', but it also suggests that increasing numbers of women and girls felt the need to support themselves and the family economy through employment.

By the early 1990s both national and per capita income levels had declined further. The government pursued increasingly full-blown economic liberalisation during the 1990s resulting in further job losses in various industries, including mining and the public sector.[269] Despite this overall employment levels had increased during the 1980s and into the 1990s, though this was skewed in favour of female workers. While

[265] Evans, 'Women Can Do What Men Can Do', pp. 70-71.
[266] Larmer, *Mineworkers in Zambia*, p. 51.
[267] CSO, 'Census of Population, Housing and Agriculture 1990: Volume 10'.
[268] Ibid.
[269] Larmer, *Mineworkers in Zambia*, pp. 173-174.

the number of employed men increased by nine per cent between 1980 and 1990, from fifty to fifty-nine per cent, for the same period the number of women employed almost doubled, increasing from sixteen to thirty per cent.[270] For both sexes, these increases were largely the result of the massive growth of informal sector employment, as Zambians sought innovative ways to earn an income in a context of declining formal sector employment.

By entering into the labour market, including into domestic service, many Zambian women and girls clearly sought to gain access to cash and other resources and to overcome inequalities of distribution within the household. But broader inequities in gender relations could impede the ability of women and girls to participate in the labour force; married women, for example, could be prevented from working by their husbands. Feminist theory has long pointed out that the distribution of resources within the household is asymmetrical, structured along gendered and generational lines.[271] As noted above, various actors including government officials and missionaries promoted the male breadwinner model in the colonial period. The endurance of this model of gender relations into the later post-colonial period, particularly the 1990s and 2000s, can perhaps be understood as reflecting this idealized masculinity rather than the reality of male household heads being able to provide for all the household's needs. For as has been suggested, as a result of widespread economic hardship and unemployment, many men simply could not and cannot fulfill this ideal.

The informal sector, including the provision of domestic services and care labour, was a crucial source of employment for many urban women and girls. The 2000 census for example suggested that a large part of the ninety-eight per cent increase in female labour force participation during the 1990s was the result of female involvement in informal sector activities.[272] Not all informal sector activities were equally accessible however. For example, engaging in informal trading activities, even at a small scale, required capital that many of the poorest women simply did not have. Unlike starting a small business or engaging in trade, entering domestic service required no capital. For many poorer women, selling domestic labour therefore provided one of the only

[270] CSO, 'Census of Population, Housing and Agriculture 1990: Volume 10'.
[271] See for example Acker, *Class Questions, Feminist Answers*, p. 63.
[272] Central Statistical Office (CSO), 'Census of Population and Housing 2000: Analytical Report Final' (Lusaka, 2003).

means to access resources in the urban environment. Studies of domestic service elsewhere in the region have similarly shown that domestic service has long provided a means for poor urban women to enter the urban economy.[273]

Although female employment in domestic service should not be understood as a 'natural' extension of female skills from the home to the workplace, it is clear that domestic work enabled women to sell the skills that they had developed as mothers, daughters, grandmothers and female dependents. Female domestic workers could perhaps actually take advantage of the gender stereotypes that characterised certain tasks as 'female', particularly when it came to employment in childcare.

Explaining the Gender Shift: The Demand for Childcare

As increasing numbers of women entered the labour force, the demand for childcare increased significantly. Interviews suggest that many women, wives in particular, continued to be responsible for the provision of care labour and domestic work throughout the period, with childcare in particular gendered as a female responsibility. To manage this 'double day', working women needed to find someone to care for their child.[274] This often-involved women turning to female relatives and peers for advice and help with finding help with childcare. This section explores how female labour force participation stimulated demand for childcare and relates this demand to both gendered and generational dynamics.

The relationship between female labour force participation and childcare clearly draws attention to the importance of the lifecycle as a dynamic that has shaped the domestic service sector. For example, while working parents of young children often needed to employ someone to help with childcare, older people with grown up children would not require such a service. This phenomenon is of course not unique to the post-colonial Zambian context. Enid Schildkrout's work on Hausa women in Kano, Northern Nigeria, for example, similarly illustrates how the lifecycle has shaped women's abilities to participate in economic activities. In that case, Schildkrout shows

[273] See Cock, *Maids and Madams*, p. 9; Bozzoli, *Women of Phokeng*, pp. 95-97, pp. 136-137.
[274] The 'double day' of employment and domestic work that many women have and continue to face has been observed in contexts around the world. For further discussion see for example De Souza, 'Paid Domestic Service in Brazil', pp. 52-54; Anderson, *Doing the Dirty Work*, p. 16; Gill, *Precarious Dependencies*, p. 6.

how women living in seclusion faced different options with regards to economic activity depending on their access to children's labour. Women with older children relied on their older children to care for younger ones, while those without older children relied on the labour of either older foster children or those employed in more explicit employment relationships.[275]

The history of childcare has received very little attention in African history. As such it is worth identifying what is meant by the term 'childcare'. In the Zambian context, as elsewhere, childcare has taken place in dependent relationships between parents and their own children, as part of non-monetary relationships between children and non-parental care-givers (grandparents for example) or as a paid service exchanged between care-givers and clients (the children and their guardians). Despite this variety, it is crucial to acknowledge that the care of children, in all its forms, involves both skill and labour. In line with broader feminist arguments about the productive value of domestic labour addressed previously in this thesis, childcare is thus recognised as a form of productive labour. Arlie Hochschild's concept of 'care labour' is particularly useful for understanding the combination of hard physical and emotional work and intimacy that childcare involves. As Anderson has similarly suggested, there is often a significant degree of crossover between paid care work and other forms of domestic labour, with those employed to care for children frequently cooking, cleaning and washing clothes.[276]

The gendered responsibility for childcare is further emphasised when one considers who pays for this form of labour. As Anderson has suggested, women often pay for childcare out of their own salary.[277] Women thus take responsibility for 'replacing' themselves in the home. Throughout the period under study, there was no source of free public or subsidised childcare for children before they reached schooling age and so parents had to turn to private sources. However only a minority of mothers have been able to participate in the market of private nurseries and other organized paid childcare. Most working women have instead had to rely on informal mechanisms of

[275] E. Schildkrout, 'Age and Gender in Hausa Society: Socio-Economic Roles of Children in Urban Kano', in J. S. La Fontaine (ed.), *Sex and Age as Principles of Social Differentiation* (London, 1978), p. 118, p. 124, p. 127.
[276] Anderson, *Doing the Dirty Work*, p. 15.
[277] Ibid, p. 117.

support, such as parents and older children.[278] Many working women also relied on the labour of women and female children of lower economic and social status to meet their childcare needs. Though this was the result of long-standing association of femininity, youth and childcare, it also reflected a lack of alternatives.

The supply of childcare has noticeably shaped women's ability to enter and remain in the labour force. For married women, there was significant pressure to manage employment and the gendered expectations of marriage and motherhood. Not surprisingly, there was a significant relationship between the increase in the number of professional and white-collar female workers and increased female employment within the domestic service sector. For many middle-class female employers in Lusaka achieved their 'emancipation' from domestic work through the employment of a woman or female child to take their place. Like many 'New Women of Lusaka', Stella and Priscilla both employed domestic workers for the first time after giving birth to children. Recalling her experience as the mother of young children in the 1970s and early 1980s, Stella explained that 'you have to have someone, someone has to be in the house. In my time, I would have someone to clean my house and especially to look after my children. I needed two people'.[279] Each of these women employed female domestic workers to care for their children, to clean their homes and to prepare meals.

These narratives illustrate how professional women tried to balance work and family life by relying on the labour of female domestic workers. Rather than disrupt the gendered division of labour as in colonial domestic service arrangements, these female employers accepted (and thereby reinforced) the idea that domestic work was a female responsibility. This fits with observations made in various contexts about the ways in which class hierarchies can reinforce gendered divisions of labour. As Selina Todd has similarly illustrated in her work on domestic service in England, 'middle-class support for domestic service has reinforced a gendered division of labour within the home and labour market' as poorer women were employed to perform domestic work for wealthier women.[280]

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[278] Gardiner, *Gender, Care and Economics*, p. 19.
[279] Interview with Stella Soko, Lusaka, 29 May 2014.
[280] Todd, 'Domestic Service and Class Relations in Britain 1900-1950', p. 183.

For Stella and Priscilla, and for many other mothers and guardians of dependents, the ability to work outside of the home has depended on the labour of others. Hochschild's concept of 'care chains' is useful for thinking about the ways in which working women in Lusaka constructed and mobilised labour relations to meet their needs for childcare and household labour. Hochschild suggests that women across the socio-economic spectrum construct complex chains of care, in which each link in the chain is dependent on the care provided by another (usually female). Hochschild's framework is global and focuses on the construction of care chains that involve the cross-border migration of 'nannies' from the 'Global South' to the 'Global North'.[281] But the concept of care chains is also instructive within a national context. Internal migration is a significant part of this Zambian story, particularly of the rural-urban kind. Working women like Priscilla, for example, turned to female relatives to help them to find a domestic worker. In her case, a relative contacted other women outside of the city and identified a female child to fulfil Priscilla's requirements. The links in this national care chain included the employer/mother, the worker and various female relatives.

Though the literature is still in its infancy, several studies of African contexts have similarly demonstrated the role of care chains. In her study of South Africa, Shireen Ally used the concept of 'national care chains' to explain the pattern of dependency that shapes the domestic service sector, suggesting that 'caring resources are extracted, through patterns of uneven economic and social development, from rural to urban, from black to white, and from the poor to the not-so-poor'.[282] Ally's allusion to the 'not-so-poor' is particularly useful for it draws attention to the heterogenous nature of the employing sector of the population. In her recent work on contemporary Nairobi, Ambreena Manji has similarly focused on care chains to explain how working women have found ways to manage their childcare needs. Manji takes a more focused approach, examining the chains that link communities within the city itself.[283] In Lusaka too, women constructed care chains across the city to meet their childcare needs, drawing on both formally employed domestic workers and kin-based arrangements.

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[281] A. R. Hochschild, 'Global Care Chains and Emotional Surplus Value', in W. Hutton and A. Giddens (eds), *On The Edge: Living with Global Capitalism* (London, 2000), p. 131.
[282] Ally, *From Servants to Workers*, p. 120.
[283] A. Manji, 'Intimacy and Inequality: Conceptualising Care Labour in Kenya', paper presented to Centre of African Studies Seminar, University of Cambridge, 23 February 2015.

Of course, it was not only women in white-collar and professional employment that needed help with childcare. In Lusaka, female domestic workers themselves have also needed to find 'substitutes' to help take care of their children and domestic work. The concept of care chains is again a useful concept to work with. Poorer urban women frequently relied on the care labour of female kin to enable them to meet their domestic labour requirements. This led to the development of kin-based care chains both within Lusaka and between Lusaka and rural areas. The domestic support provided by kin was a particularly vital resource for live-out domestic workers because of the long working hours and lengthy commutes that such work involved. This is illustrated by Dorothy Phiri's experience. Like many live-out domestic workers, Dorothy was away from her home for over twelve hours per day. Dorothy 'kept' her niece, Anna Banda, for five years during the 1980s. She relied on Anna for help with washing clothes, cooking and childcare. In return Anna received accommodation, food and some help towards school fees.[284] Women like Dorothy cultivated kin-based care chains to help to mediate the strain of work and domestic labour and, crucially, to ensure that care would be provided to their children while they were at work.

The capacity for such kin-based care chains to adequately provide for the needs of domestic workers' children has been questioned. In their study of global care chains, Barbara Ehrenreich and Arlie Hochschild suggested that the children of many domestic workers end up being 'left behind' as a result of the structure of care chains, for while the domestic worker provided full-time care to the child of her employer, her own children may be cared for by a relative who is in turn balancing her own domestic tasks and income-generating activities.[285] The international dimensions of Ehrenreich and Hochschild's examples are perhaps more extreme than in the context of Lusaka. But even within the confines of the city, it is important to consider how domestic workers' children experience their care. Like Ehrenreich and Hochschild, Manji argues that the children of domestic workers receive a lower standard of care than the children who these workers are paid to care for.[286] As in Lusaka, a lack of state provision of childcare in Nairobi necessitated the development of private nurseries and the employment of nannies. In Nairobi, the less well off, like domestic workers and

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[284] Interview with Dorothy Phiri, Lusaka, 10 August 2013.
[285] B. Ehrenreich and A. R. Hochschild, 'Introduction', in B. Ehrenreich and A. R. Hochschild (eds), *Global Woman: Nannies, Maids and Sex Workers in the New Economy* (New York, 2002), p. 1. On the negative impact of long-distance migration on domestic worker's children in the South African context see Ginsburg, *At Home With Apartheid*, pp. 99-100.
[286] Manji, 'Intimacy and Inequality'.

'nannies' themselves, often had to rely on female relatives or their older children to care for their children.

Though it is clearly important to consider the potential negative impact that employment in domestic service could have on domestic workers' own children, it would be wrong to suggest that all kin-based care chains have involved children receiving 'substandard' care. Dorothy stressed that she was happy to leave her children in Anna's care. She found Anna to be responsible and reliable and the functionality of the relationship led to it to persist for several years.[287] The fact that Anna was Dorothy's kinswoman was likely a significant factor in generating a trusting working relationship. Indeed, as will be explored in the following section, the labour of female kin was frequently sought out for the very reason that they were perceived to be the most reliable and caring option. At the very least, Dorothy's children were receiving the best care that Dorothy felt she could organize given the absence of her husband or other sources of support within the home. Furthermore, any negative aspects of relying on kin-based care chains need to be understood in relation to the potential benefits that employment in domestic service could offer to women and their dependents. Though wages in domestic service were low, they nevertheless often made the difference between survival and destitution, particularly if, as in Dorothy's case, the domestic worker concerned was the head of household.

The history of childcare provides insights into the ways in which class relations were made and reinforced through domestic service relationships. Experiences of domestic service in childhood, as a worker or as an employer, need to be recognized as potentially significant for the formation of class consciousness. In interviews one of the main complaints of adult domestic workers was that the children they cared for spoke to them using 'rough language' or did not show them respect.[288] In her case, Mary expressed real distress at the way she had been treated by the children of her first employers, a Zambian couple with four children who lived in Woodlands. Under instruction from their parents, the children referred to Mary as *ba nchito* ('worker') rather than by *amai* ('mother'), the common way for children and younger people to greet an older woman, or even by her name. Mary remembered with disgust how the

[287] Interview with Dorothy Phiri, Lusaka, 10 August 2013.
[288] On the disrespectful behaviour of children towards domestic workers see also Ginsburg, *At Home With Apartheid*, pp. 96-98.

children would spit in the dregs of their tea to prevent her from drinking anything they had left.[289] As was noted above, Mary's employers used the provision of in-kind food payments to enforce distance between themselves and their domestic workers. By referring to Mary as *ba nchito*, the children and their parents reduced her personhood to that of her function as an employee in their home. Such conflicts between adult domestic workers and the children seemingly combine both 'childish' behaviour, for example a lack of respect for elders, with more outright cruelty and class-distancing.

Childhood experiences of employment in domestic service appear to shape both the gender and class identity of those involved.[290] Like their adult counterparts, child domestic workers also experienced disrespectful behavior from the children of their employers. Many interviewees who were employed in domestic service as children expressed resentment at having been told what to do by other children, simply because such children were of higher status (often grounded in wealth) within the household. Several interviewees also reported having been abused, verbally, physically and sexually, by other children in the house where they worked. As in conflicts between adult domestic workers and children, it seems that the parents in these cases sometimes knew of these incidences and sometimes did not. These interviews suggest that the construction of class identities and antagonisms take place from a very early age.

Explaining the Gender Shift: The Demand for Young Female Workers

The reciprocal relationship between female labour force participation and demand for childcare generated a significant demand for young females to enter domestic service. The association of children with childcare and adult female employment has a long history in Zambia and in other parts of the continent. The history of childcare clearly suggests that female workers, including children, have likely been employed in domestic service in larger numbers and for a longer period, than previous studies or labour force statistics acknowledge. This section uses oral history interviews to provide insights into the experiences of the young female workers who entered

[289] Interview with Mary Chirwa, Lusaka, 4 February 2014.
[290] C. Steedman, 'The Price of Experience: Women and the Making of the English Working Class', *Radical History Review*, 59 (1994), p. 117.

domestic service during the period under study, workers who remain largely excluded from existing studies of domestic service.

Domestic service has formed a key stage in the lifecycle for many children in Zambia. Yet academic studies of domestic service have focussed overwhelmingly on adult workers. When children's engagement in domestic labour are discussed, it has generally been in relation to unpaid family labour and not in terms of employment.[291] In the domestic sphere, but also more broadly, children's labour has frequently been taken for granted and normalised due to its ubiquity. This has had a significant impact on labour history writing, limiting the questions that have been asked about who workers are and how processes of reproduction and production have been organized at a household and societal level.

This historiographical lacuna is exacerbated by a lack of statistical data. As noted above, it is difficult to establish an accurate picture of the domestic service sector by both gender and age because quantitative data on both domestic service and child labour is so limited. Government labour force figures suggest that 'juvenile' domestic workers remained popular during the 1960s.[292] Unfortunately these records do not provide a breakdown of the age of the 'juveniles' involved in this work. Nor are the figures disaggregated by gender, birthplace or by geographical location. Moreover, it is likely that these figures failed to capture the full scale of child domestic service because of the informal nature of many arrangements.

The historiographical and official invisibility of female domestic workers has been compounded by issues of gender, age and poverty. First domestic service has often been perceived by employers, parents and by wider society as a 'natural' extension of children's domestic responsibilities. The provision of care labour by children to their kinswomen needs to be understood as part of long-established obligations for junior kin to provide service to their seniors. Thus, female children's performance of domestic work, paid or unpaid, is largely normalised and unquestioned.[293] Second, although female children have been at the centre of various anxieties in Zambian society as part

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[291] See for example in E. *Schmidt, Peasants, Traders and Wives: Shona Women in the History of Zimbabwe, 1870-1939* (London, 1992), pp. 46-47, pp. 50-52; and D. Jeater, *Marriage, Perversion and Power: the Construction of Moral Discourse in Southern Rhodesia, 1894-1930* (Oxford, 1993).
[292] NAZ MLSS1/3 019, Stats General 1959-1962, Labour Force Survey December 1960, Labour Force Survey December 1961.
[293] See Grier, 'Child Labour and Africanist Scholarship', p. 15.

of broader gendered and generational struggles, we know little about who these children were or how they experienced broader socio-economic change. Most sources on children were written by adults and reflect adult concerns and constructions of childhood, rather than children's experiences. It is only when these young female actors deviated from the 'norms' of behaviour that they enter into the historical record.[294] But without bringing the history of these young workers into the picture, our understanding of the relationship between gender, age and domestic service, and indeed of the enduring dependencies of kinship, can never be anything other than partial.

This thesis does not seek to overestimate the proportion of children in the domestic service sector in Lusaka. Based on the limited quantitative data available, it seems likely that adults constituted most domestic workers in the city throughout the period. But it is important to question why urban employers sought to employ female children when increasing numbers of adult women were available for employment. The economic decline that Zambia experienced from the mid-1970s likely played a role in stimulating demand for young, often cheap labour. In many post-colonial African states, declining incomes have certainly prevented many people from hiring domestic workers in formal, cash-based arrangements, leading to a rise in 'invisible domestic work' performed by mostly female relatives and young people.[295]

Alongside these economic imperatives the demand for young female labour must also be understood as the result of longer-standing associations of femininity, youth and childcare. For many employers, young females were the preferred persons to employ for childcare. This gender stereotype of course has a long history, rooted in the pre-colonial gendered division of labour discussed above. While the socialisation of male and female children into specific gender roles traditionally involved both groups engaging in domestic chores around the natal home, female children were likely to face a heavier burden of indoor work and childcare.[296] This gendered discourse continued to shape the socialisation of children under colonial rule, as patriarchal controls over

[294] This point has been made more broadly in the history of gender, childhood and youth. See for example M. J. Maynes, 'Age as a Category of Historical Analysis: History, Agency, and Narratives of Childhood', *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, 1 (2008), p. 117.
[295] Coquery-Vidrovitch, *African Women*, p. 115.
[296] See Grier, *Invisible Hands*, pp. 53-54.

the young were strengthened, and continued to shape child-rearing practices into the post-colonial period.

Interviewees' experiences demonstrate how professional women balanced work and family life by relying on the labour of female children. As noted above, Priscilla first employed a domestic worker after giving birth to her first child in 1981. Priscilla asked her older sister, who lived in rural Eastern Province, to find a female child to work as a maid and help her with childcare.[297] When asked if the gender of domestic workers had been a factor in her decision-making process, Priscilla noted that it hadn't occurred to her to employ a male child to care for her baby. Many interviewees echoed this sentiment. Jane Kafula, for example, also first employed a domestic worker after giving birth to her first child in 1987. Then a primary-school teacher, Jane wanted to employ a local girl to look after her son while she worked. After failing to find a female child locally, Jane asked her husband's sister to help her to find a female child from a rural area.[298] Priscilla and Jane's narratives suggest that employing a female child was perceived to be the 'natural' choice for working mothers.

Despite the preference for female children expressed by many interviewees, male children continued to be employed as domestic workers throughout the period. Jane's sister-in-law was unable to find a female child but instead found a male child, Joseph. Jane said that she decided to 'try the boy out' and ultimately employed Joseph for four years. Jane's experience seems to challenge the gender stereotypes surrounding children and domestic work. However, in explaining her decision-making process, Jane stressed that she had only thought it acceptable to employ a male child because she had failed to find a young female worker. She also noted it was less inappropriate to employ a boy because her baby was also male. This gendering of domestic and care labour, and particularly childcare, as female seemed to be rigidly established in the minds of most interviewees. These findings are supported by a recent study conducted by researchers at UNZA, which found that male children are only occasionally employed as domestic workers and even then, are mostly employed for gardening and outdoor work.[299]

[297] Interview with Priscilla Njovu, Lusaka, 22 July 2013.
[298] Interview with Jane Kafula, Lusaka, 10 February 2014.
[299] Bond, Chiiya, Chonta, and Clay, 'Sweeping the Bedroom', p. 35.

The history of childcare provides further insights into the spatial division of labour along gendered lines that developed during the period. Although both male and female children were employed for childcare in the examples above, stereotypes grounded in the traditional gendered division of labour generally shaped the tasks that child domestic workers performed and the conditions of work they experienced. Many employers seem to have employed male children mainly for help with outdoor work, like collecting firewood and water, rather than for indoor work, Joseph and Jane's experiences are in this respect exceptional. Female children were more likely to be employed for indoor work and particularly for childcare. Female children were thus more likely to be restricted to the bounds of the household, while male children had somewhat more scope to work outside and interact with neighbours.

The deep-rooted association between femininity and domestic work noticeably influenced employers' ideas about the characteristics and personalities of the children they employed for childcare. In interviews, it was common for employers to express the view that female children were 'naturally' more loyal and trustworthy than either adults or male children. Such behaviours were part of the gendered socialisation of female children, a process that supposedly encouraged deference, hard work and modesty.[300] Priscilla, for example, employed several female children from rural areas during the 1980s and early 1990s. She suggested that female children had an aptitude for domestic service because of their experience helping their mothers with childcare, domestic work and cultivation.[301] Stella similarly only employed female children from rural areas to care for her children.

In Stella's case, it was important that the female children she employed were members of her extended family network. This was for several reasons. First, she felt that as a successful member of her kinship group, she had a duty to support her relatives by employing their children. Stella also stressed that she had wanted to help her young female kin young to escape from the cycle of early marriage and lack of education in rural areas. Stella strongly emphasised the care she provided to her young kin, stating 'I will care for that little girl as my own child'. This care was financial and pastoral. She explained, 'the girl was given to me by my mother; she had to stay in the house. She ate what I ate, I taught her how to wash, how to be clean'. Stella also helped

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[300] Coquery-Vidrovitch, *African Women*, pp. 13-17.
[301] Interview with Priscilla Njovu, Lusaka, 22 July 2013.

several of the maids she employed with the payment of school fees. Alongside the obligations of kinship, Stella thus stressed the capacity for affection and care that existed between kin. Her final motivation for employing only female kin for childcare was rooted in this, for she felt that only female kin would 'care for the baby like her own'.[302]

Stella's description of her employment practices draws attention to the capacity for both affective and more exploitative relations to develop in kinship-based domestic service arrangements. For despite her declared interest in the wellbeing of her maids, Stella struggled to remember the names of any of the girls she had employed. Most of the girls had worked for Stella and lived in her house for at least two years. Although she was discussing her experiences from the 1970s and 1980s, it is surprising that she could not remember any of the girls by name given the longevity of such arrangements. She instead referred to these young workers as her 'little girls' and said that they had called her 'mama'. It is certainly worth questioning the extent to which the use of such terms reflected a reality of affective and supportive social relations. At one level these terms clearly reflect the gendered and generational hierarchies of kinship but they also seem to point to Stella's apparent affection for the children involved. Employers' use of affective language should be taken seriously, though not without a critical perspective, for it provides important insights into the complex relationships that existed between domestic workers and their employers.

These findings support the argument, first put forward by Judith Rollins, that domestic service relationships are best understood not in terms of paternalism but *maternalism*.[303] For while paternalism, with its emphasis on the mutually constitutive nature of gendered and generational hierarchies, has often been used to describe the relationship between employers like Stella and her employees, this concept fails to capture particular interactions that were taking place between female employers and their younger female employees. Maternalism, on the other hand, though similarly implying asymmetrical gendered and generational dynamics, points to both the female gendered nature of these relationships and the complex, emotional aspects of parental

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[302] Interview with Stella Soko, Lusaka, 29 May 2014.
[303] See Rollins, *Between Women*, p. 179.

relationships.[304] Though Stella perceived these relationships in maternal terms, the female children were nonetheless her employees and worked long hours in her home for pay that was almost undoubtedly less than the wage paid to adult domestic workers.

Stella's use of maternal language could also be interpreted as a means of infantilising her employees to offset the potential sexual threat that they posed as females within her household. Both public discourse and interviews with employers like Stella highlight the contradiction between the portrayal of female children as more trustworthy than older workers and the fear of young female sexuality. The association of femininity, youth, and promiscuity has a long history in Zambia. As discussed above, in the colonial period, this stereotype was explicitly racialised. Influenced by discourses on black female promiscuity, and by reports of European men cohabiting with African women, white women feared that their husbands would have sexual relations with African women employed in their homes. In the post-colonial context, sexual anxieties surrounding the employment of female domestic workers continued to shape the perceptions of employers. Such anxieties drew on the older discourse of female promiscuity but also reflected specific tensions that shaped post-colonial urban gender relations.

Since independence, unequally gendered access to employment and housing in the urban environment continued to render many Zambian women dependent on their husbands for access to resources and survival in the city.[305] The economic downturn of the mid-1970s onwards in many ways exacerbated gendered inequities in access to housing and employment, as urban living conditions deteriorated and competition for jobs and housing increased. In this context of economic and social instability, many women appear to have feared for the security of their position within the household. This is suggested by the prominence of the theme of adultery and divorce in interviews with employers and domestic workers.

Many employers said that they had heard of cases of young female domestic workers seducing their male employers in order to access bonus payments and increase their

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[304] In her study of domestic service in post-apartheid South Africa, Alison King makes a similar case for the significance of maternalism. See A. J. King, 'Deference and Disdain: Domestic Service in Post-Apartheid South Africa' (University of Warwick. PhD thesis, 2001), p. 31.
[305] Hansen, *Keeping House in Lusaka*, pp. 16-17, p. 69, pp. 102-106.

wages. Chombe Nachula, for example, described how her mother had once discovered a young maid she had employed sprinkling a 'love potion' into her husband's meals to 'entice him'. Though the maid denied the accusation, she was dismissed and replaced with an older female worker.[306] While employers like Chombe suggested that many female domestic workers deliberately sought to 'steal husbands', domestic workers themselves took a more balanced view. Cecilia Phiri, for example, suggested that while some female domestic workers pursued married men out of lust or envy, poverty was the key issue. She argued that 'poverty pushes many women to accept proposals' from men in the household.[307] Cecilia's observations draw attention to the ways in which economic and social insecurity together placed female domestic workers in a precarious position vis-à-vis their employers.

Given the preference for the employment of female children expressed by many interviewees, at what point did employers stop perceiving female children to be loyal and trustworthy and start to perceive them as a threat to their position within the household? Interviews with employers and former child domestic workers suggest that attitudes towards female children changed after the child reached sexual maturity, a shift that was marked by menstruation and, for a smaller number of girls, initiation.[308] Once a female child reached sexual maturity, she was perceived by others to have entered a new phase of responsibility and obligation. Esther, for example, was forced by her parents to leave Lusaka and return to her rural home after she became pregnant.[309] Josephine Phiri's experience draws further attention to the significance of sexual maturity in the breakdown of employment relations. Josephine had migrated to Lusaka in the late 1970s when she was thirteen years old to work for the kinswoman of her neighbour. When Josephine menstruated for the first time aged fourteen, her parents ordered her to return to her village and they began to look for a marriage partner for their daughter. Josephine was married by the age of fifteen and never returned to Lusaka.[310] In both cases the sexual maturity of female children led to a breakdown in employment relations. But in neither case was this breakdown the result

[306] Interview with Chombe Nachula, Lusaka, 18 February 2014.
[307] Interview with Cecilia Phiri, Lusaka, 23 February 2014.
[308] Studies of initiation practices for female children include A. Richards, *Chisungu: a Girls' Initiation Ceremony Among the Bemba of Northern Rhodesia* (London, 1956); and L. M. Thomas, *Politics of the Womb: Women, Reproduction and the State in Kenya* (Berkeley CA, 2003).
[309] Interview with Priscilla Njovu, Lusaka, 22 July 2013.
[310] Interview with Josephine Phiri, Chipata, 18 July 2014.

of the female child having engaged in sexual relations with a male resident of her employer's household.

Indeed, none of the female employers interviewed for this research suggested that a female child she had employed had been dismissed for engaging in sexual relations with her husband or another member of the household. When employers talked about incidents of sexual relations, coercive or not, they instead described situations that had occurred in *other* people's households, highlighting the power of discourses on female sexuality to shape employers' perceptions even when experience suggested something else. In fact, interviews suggest that female children were much more likely to be subject to sexual predation and abuse than they were to actively cultivate sexual relations with male employers. Several interviewees explained that they had left employment because of sexual advances from men in the employing household, including the male household head and junior members. The extent to which female employers were aware of the sexual abuse of the female children concerned is unclear. The sexual maturity of female children thus appears to have been problematic for female employers, not because female children actively cultivated sexual relations with male members of the household, but because men and male children perceived these young female workers to be sexually available. For their part, many women perceived the sexual maturity of female children to be a threat to their position in the household.

The history of female children employed for childcare, and kin-based domestic service arrangements more broadly, complicates the narrative of a gradual gendered transition away from male workers and towards female workers. These findings clearly support the argument that female workers' involvement in domestic service, as children and adults, was more extensive and has a deeper history than has been acknowledged in either academic scholarship or official statistics. Employing female children in arrangements like those described above was likely widely practiced throughout the period, and not just by women who needed to find a 'substitute' to enable them to work outside of the home. Female children did not supplement the adult labour force. They were a separate category of workers in their own right, sought out by employers due to prevailing ideas surrounding femininity, youth and domestic work and, of course, the low cost of their labour.

Conclusion

The chapter has explained the gender shift in domestic service in relation to several connected historical processes. The increase in the number and proportion of female domestic workers needs to be understood in relation to broader gendered shifts within the labour force. As educational and employment opportunities gradually opened to women during the late 1960s and 1970s, increasing numbers of women entered the labour force to pursue professional careers. This stimulated demand for domestic workers. From the 1980s, economic hardship pushed many women into the labour force for the first time, including many poorer women. For women with low levels of education, few recognised marketable 'skills' and little capital, there were few options for urban employment. Domestic service offered one of the only ways for these women and for many female children to find work in the city.

The increased employment of female domestic workers was also the result of increasing demand for childcare. This demand was intrinsically linked to increased female labour-force participation, as many working women sought 'substitutes' to care for their children and take care of domestic tasks in their absence. The need for childcare in turn generated a particular demand for female workers as a result of gendered discourses linking childcare with female labour. Though men had been employed to look after children during the colonial period and indeed continued to do so after independence, employers increasingly sought out female workers for childcare. The gendered demands of urban employers are addressed in further detail in Chapter Four, as we examine the migration strategies of female domestic workers.

These factors all draw attention to the centrality of generational dynamics in shaping both access to employment and the demand for domestic workers. African labour history cannot be properly understood without a dual understanding of the interaction of gender and age in shaping labour relations. Yet there remains a paucity of research on this relationship, particularly on children and work. The obligation to perform services in the form of domestic labour was clearly shaped by both gendered and generational hierarchies. In Chapter Four, the connection between gender, age and domestic service is explored in more detail in relation to labour migration. The history of rural-urban and of intra-urban mobility further suggests the significance of

gendered and generational dynamics in shaping both employer demands and the supply of domestic workers.

The gender shift in domestic service also needs to be understood in relation to broader changes in gender relations over the post-colonial period. Gendered divisions of labour and related ideas about what constituted 'appropriate' work for men and women were gradually challenged by the deteriorating economy. Increasing numbers of women and female children entered the labour force because they needed to support themselves and their families. For many women, their entry into domestic service was the result of conflictual gender relations at home, as women were abandoned by their husbands and partners and left to support themselves and their dependents in an increasingly difficult urban economy.

Over the period there was a gradual increase in the number of female-headed households in Lusaka, in part as a result of relationships between men and women breaking down but also because of the loss of family members to HIV/AIDS and other illnesses.[311] Altogether, broader shifts in gender relations suggest increased pressure on women and female children to support themselves and their dependents and led to shifting gendered responsibilities for generating a livelihood in the city. Domestic service was one of the only occupations open to many of these women and children.

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[311] The impact of HIV/AIDS on gender relations is discussed in numerous studies, among them are E. Kalipeni, K. Flynn and C. Pope (eds), *Strong Women, Dangerous Times: Gender and HIV/AIDS in Africa* (New York, 2009); M. Hunter, *Love in the Time of AIDS: Inequality, Gender, and Rights in South Africa* (Bloomington IN, 2010).

4

Labour Migration and Intra-Urban Mobility

Introduction

This chapter explores the relationship between mobility and domestic service in the post-colonial context. Throughout the period under examination domestic workers have connected different households across spatial, social and economic boundaries through both their daily mobility and longer-term migration strategies. Urban demand for domestic workers also provided a mechanism for poor rural and urban residents could move long and short distances. Domestic workers have not however had equal access to strategies of mobility. Hierarchies of gender and generation shaped the capacities of men, women, and children of both sexes to move across the city, through daily and residential mobility, and to engage in long-distance migration. The chapter focuses on the gendered and age-based dynamics of mobility and the ways in which domestic workers and their employers have mobilised and navigated these factors in their efforts to secure employment and labour respectively.

Zambia is a classic site for the study of labour migration and mobility in Africa. Scholarship produced by social scientists working on the Zambian Copperbelt and in rural communities from the late 1930s provided crucial insights into processes of labour migration and its impact on economic and social life under colonial rule.[312] Migration remained an important area of study in Zambian scholarship in later decades, with recent studies also challenging the dominant narratives of earlier research. From the 1990s, for example, various studies highlighted the limitations of understanding migration practices through stage models, and instead highlighted that individual migrants had pursued a range of migration strategies to suit their needs and the realities of socio-economic conditions.[313]

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[312] Examples of such studies include Wilson, *An Essay on the Economics of Detribalization in Northern Rhodesia*; J. Clyde Mitchell, *African Urbanization in Ndola and Luanshya* (Lusaka, 1954); W. Watson, *Tribal Cohesion in a Money Economy: a Study of the Mambwe People of Northern Rhodesia* (Manchester, 1958).
[313] See J. Ferguson, 'Mobile Workers, Modernist Narratives: A Critique of the Historiography of Transition on the Copperbelt [Part One]', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 16 (1990), pp. 386-387; Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting Down Trees*, p. 141-143; Ferguson, *Expectations of Modernity*, pp. 38-41.

Despite these valuable contributions, the history of migration in Zambia remains limited in several respects. The historiography has focussed almost exclusively on male workers and industrial labour, even though throughout the post-colonial period, as in prior decades, Zambians migrated for a variety of reasons and to enter many different forms of work. Female labour migrants, largely excluded from these formal labour regimes, have pursued migration strategies that do not fit into the narrative.[314] Studies have largely failed to address the significance of female labour migrants to both individual and household livelihood strategies. Yet it is likely that the women and female children who have migrated for domestic service constitute two of the largest groups of migrant workers in the post-colonial period, given the demand for their labour in Lusaka. It is essential that the history of these female migrants be understood so that a more accurate picture of the history of migration can be drawn.

The mobility of women and female children during the last fifty years provides a unique way of understanding the full range of strategies that families have pursued to survive in a context of extreme social and economic pressure. As was discussed in Chapter Two, from the mid-1970s Zambia experienced significant economic decline and acute levels of rural and urban poverty. Since the 1980s thousands of rural and urban households have also had to cope with the loss of family members as a result of HIV/AIDS and related illnesses. The policies of economic liberalisation, pursued by the Zambian government during the 1990s and 2000s, further contributed to making economic survival an uphill struggle for the majority of Zambians. The migration of women and children sheds light on the strategies that families have pursued to survive these challenges, illuminating, for example, how the obligations and dependencies of kinship have both endured and come under strain during the period.

This chapter makes three main arguments regarding gender, mobility and domestic service. First, as migrant domestic workers, women and female children played a crucial role in supporting both individual and household survival strategies. These female migrants were numerous and have constituted a significant but almost entirely undocumented proportion of the migrant labour force over the last fifty years. Secondly, relations between women and female children have been at the centre of

[314] Several studies from South Africa illustrate both the importance of female migration strategies and the gendered dynamics of their migration experiences. See Bozzoli, *Women of Phokeng*, pp. 89-99; D. James, *Songs of the Women Migrants: Performance and Identity in South Africa* (Edinburgh, 1999), pp. 46-50.

recruitment and migration practices in the domestic service sector. Female-centred social networks rooted in kinship, peer networks and church affiliation have played the key role in generating the demand for, recruitment of and supply of domestic workers. These gendered networks played a crucial role in shaping both the daily mobility and long-distance migration strategies of women and girls. Finally, this chapter illustrates the utility of examining labour migration and intra-urban mobility alongside each other. Though the distances travelled varied, both forms of mobility demonstrate the centrality of gendered divisions of labour and relations of dependency between households to the functioning of the domestic service sector.

The following section discusses existing literature on migration in Zambia, focussing particularly on Zambia-related scholarship and the extent to which gender and age have been considered important factors in studies of migration. The chapter then focuses on the long-distance migration of female children and young women for domestic service. The testimonies discussed in this section exemplify the importance of rural-urban connections, and particularly of female-centred social networks rooted in kinship, to female migration strategies. Finally, the chapter examines intra-urban mobility. The testimonies discussed in this final section further highlight the significance of the mobility of female domestic workers in connecting households across spatial, social and economic boundaries.

The chapter draws primarily on interviews conducted with migrant domestic workers and their relatives, as well as with several employers. The focus on the oral testimonies of migrants seeks to draw attention to individual experiences of migration and highlight the complex trajectories and social relations that migrants navigated. Some individuals have been encountered earlier in the thesis while others are introduced here for the first time. Most interviews were conducted in Lusaka in 2013 and 2014 and focus primarily on the urban end of migration trajectories. However, the chapter also draws on interviews conducted with domestic workers and their relatives in several villages in Rufunsa District, Lusaka Province and around Chipata, Eastern Province. These rural interviews provide an insight into the rural dynamics shaping migration.[315] Oral testimonies are used alongside a variety of documentary sources,

[315] Zoe Groves' study of Nyasa migrants in colonial Salisbury exemplifies the benefits of studying migration processes from beginning to end, including both rural and urban ends of migration trajectories. See Z. R. Groves, 'Malawians in Colonial Salisbury: a social history of migration in central Africa, c. 1920s-1960s' (Keele University. Ph.D. thesis, 2011).

including migration statistics, so that the relationship between broader trends and individual trajectories can be explored.

The data on migration collected and published as part of official census surveys provide an important window onto broader changes in the gender and age demographic of migrants over time. Census reports suggest that Lusaka continued to attract high numbers of migrants from the 1960s to the 2010s, as men, women and children from both rural and urban areas sought to find work, pursue education and build new lives for themselves and their families.[316] However, migration statistics only provide a partial picture of the changing gender and age demographic of migrants over time. In particular, census data is not useful for examining the trajectories or motivations of individual migrants.[317] Furthermore given the often-informal nature of labour migration pursued by women and children, it is likely that census data across the period has under-estimated the extent of migration for these groups. This chapter does not, however, seek to present general trends in the history of adult or child migration practices. As such, though the limits of the statistical data are important to bear in mind, these figures are used mainly for contextual purposes.

Studies of Labour Migration in Zambia: the neglect of women and children

From the late 1930s to the 1950s a group of social scientists based at the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute (RLI) conducted pioneering research into the nature of urbanisation, migration and social change in Northern Rhodesia. This research set out to analyse, among other things, 'tribalism' in urban contexts, the nature of labour migration and the ways in which urban Africans maintained connections to rural areas. The conventional narrative of male labour migration that developed out of this research emphasised a staged process. Temporary, circular migration of labour migrants was likely to be followed by longer stays in town, and would be finally succeeded by permanent urban residence.[318] This was a narrative of progress and

[316] CSO, '1980 Census of Population and Housing: Analytical Report Volume 3'; Central Statistical Office (CSO), '2010 Census of Population and Housing: Volume 11 National Descriptive Tables' (Lusaka, 2012).
[317] Deborah Potts has discussed the limits of the Zambian census data in detail in her recent work on counter-urbanisation. See D. Potts, 'Counter-Urbanisation on the Zambian Copperbelt? Interpretations and Implications', *Urban Studies*, 42 (2005), p. 592.
[318] Examples of such work includes Wilson, *An Essay on the Economics of Detribalization in Northern Rhodesia*; Mitchell, *African Urbanization in Ndola and Luanshya*. For a summary and critique of the

transition, of the development of European-style class groups, a movement towards 'modern' ways of living and the stabilisation of African urban society. Overall it was thought that a stable urban working class would eventually replace migrant labour.

In studies conducted by several colonial anthropologists, missionaries and government officials, it was argued that migration was causing 'social breakdown' in rural areas and particularly the breakdown of marriages and kinship relations. It was thought that labour migration, capitalism and commodification had led to a breakdown in the natural order of society. Audrey Richards, for example, suggested that the gradual monetisation of bridewealth and the replacement of services usually performed by a young man for his prospective wife's family, with cash payments, had caused a breakdown in kinship relations.[319] Labour migration was observed to affect power relations within a marriage, particularly for women in urban areas, as they were now dependent on their husband for access to cash and on their marital status for social and economic security. For many urban couples, men's power within the marriage often increased while ties to the woman's family became less pronounced.[320]

A smaller number of studies presented a more positive analysis of labour migration, highlighting how communities could maintain high levels of cohesion. William Watson's work on Mambwe villages challenged the idea that high levels of male absenteeism caused economic hardship in rural communities. Instead he showed how Mambwe social structures enabled these communities to profit from labour migration and avoid the labour shortages that migration had caused in other part of Zambia.[321] In his study of Tonga communities in late-colonial Nyasaland (now Malawi), Jaap van Velsen demonstrated that even in a context of high levels of labour migration, kinship networks remained crucial sources of economic and practical support, both within local communities and across vast distances.[322] The enduring power of kinship in relation to migration is a theme that will be further explored later in this chapter.

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conventional view of labour migration, see Ferguson, *Expectations of Modernity*, pp. 43-48, and Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting Down Trees*, pp. 141-143.

[319] A. Richards, 'Bemba Marriage and Present Economic Conditions', *Rhodes-Livingstone Paper*, No. 4 (Livingstone, 1940). The narrative of social breakdown and its impact on understandings of labour migration is discussed in Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting Down Trees*, pp. 140-141.

[320] The dependence of women on men for access to resources in urban areas is discussed in Parpart, 'Sexuality and Power on the Zambian Copperbelt', pp. 118-119.

[321] Watson, *Tribal Cohesion in a Money Economy*, pp. 6-8, pp. 106-107, pp. 110-112.

[322] J. Van Velsen, *The Politics of Kinship: a Study in Social Manipulation Among the Lakeside Tonga of Nyasaland* (Manchester, 1964), pp. 58-59, p. 65.

Though migration remained an important area of study in Zambian scholarship in subsequent years, from the late 1980s scholars challenged the dominant narratives of the earlier research. In his study of Mambwe villages during the 1960s to 1980s, Johan Pottier pointed to the demise of rural-urban migration in the area, as villagers responded to declining urban employment opportunities and instead pursued forms of rural-rural migration.[323] In the early 1990s James Ferguson's work with Copperbelt miners challenged the extent to which the 'stage model' of migration had ever really existed.[324] Henrietta Moore and Megan Vaughan challenged the extent to which migration caused social breakdown, as had been argued by Richards among others, highlighting that kinship networks continued to be mobilised during the colonial and post-colonial periods to meet household labour and food shortages in rural and urban households.[325] Deborah Potts' recent work on the Copperbelt further illustrated the continual importance of urban-rural connections and kinship networks to urban Zambians who sought to deal with the challenges of liberalisation during the 1990s and 2000s.[326]

The number and the proportion of female migrants to Lusaka steadily increased during the 1960s and 1970s.[327] During the 1970s and into the 1980s, migration rates to Lusaka were particularly high among female children and youth.[328] By the 1990s female migration to Lusaka outnumbered male migration for every age group apart from those aged 25 to 44 years, suggesting that migration was particularly important to female children, young women and women of middle age.[329] The high level of migration of young females to Lusaka remained consistent into the 2000s.[330] The migration statistics on female children for the 1990s and 2000s are particularly striking, as they seem to contradict broader migration trends. While, in general, rural-urban migration often stabilised or declined during this period, female children continued to migrate from rural to urban areas in significant numbers. By 2010 female migration to Lusaka remained high, particularly from Central, Copperbelt and

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[323] Pottier, *Migrants No More*, pp. 11-12.
[324] See Ferguson, 'Mobile Workers, Modernist Narratives', pp. 385-412; and Ferguson, *Expectations of Modernity*, pp. 43-48.
[325] Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting Down Trees*, pp. 140-141.
[326] Potts, 'Counter-Urbanisation on the Zambian Copperbelt', pp. 503-609.
[327] CSO, '1980 Census of Population and Housing: Analytical Report Volume 3'.
[328] Ibid.
[329] Central Statistical Office (CSO), 'Migration and Urbanisation 2000 Census Report' (Lusaka, 2003).
[330] CSO, '2010 Census of Population and Housing: Volume 11'.

Southern Provinces, with female migrants significantly outnumbering male migrants.[331]

The gendered assumptions of earlier migration narratives have proved persistent, with discussions of independent female migration rare before the 1980s. Scholars working from a gendered perspective during the 1980s provided significant challenges to then-dominant narratives of urbanisation and migration in order to highlight the ways in which women had shaped their own migration trajectories. In the Zambian scholarship, Jane Parpart and George Chauncey both illustrated how women had circumvented the patriarchal controls of both African communities and the colonial state.[332] Later, Ferguson, Moore and Vaughan and Potts' studies also pointed to the importance of gendered dynamics. In the broader literature on gendered and generational struggles under colonial rule, Luise White, Elizabeth Schmidt and Teresa Barnes, among others, also drew attention to the ways in which African women actively shaped their own livelihood and migration strategies and contributed to processes of urbanisation and new forms of accumulation.[333]

Yet while there have been significant developments in studies of gender and migration, the relationship between childhood and migration remains seriously under-researched. Child migrants in post-colonial contexts in particular have most commonly been portrayed, like women migrants in earlier academic studies, as passive objects of exchange.[334] Recent research on children and work has however begun to challenge the characterisation of children as either passive followers or victims of exploitation. Beverly Grier's work on colonial Zimbabwe, for example, highlighted that children were in demand as workers in their own right and migrated independently to find work in domestic service, agriculture and a variety of other occupations.[335] Nevertheless, the characterisation of child migrants as active participants in migration strategies, particularly as labour migrants in their own right, remains rare. For the post-colonial period in particular, the dominant narrative is a

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[331] CSO, '2010 Census of Population and Housing: Volume 11'.
[332] Chauncey, 'The Locus of Reproduction', pp. 154-161; Parpart, 'Sexuality and Power on the Zambian Copperbelt', pp. 117-119, pp. 123-130.
[333] See for example White, *The Comforts of Home*, pp. 1-2, pp. 40-42, p. 64, pp. 119-121; Schmidt, *Peasants, Traders and Wives*, pp. 92-97; Jeater, *Marriage, Perversion and Power*, pp. 119-120.
[334] ILO, 'Emerging Good Practices; ILO and Child Helpline International, 'Child Migrants in Child Labour'; ILO, 'Rural-Urban Migrants Employed in Domestic Work'.
[335] Grier, *Invisible Hands*, p. 19.

largely ahistorical portrayal of children's movements viewed almost exclusively through the lens of exploitation and trafficking.

Parallel to these developments in African studies, there has been a growing interest in the relationship between migration and domestic service. Most of this work has been generated by scholars in the social sciences and has often taken an international focus. This literature focuses particularly on the legality of women's migration strategies, the exploitation of women engaged in cross-border migration, and the development of international networks of migration.[336] Intra-national migration of domestic workers has received less attention but is a significant area of research. Such studies have focussed particularly on the migration of poor women from rural to urban areas to perform domestic work in the homes of kin and strangers.[337] In African studies, Belinda Bozzoli similarly examined the migration of young women from the villages of Phokeng to Johannesburg and the importance of domestic service as an occupation for female migrants.[338] These studies of both international and internal migration have highlighted the fundamental relationship between domestic service and various forms of mobility.

<u>Women, Girls and Rural-Urban Migration</u>

This section addresses the experiences of female migrants who moved from rural areas to Lusaka to engage in domestic service. Alongside increased independent migration of women and girls, over the last fifty years many female migrants also came to town with the help of relatives and strangers, in order to work in their homes. As was established in Chapter Three, female children have been and continue to be seen by many urban residents as ideal domestic workers because of their experience helping with domestic work and childcare in the natal home. Young female migrants, whether they migrated specifically to become domestic workers or instead entered service sometime after arriving into the city, could respond to these gendered and age-based demands in order to find employment.

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[336] For a review of the literature on domestic service and international labour migration see J. H. Momsen, 'Maids on the Move: Victim or Victor', in J. H. Momsen (ed.), *Gender, Migration and Domestic Service* (London, 1999), pp. 1-20.
[337] See Todd, *Young Women, Work and Family in England*, p. 11; Momsen, 'Maids on the Move', pp. 2-5; Radcliffe, 'Race and Domestic Service', pp. 84-86; Gill, *Precarious Dependencies*, pp. 58-77.
[338] See Bozzoli, *Women of Phokeng*, pp. 89-105.

Rural Household Dynamics

Poverty has frequently been seen as the key factor that has driven both individuals and families from rural areas to pursue migration. From the mid-1970s Zambia experienced profound economic decline, intensifying both rural and urban poverty for many. Rural employment opportunities did not expand significantly after independence, in part because the government failed to adequately invest in rural areas and diversify the economy away from copper mining, despite falling global copper prices from the early 1970s.[339] Most rural households in Zambia thus remained dependent upon subsistence agriculture, and often also the remittances of labour migrants, throughout the period. From the 1980s these economic struggles were exacerbated by the AIDS pandemic, as thousands of rural households were forced to cope with the loss of family members from the disease and related illnesses. The AIDS crisis unfolded in a context of economic decline and a shrinking public sector. Dependence on kinship networks as sources of labour and of support and geographic mobility between rural and urban areas must be interpreted against this background.

The economic liberalisation policies of the 1990s and 2000s failed to revitalise the economy and further contributed to making economic survival a challenge for the majority of Zambians.[340] These processes intensified hardships for those living in rural areas as a result of the liberalisation of the maize market and the removal of most agricultural subsidies.[341] Indeed, though urban poverty also increased over time, by 2010 rural poverty rates remained three times higher than urban poverty, with almost seventy-eight per cent of rural Zambians living below the poverty line.[342] In this context of entrenched and intensifying economic hardship, many Zambians sought to improve their economic circumstances through both short and long-distance migration.

The increase in female migration from rural areas to Lusaka clearly needs to be understood in relation to these rising levels of rural poverty. This is exemplified in interviews with female migrants. Queen Kangwa, for example, was born in Serenje in

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[339] For further discussion see Pottier, *Migrants No More*, pp. 1-4; Gould, *Left Behind*, pp. 2-4, p. 16.
[340] Further discussion of Zambian economic decline and its impact on rural and urban households can be found in Pottier, *Migrants No More*, pp. 10-18; Ferguson, *Expectations of Modernity*, pp. 7-10; Larmer, 'Reaction and Resistance to Neoliberalism in Zambia', pp. 30-32; and Gould, *Left Behind*, pp. 2-4.
[341] Gould, *Left Behind*, p. 16.
[342] CSO, '2010 Census of Population and Housing: National Analytical Report'.

Central Province in 1990; she was the youngest of three children. Both of her parents died from AIDS-related illnesses before she reached the age of thirteen, forcing her to leave school and migrate with her siblings to Lusaka to live with their maternal grandmother. Once in Lusaka, Queen became a domestic worker to help support herself and her grandmother and siblings.[343] In her work on domestic service in post-colonial Tanzania, Janet Bujra has similarly argued that rising female rural-urban migration rates in post-colonial Tanzania were the result of rural struggles for survival.[344]

Migration was not however equally accessible to all rural residents. First, the poorest households in rural areas have often been excluded from pursuing migration because of a lack of resources and contacts.[345] Furthermore, not all household members had equal decision-making power when it came to shaping migration strategies. The 'push' factor of rural poverty was therefore affected by both conflict and conciliation within the familial household. During the post-colonial period, relationships between senior and junior household members continued to be shaped by hierarchies of age and gender. Female children's entry into the labour market was influenced by their place in these complex household hierarchies and their responsibilities within the family economy. It is important to take these dynamics into account in order to understand how decisions are taken about who would migrate and where their end destination would be.

Parental decision-making over child migration was of course shaped by these domestic struggles, but parents also had to make decisions about their children's access to education and future employment.[346] Niah Mumba's experience is illustrative. Born in Lusaka in 1992, Niah was one of four children and grew up with her parents and siblings in Bauleni compound. When Niah was eleven years old, her father was forced to leave his job in construction due to illness. Her mother was unable to support the family on the small income she earned from selling vegetables at the market. Niah was forced to leave school as her parents could no longer afford to pay the school fees. Niah

[343] Interview with Queen Kangwa, Lusaka, 25 February 2014.
[344] See Bujra, *Serving Class*, pp. 89-90.
[345] This has been commonly observed in migration studies. See for example H. Englund, 'The Village in the City, the City in the Village: Migrants in Lilongwe', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 28 (2002), p. 139.
[346] The role of family strategies in shaping migration are discussed in H. Cunningham, 'Histories of Childhood', *American Historical Review*, 103 (1998), pp. 1202-1207.

was offered a job as a live-in domestic worker at a boarding school in Southern Province and decided to migrate there to support herself. Though Niah's mother was relieved that her daughter would be able to support herself and send remittances back to the natal home, she and Niah herself also hoped that Niah would be able to continue with her education alongside her employment.[347] This aspiration would not be fulfilled, as Niah's employer repeatedly refused to allow Niah to take time to pursue her studies. The strategies pursued by female migrant domestic workers must be understood in relation to both household dynamics and the result of such aspirations.

The Aspirations of Female Migrants

Female children's migration strategies were also the result of children's aspirations and should be understood as the result of children's own decision-making capacities. Female children like Esnart Lungu, for example, were often motivated to migrate by a desire to support their natal family. Esnart was born in Sinda in Eastern Province in 1970. Her parents were subsistence farmers and she was the eldest of eight children. Esnart's father drank heavily and so her mother was responsible for almost all the labour on the farm and in the house. When Esnart was eleven years old, the wife of her former schoolteacher approached her parents with an offer of employment as a live-in domestic worker in Lusaka. Esnart recalled being aware of her family's poverty and her father's drinking; she would regularly send all her wages home to help her mother. She explained, 'even if I send everything I will still have something to eat, somewhere to sleep'.[348] In her study of female migrants in twentieth-century Britain, Selina Todd has similarly illustrated that children have frequently been acutely aware of the economic difficulties faced by their families.[349] Shortages of food and resources, for example, would have been strikingly clear to Zambian female children like Esnart who were heavily involved in food preparation and domestic work inside the house.

Migrant domestic workers like Esnart have made significant contributions to rural household economies through remittances. The cash that Esnart sent home, for example, was her family's only dependable source of cash income. Esnart placed high value on her ability to work so that she could send money regularly to her mother.

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[347] Interview with Niah Mumba, Lusaka, 16 February 2014.
[348] Interview with Esnart Lungu, Lusaka, 12 August 2013.
[349] Todd, *Young Women*, p. 73.

The value of female domestic workers' contributions to rural economies has been observed in a variety of contexts. White's study of colonial Nairobi and Bozzoli's work on female Bafokeng migrants illustrate how female domestic workers offered vital support to rural households, helping their natal families to both improve their material wealth and engage in new forms of consumption.[350]

Interviews with the relatives of female migrant domestic workers confirm the value of such remittances. Semu Lameck was interviewed at his home in Chimusanya, Rufunsa District. Semu and his wife were subsistence farmers and also brewed beer, which they sold from their home. Their daughter Margaret had been employed in Lusaka as a live-in maid since 2009, having migrated to find work after her marriage had broken down when she was nineteen. Margaret has sent cash payments of c. K200 (US$17.76) to her parents twice a year since she migrated to Lusaka. Semu has used this money to buy groceries and fertiliser, goods that Semu stated he could not have purchased without Margaret's support.[351]

Children who did not send regular cash remittances to their families nevertheless still supported the family economy. At the very least migration relieved the natal family of the migrant's material upkeep. This was particularly clear in cases of acute family poverty and of bereavement. In the case of Semu and his wife, for example, they struggled to meet their basic living costs after their daughter Margaret returned to their household after her divorce. Margaret received no financial support from her ex-husband and Semu and his wife worried how they would support another household member. By migrating to Lusaka, Margaret could support herself as well as to send cash remittances to support her family.[352] Though conclusive findings about the impact of migrant female children and youth's remittances on rural Zambian households cannot be drawn from this small sample, it seems clear that such payments did make a significant contribution to the rural family economy.

Female migrants were also motivated by their aspirations for personal fulfilment. In contrast to Esnart, Grace Musonda's motivation to migrate to Lusaka was part of a longer-term strategy of completing her education. Grace was born in Kasama,

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[350] White, *The Comforts of Home*, pp. 1-2, p. 35, pp. 38-39; Bozzoli, *Women of Phokeng*, pp. 90-92.
[351] Interview with Semu Lameck, Chimusanya, Rufunsa District, Lusaka Province, 21 June 2014.
[352] Ibid.

Northern Province, in 1984. After completing eight years of school she was forced to 'drop out' because, as she stated, her family 'had no money… there was no life that side'. When she was fifteen years old Grace migrated to Lusaka to live with her older sister with the aim of supporting herself and continuing with her studies. She quickly found work as a live-in domestic worker. While working full-time, Grace completed her secondary education, paying her school fees from her wages.[353] Though Grace was acutely aware of her family's difficult financial circumstances, her primary motivation for migrating was her desire to invest in her own future through education. The role that children have played in pursuing their education is frequently overlooked because it is assumed that only parents or guardians decide whether a child will go to school. But, as Grace's experience shows, children too have played an active role in shaping their access to education.

In her case, Fridah Njovu described wanting to start a new life after the difficult experience of marital breakdown. Fridah was born in Luwingu District in Northern Province in 1970. Her parents were subsistence farmers and she was their only daughter out of eleven children. The family endured severe financial hardship during the late 1980s after her father's death. Fridah was forced to leave school before completing her education. She married soon after this and quickly became pregnant. Fridah's son lived for only a few days and her marriage later broke down. After her divorce, Fridah decided to go to the Copperbelt town of Ndola. Her maternal grandmother and brothers were already living in the city and she could secure a place to live before arriving there. In the early 1990s, Fridah made the decision to move again, this time to live with an uncle in Choma, Southern Province. Like Grace, this second move was motivated by Fridah's desire to fund her education. Fridah hoped that her uncle would offer financial support towards school fees. Her aspirations were however frustrated. Though she worked in her uncle's house, caring for his children, cooking and cleaning, she received no cash payments or support with school fees. Fridah finally gave up her aspiration to pursue her education in 1998 and returned to Ndola.[354] Fridah's experience highlights how female migrants' aspirations informed their migration strategies, even when these aspirations remained unfulfilled.

[353] Interview with Grace Musonda, Lusaka, 13 February 2014.
[354] Interview with Fridah Njovu, Lusaka, 16 August 2013.

As has been argued above, in international development discourse, it is too often assumed that migration into domestic service is an inherently exploitative practice into which young women and children are forced or coerced. The diverse narratives of my interviewees highlight in contrast that young women and children have been involved in decision-making processes surrounding migration and work. Esnart and Margaret for example, migrated to Lusaka to support themselves and their families. Grace and Fridah migrated to secure their own financial security and to invest in their future. These findings support the argument made by Iman Hashim and Dorte Thorsen regarding child migration in Africa that, 'while migrant children may not have participated equally in such processes, to deny their capacity to behave autonomously is misleading'.[355] By migrating to become live-in domestic workers, all four of these interviewees had secured accommodation, food and a level of financial security.

It is worth acknowledging that women's experiences of financial difficulties as adults may have shaped their understandings of the financial constraints their parents faced and, by extension, their own experiences of work and migration. However, in none of these cases did the women interviewed describe being forced into domestic service. Interviews conducted with child domestic workers in Lusaka in 2000 similarly pointed to the fact that many child domestic workers had taken the decision to enter into work by themselves. Seventy-two per cent of children interviewed in the 2000 study, for example, said that they had at least been involved in the decision to enter service.[356] These varied findings suggest that many children have helped to shape their migration strategies, even if in limited circumstances.

Relationships Between Female Migrants and Urban Employers

Lusaka's urban householders generated a significant demand for women and female children to migrate to the city. This was related to changes in women's employment patterns. As was discussed in Chapter Three, there has been a significant relationship between the post-colonial expansion of female employment and gendered and generational transitions within the domestic service sector, as women's ability to work outside of the home often depended upon their finding a replacement to take care of

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[355] I. Hashim and D. Thorsen, *Child Migration in Africa* (London, 2002), p. 1.
[356] Oyaide, 'Child Domestic Labour in Lusaka', p. 35.

domestic work and childcare. For many urban residents, young females were thought to be the ideal workers to employ for such tasks. The association of femininity, youth and domestic work demonstrably influenced urban employers' ideas about the 'natural' characteristics of female children.[357]

Of course, not all female children lived up to the gender stereotypes about how they should behave. This could lead to conflict between children, their employers and their parents. The result was often the loss of employment and/or 'return' migration to the natal home. Let us return to Priscilla Njovu's experience with her pregnant maid Esther. Upon returning home form work in the mid-1980s, Priscilla and her husband discovered that Esther, then aged thirteen, had been having a relationship with a neighbour's son. They visited their neighbours and arranged for them to pay compensation to Esther. Esther's mother demanded that she return to her village in Eastern Province because she had 'spoiled her chance'.[358] Priscilla's narrative expressed her anger and disappointment in Esther but also reflected a maternal concern, further exemplifying the previously discussed capacity for affective ties to develop between employers and their young workers. Priscilla's experience with Esther clearly suggests that although female children were the preferred domestic workers of many urban employers, such arrangements involved a degree of risk. For Priscilla, and for other female employers, the risk involved in employing a female child was however outweighed by the benefits. Despite her difficult experience with Esther, Priscilla continued to employ female child domestic workers to care for her own children.

Esther's experience draws attention to how female children's migration strategies have been shaped by the biological constraints of the female lifecycle and the social and cultural beliefs and practices associated with it. As was demonstrated in Chapter Three, sexual maturity had a significant impact on relationships between female children and their employers. Female children's opportunities to remain in the city or to migrate at all were shaped by their perceived degree of sexual maturity. As we saw above, once her pregnancy had been discovered Esther's parents demanded that she to return to the village. Another interviewee, Josephine Phiri, also recalled that she had

[357] As we saw in Chapter Three, various employers expressed the view that female children were 'naturally' loyal and trustworthy.
[358] Interview with Priscilla Njovu, Lusaka, 22 July 2013.

been forced to return to the natal home after she first experienced menstruation. A female child's biological and social development have thus often proved a hindrance to her status as a worker and to her autonomy, as adults sought increasingly to control her body and her options as she reached sexual maturity.

Yet despite the constraints on their mobility that many female children experienced after they reached sexual maturity, it seems that some children were still able to exercise a degree of autonomy. Esther's desire to control her own life and mobility was illustrated by her response to her un-chosen return migration to her parents' home. In late 1985, several months after leaving Priscilla's house, Esther returned to Lusaka, seemingly unaccompanied and in defiance of her parents' wishes. Esther appealed to Priscilla to help her to find another job as a live-in domestic worker.[359] By fulfilling the demands of urban residents for female nannies and domestic workers, migrants like Esther could support themselves in a context of high competition for housing and employment. Even if they didn't control the precise arrangements of their mobility or employment, the gendered demands of the urban labour market could thus be a resource that female children in difficult socio-economic situations could mobilise to their advantage.

Alongside the gendered and age-based aspects of employers' demands, the cost of labour was also a significant factor in shaping demand for workers. This was particularly the case with regards to the demand for migrant female children. The economic decline that Zambia experienced from the mid-1970s put significant pressures on urban households, intensifying the demand for cheap labour. As we saw in Chapter Three, for female employers on low-incomes, employing a child or a relative was a vital resource. For the poorest households, young migrants often provided female householders with the only source of help with domestic work apart from their own and their children's labour. Research conducted with the employers of child domestic workers in Lusaka in 2011 also suggested that most employers did so because of its low cost.[360] The comparative low cost of child domestic workers compared with adults has evidently continued to make employing a child attractive to employers into the 2010s.

[359] Interview with Priscilla Njovu, Lusaka, 22 July 2013.
[360] Bond, Chiya, Chonta and Clay, 'Sweeping the Bedroom', p. 37.

The Centrality of Female-Centred Social Networks

The demand of urban employers for female domestic workers from rural areas is illustrative of the ways in which relations of dependency connected urban and rural households in the post-colonial period. This history of dependency also draws attention to the role of women and girls in maintaining and cultivating rural-urban ties. When looking for domestic workers, female employers appear to have relied primarily on connections with female kin and peers. These female-centred social networks were equally a resource for the children involved.[361] When developing their migration strategies, girls looked to female kin and peers for advice and support. This section focuses on the role that women and girls have played in shaping experiences of migration, influencing where migrants went to work, how they got to the city and how they established themselves once they arrived. By highlighting the female-centred nature of these networks, attention is drawn to the centrality of women in the shaping and maintenance of kinship ties, a gendered history which existing scholarship on patronage networks largely fails to acknowledge.[362]

In the literature on migration, social networks have mainly been studied in relation to international mobility. Monica Boyd's work on family networks was particularly influential in highlighting the importance of kinship and community ties to international migration strategies. Boyd argued that 'social networks based on kinship, friendship and community ties are central components in migration systems analysis. They mediate between individual actors and larger structural forces'.[363] Though framed in international terms, Boyd's argument about the importance of kinship and family networks in shaping migration strategies can also be applied to internal migration. In her study of Delhi, Raghuram found that kinship networks were a crucial resource for both rural-urban migrants and urban residents seeking domestic workers from rural areas.[364] In South Africa, Bozzoli's study of Bafokeng migrants and Suzanne Gordon's research on domestic worker life histories similarly drew attention

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[361] The concept of 'female-centred social networking' is borrowed from Raghuram's work on migrant domestic workers in Delhi. See Raghuram, 'Interlinking Trajectories', p. 216.
[362] The role of women in shaping patronage networks, including kinship relations, is not adequately addressed in the existing literature on patronage and clientelism in Africa, examples of which include Bayart, *The State in Africa*; Chabal and Deloz, *Africa Works*; and Herbst, *States and Power in Africa*.
[363] M. Boyd, 'Family and Personal Networks in International Migration: Recent Developments and New Agendas', *International Migration Review*, 23 (1989), p. 661.
[364] Raghuram, 'Interlinking Trajectories', pp. 218-221.

to the importance of 'home girl/boy' networks for successive generations of men and women pursuing migration to Johannesburg.[365]

In the Zambian context, the female-centred social networks central to the recruitment of female children and youths into domestic service developed out of established practices of sourcing labour through kinship networks. After Zambian independence families became increasingly geographically dispersed across urban and rural areas because of rapid urbanisation and high rates of internal migration. Kinship networks continued to act as 'agents' of labour migration and recruitment in this shifting landscape.[366] In terms of domestic service, the primary 'agents' of recruitment were women, not least because domestic work was a female responsibility in local gendered divisions of labour. As Moore and Vaughan illustrated for the Bemba, women had long practiced shared housekeeping strategies, exchanging food and labour between kin to meet shortages and maintain ties of loyalty and reciprocity.[367] The links between women were fundamental to household survival in Bemba communities during periods of drought and shortages of labour.

The movement of children within kinship networks was motivated by numerous factors and clearly had different potential benefits and drawbacks for the various parties involved.[368] For poor households, sending a child to live with relatives could provide economic relief in situations of financial hardship arising from failed harvests, drought and bereavement. For receiving households, a child could help with meeting domestic and other labour shortages.[369] For the child involved, migrating to live with relatives could enable survival and, at best, improve educational and employment opportunities. Caroline Bledsoe's work on child fostering in Sierra Leone has shown how the mobility of children has helped to 'restribute the costs and benefits' of raising a child.[370] The migration of children within kinship networks in Zambia can certainly be understood as a livelihood strategy, a pragmatic response to economic hardship and

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[365] Bozzoli, *Women of Phokeng*, pp. 97-98; Gordon, *A Talent for Tomorrow*, p. xviii.
[366] Lord has illustrated that similar processes took place in colonial Ghana; see Lord, 'Child Labor in the Gold Coast', p. 103.
[367] Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting Down Trees*, pp. 66-72, pp. 193-197.
[368] Ibid, pp. 196-197.
[369] Lord, 'Child Labor in the Gold Coast', p. 103.
[370] C. Bledsoe and U. Isiugo-Abanihe, 'Strategies of Child-Fosterage among Mende Grannies in Sierra Leone', in R. J. Lesthaeghe (ed.), *Reproduction and Social Organization in Sub-Saharan Africa* (London, 1989), p. 442. For further discussion of child fostering practices in West Africa see also C. Bledsoe, '"No Success Without Struggle": Social Mobility and Hardship for Foster Children in Sierra Leone', *Man*, 25 (1990), pp. 70-88; Schildkrout, 'Age and Gender in Hausa Society', p. 118.

a means of securing new or deepening existing rural-urban connections that had a range of potential socio-economic benefits. Building on these historical networks, children continued to move between households in arrangements rooted in kinship-based obligations of service and support throughout the period.

Despite the development of new social networks in post-colonial Lusaka, for example through church groups or in the workplace, kinship networks remained the primary means of recruiting domestic workers for many female employers. As we saw in Chapter Three, after giving birth to their first children, Stella, Priscilla and Jane all turned to female relatives in rural areas for help in finding a child to become a domestic worker in their homes. In all four cases, it was a female relative who 'recruited' the child and made the necessary arrangements for her to migrate to Lusaka and enter into employment.[371] The enduring popularity of kinship networks as sources of help with domestic labour was similarly suggested by a study of domestic service in Lusaka and Eastern Provinces conducted in 2011, in which the majority of Lusaka-based employers stated that they preferred to recruit domestic workers through family networks in general and through rural kin in particular.[372]

Female-centred social networks noticeably shaped female children's lived experiences of migration, as is suggested in Mildred and Niah's testimonies. Mildred Phiri was born in a village near Petauke in Eastern Province in 1974. When she was approximately thirteen years old, Mildred was forced to leave school because of financial difficulties. Shortly after leaving school, she was approached by her former schoolteacher and told about a domestic service job in Lusaka. The prospective employer was the schoolteacher's sister-in-law. Mildred's experience is emblematic of the 'classic' narrative of 'bringing' a girl from the village.[373] In contrast, Niah's narrative challenges this classic rural-urban migration narrative. Given the urban demand for female child domestic workers, Niah, who was born in Lusaka and had lived there since birth, could undoubtedly have searched for work in town. Nevertheless, she only entered service after being recruited by a third party, in her case the friend of her prospective employer. While Niah's migration trajectory was the

[371] Bank's work on Xhosa migrant culture in East London has similarly highlighted the importance of rural-urban connections to working women looking for domestic help. See L. Bank, 'Living Together, Moving Apart: Home-Made Agendas, Identity Politics and Rural-Urban Linkages in the Eastern Cape, South Africa', *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 19 (2001), p. 146.
[372] Bond, Chiya, Chonta and Clay, 'Sweeping the Bedroom', p. 17.
[373] Interview with Mildred Phiri, Lusaka, 25 February 2014.

inverse of many children's experiences, it equally demonstrates the importance of gendered social networks in recruiting children into domestic service.

Female kin and peers were an important resource for female children and youths who sought employment in the city. Evelyn Banda had worked as a maid in Lusaka during the 1970s. She was born in a village near Chipata in the late 1950s and had left school around the age of fourteen. Evelyn described how her parents had often struggled to find enough food for the family. In the early 1970s Evelyn's maternal aunt contacted Evelyn's mother to ask if she would like to come to Lusaka to look for work. Evelyn decided to migrate so that she could help to support herself and her parents. She lived with her aunt for three months in 1972 before finding work as a live-in maid. She found this job through her aunt, who was employed as a domestic worker in the same high-income residential area of the city.[374] Semu similarly explained that his daughter Margaret had first lived with an aunt when she migrated to the city.[375] These findings support arguments made by Rebecca Ginsburg in her study of Johannesburg, and by Raghuram in her study of Delhi, about the practical and emotional support that women in urban areas have offered to rural kin who sought to migrate to the city.[376]

It is important to consider how broader social and economic shifts have changed the functioning of female-centred social networks as agents of recruitment and labour migration over time. The economic decline that Zambia experienced from the mid-1970s increased pressures on rural and urban households. Households in town and in the countryside continued to look to each other for support. But the nature of these dependent relationships changed because of widening socio-economic disparities both within Lusaka and between Lusaka and other areas of the country, and the changes in employment and educational opportunities that resulted.

It has been argued that the migration of children within kinship networks became more exploitative over time as a result of declining economic conditions in both rural and urban areas. Hansen, for example, suggested that although the recruitment of child domestic workers continued to be perceived in terms of the obligations and mutual dependencies of kin, these networks increasingly became a means for urban

[374] Interview with Evelyn Banda, Lusaka, 2 July 2014.
[375] Interview with Semu Lameck, Chimusanya, Rufunsa District, Lusaka Province, 21 June 2014.
[376] Ginsburg, *At Home with Apartheid*, pp. 44-46; Raghuram, 'Interlinking Trajectories', pp. 218-223.

employers to source cheap and vulnerable labour.[377] The association of child migration with exploitation is promoted most strongly by international development organizations. ILO-IPEC for example has characterised the practice of children moving within kinship networks as a form of child trafficking. Indeed, Hashim and Thorsen note that the distinction between trafficking and independent forms of child migration is often blurred by international organizations and NGOs.[378]

The experiences of child migrants collected as part of this research project suggest a more complex picture. Certain urban employers clearly did employ children because they were a cheap and exploitable group of workers. This is suggested by the experiences of numerous interviewees who engaged in domestic service as children. For many female child migrants, domestic service involved long and irregular working hours and very low wages. However, the level of exploitation that children experienced varied widely between employment arrangements. For children like Grace, for example, domestic service involved both exploitation and opportunity. Grace described working long hours for many years, receiving only a small cash salary on top of her in-kind payments. But using this money Grace managed to pay for her secondary education. She also described the affectionate relationship that she had with her employers and the pride she felt at having supported herself as a young person.[379]

Viewing children's experiences of migration solely through the lens of exploitation and trafficking clearly risks obscuring the experiences of the migrants involved. As Oliver Bakewell has suggested, by taking the 'categories, concepts and priorities of policy makers and practitioners as [the] initial frame of reference', researchers risk viewing migration mainly from the perspective of the policy maker and not from the migrant herself.[380] In studies of child domestic workers, the trafficking narrative forecloses important questions about migrants' experiences. It is too often assumed that children cannot make informed decisions about labour migration or employment because of their chronological age.[381] Grace and Esnart's testimonies, among others,

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[377] Hansen, 'Labor Migration and Urban Child Labor during the Colonial Period in Zambia', pp. 230-231.
[378] Hashim and Thorsen, *Child Migration in Africa*, p. 14.
[379] Interview with Grace Musonda, Lusaka, 13 February 2014.
[380] O. Bakewell, 'Research Beyond the Categories: The Importance of Policy Irrelevant Research into Forced Migration', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 21 (2008), p. 432.
[381] Hashim and Thorsen, *Child Migration in Africa*, p. 17.

suggest that children can display significant awareness of the difficulties facing their families and themselves and can act to address it.

The exploitation narrative not only obscures purposeful aspects of female children's migration experiences, it perpetuates an image of African children as inherently passive and vulnerable. As has been illustrated in this chapter, female children exercised a degree of agency in shaping migration practices. Many children chose, in difficult circumstances, to migrate to Lusaka and accepted offers of employment from kin and strangers either of their own accord or in consultation with their guardians. The findings of this research thus suggest that while child migration is often exploitative and opportunistic, relationships between migrant domestic workers and their employers were not unidirectional.

Domestic Service and Intra-Urban Mobility

This chapter now turns from long-distance migration to the mobility of domestic workers within the city. In contrast to the well-researched topic of longer distance migration, little is known about mobility within urban areas in Africa. In particular the intra-urban mobility of women and of young people has not been thoroughly examined. As domestic workers, women and female children have moved across spatial boundaries of class and wealth within Lusaka. In doing so, these workers have engaged in some of the most extensive contact between otherwise divided sections of society. Gender and age dynamics have shaped access to mobility within the city in ways similar to the longer-distance migration strategies discussed above. This section first explores how employment in domestic service has enabled some women and girls to increase their mobility. It focuses particularly on live-out workers in formal domestic service arrangements. It then considers the female-centred social networks that have facilitated women and girls' mobility within the city, for employers and workers have often turned to their urban female kin for help finding labour and employment, support and housing respectively.

Crossing Spatial and Social Boundaries

The racialised spatial divisions that divided Lusaka's population under colonial rule were remade along socio-economic lines after independence.[382] As Gough notes, 'at independence, the former European parts of the city were renamed as low-density, the African municipal townships as medium-density, and the African squatter settlements as high-density residential areas'.[383] The high-density areas continue to be known as 'compounds' in local discourse, reflecting their history as sources of labour for the more affluent parts of the city. The changing demographic of medium and low-density areas of the city, like Kabulonga and Woodlands, undermined the racial aspect of spatial segregation. As was previously discussed, increasing numbers of black Zambians became residents of these affluent neighbourhoods from the early 1960s. Wealth and living standards improved over time for many residents of low and medium-density suburbs of the city.

But these changes did nothing to end urban spatial segregation. Indeed, despite the breakdown of divisions based on race, spatial exclusion in Lusaka arguably became more and not less stark over time. The low-income areas of the city expanded exponentially after independence. Despite periodic efforts to develop new housing and upgrade existing services, these efforts largely failed to keep up with both the demand for housing and the need to expand service provision to cater for the rapidly growing populations of the city's compounds.[384] Falling urban living standards were exacerbated during the 1980s by market liberalization and during the 1990s and 2000s by the removal of limited government safety nets.

Shifts in residency patterns and housing practices were common responses to the increasingly difficult economic circumstances of this period. As we saw in Chapter Two, urban residents like Priscilla attempted to deal with increased economic hardship by reshaping their urban household arrangements.[385] Alongside new uses of space, such as the subdivision of housing, many households have had to relocate to less expensive areas of the city, including the compounds, further exacerbating the

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[382] The shifting of socio-economic and spatial boundaries within the city after independence is discussed in further detail in Chapter Four.
[383] K. Gough, '"Moving Around": The Social and Spatial Mobility of Youth in Lusaka', *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography*, 90 (2008), p. 246.
[384] See Hansen, *Keeping House in Lusaka*, pp. 55-58.
[385] Interview with Priscilla Njovu, Lusaka, 22 August 2013.

pressure on housing and services in these areas.[386] As population density in the compounds increased, the poorest residents have been increasingly squeezed out of authorized high-density areas and into informal settlements, often at the margins of the city limits.[387] As many households relocated to access housing, many were increasingly distant from potential employment opportunities in central and higher-income areas, as well as from schools and clinics, which were less numerous in low-income areas. The mobility of Lusaka's poorer residents, vital to ensuring continued access to essential services, has thus become increasingly important over time.

As with long-distance migration strategies, access to intra-urban mobility must be understood in relation to gendered and gerontocratic hierarchies within the household as well as arising from economic constraints. The opportunities for employment and education that had been open to previous generations were increasingly difficult for young people to access because of the high cost of living and the squeezing out of poor urban residents to the margins of the city. This appears to have had a disproportionately gendered impact, with the mobility of female children and youth from poor households increasingly restricted to the confines of the compound in which they live.[388]

Although urban inequality has thus increased over time, and has been increasingly experienced in terms of spatial exclusion, important connections remain between the different areas of the city. Labour is one of those connections. Since its foundation, Lusaka's spatial geography has developed out of urban labour relations. As noted above, the compounds of the city are so named to reflect their former status as African housing areas for particular groups of workers. However, their specific status has changed over time. The colonial government built housing for African civil servants and their families in Chilenje, an area which developed into a vibrant medium-density suburb. The now high-density area of Matero developed out of a smaller housing area designed for industrial workers.[389] The demographics of these areas, and of other parts

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[386] K. T. Hansen, 'Stuck in the Compound: Some Odds Against Social Adulthood in Lusaka, Zambia', *Africa Today*, 51 (2005), p. 7.
[387] Ibid.
[388] Ibid', p. 8. See also Gough, 'Moving Around', p. 250.
[389] The development of African housing areas under colonial ruleis discussed for example in NAZ, CNP1/16 2, Local Government and African Housing Township Locations and Compounds General 1950-1960.

of the city, have thus shifted over time as a result of urban population growth and the lifting of housing restrictions.

Like the industrial workers and civil servants discussed above, domestic workers have connected diverse communities in the city through the provision of labour. Domestic workers have, for the most part, not been concentrated in particular areas of the city. In colonial Lusaka, many domestic workers lived in on-site servants' quarters. Others found accommodation in a personal servants' compound that was built specifically to house those domestic workers who could not be accommodated at the work-site. Domestic workers also found accommodation in the 'African' areas of the city. This third form of accommodation likely became increasingly important as the population of the city grew and the supply of housing for Europeans and Africans failed to keep up with demand.[390] After independence this residency pattern continued, with some domestic workers living in servant's quarters and others commuting from low to high-income areas of the city.

Over time relationships had developed between particular areas of the city, indicated in Figure 1, as domestic workers moved between the compounds to nearby high and medium-income residential areas. Describing domestic workers' mobility, Joyce Phiri, the Acting-President of U-ZCTU, noted:

> '[domestic] workers go from Bauleni to Woodlands, Chalala and New Kasama. They go from Mtendere to Kabulonga, from Misisi and Chawama to Madras and from Misisi to Kabwata and Chilenje. They go from Ng'ombe to Roma, from Matero East to Emmasdale and Villa, from Chilulu to Thorn Park and Northmead'.[391]

Mobility was a crucial part of domestic workers' experiences of work as they moved between areas of the city on a daily and sometimes more permanent residential basis. The commute between domestic worker's homes and places of work could also of course add significant amounts of time to the working day.

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[390] On housing for domestic workers under colonial rule see Hansen, *Distant Companions*, p. 77, p. 156, p. 158, pp. 172-174.

[391] Interview with Joyce Phiri, Lusaka, 11 July 2013.

Domestic workers' mobility was crucial to the development and maintenance of connections across the class divides that became engrained in the spatial organization of the city. Mariana Banda's experience is typical. Mariana was born in Kitwe in 1944 and migrated to Lusaka with her parents, siblings and husband just after independence. She found employment as a live-out domestic worker in Woodlands in 1969. For eighteen years Mariana moved daily between her two-room home in the small, then unauthorised compound of Bauleni, to the large, three-bedroomed home of her employer in the low-density suburb of Woodlands. Mariana's employers were a black Zambian family, who like many other black householders, were living in an affluent suburb for the first time.[392] Mariana and her employers belonged to different class groups and had unequal access to the resources of urban life. But Mariana's daily mobility meant that she straddled two social worlds, at least in a physical sense. In her study of Madurai, India, Sara Dickey similarly illustrated how, through their daily movements across the city, domestic workers created social networks that spanned class groups.[393] As a worker Mariana had access to the private space of a middle-class household, she was provided with the same food that the family ate and was sometimes provided with 'gifts' of second-hand clothing and used household goods.

Many interviewees hoped that employment in domestic service would lead to social mobility. We have already seen how rural-urban migrants like Grace, Esther and Queen sought to pursue education, achieve financial autonomy and support their families. Non-migrant domestic workers were motivated by similar aspirations. Anna Banda was born in Matero, a low-income settlement in Lusaka in 1970. Anna's father was an industrial worker and her mother sold cooked food from the family home. She was one of seven children and her parents struggled to cover both household expenses and school-related expenses. Faced with the prospect of leaving school in grade seven, Anna and her parents arranged for her to move across Lusaka to live with her aunt, who she would help with domestic labour and receive in return accommodation, food and help with school expenses.[394] Accessing education was of course also one of the key motivating factors for many mothers employed as domestic workers, though they sought the education of their children rather than themselves. The association of

[392] Interviews with Mariana Banda, Lusaka, 17 July 2013 and 29 July 2013.
[393] Dickey, 'Permeable Homes', p. 462.
[394] Interview with Anna Banda, Lusaka, 14 August 2013.

domestic service with social mobility was thus a common theme in interviews with domestic workers of all ages.

Employment in domestic service certainly provided domestic workers like Mariana with access to levels of daily mobility from which many women and younger females would otherwise have been excluded. Mariana left Bauleni compound almost every day for eighteen years. Most women and female children in the compound did not have access to this degree of mobility, their movements restricted by financial constraints, responsibilities within the home and social conventions identifying the inappropriateness of unaccompanied female mobility. Significantly, Gough's recent work on youth and mobility in Lusaka suggests that many young women continue to experience low levels of daily mobility, in part because of high unemployment but also because female mobility (if not for work or school) was seen as socially unacceptable. Gough found that female domestic workers continue, by contrast, to be much more mobile.[395]

For many domestic workers, however, their hopes for social mobility remained unfulfilled. Despite having access to food and resources within her employer's household, Mariana did not of course become a member *of* the household or of her employer's class. Mobility thus did not enable most domestic workers to subvert or overcome the social hierarchies of class distinction. Furthermore, as a result of the declining formal economy, lack of alternative employment and high competition for jobs, few domestic workers were able to move into other occupations. After eighteen years at her place of employment, Mariana retired from the same position in which she had started. Over the years her wages had enabled her to get by, but not to improve her financial position, accumulate enough capital to start her own business or pursue training in another occupation.

Alongside the limits of social mobility, many domestic workers have also faced significant obstacles to their spatial mobility. The unavailability and/or high cost of transportation were particularly significant in this regard and should not be underestimated. Potts and Gough have both stressed the high cost of public transport in African cities, with some workers found to spend as much as thirty per cent of their

[395] Gough, 'Moving Around', p. 248.

income on transport.[396] For most domestic workers, mobility depended on walking long distances to get to the worksite. Edwin Banda, a chef at FENZA, described how he had become used to long-distance commutes on foot to get to work. From 1985 to 2012, Edwin had walked daily from his home in Mtendere to his place of work in Woodlands, a return journey that took him around two and a half hours in total.[397] Domestic workers may have had access to higher degrees of spatial mobility than many other poor urban residents, but this was not without its limits. Even for those domestic workers who receive the now mandatory (since 2011) transport allowance of K102 (US$9.09), walking is still often the preferred method of transport. At the time of our interview, Edwin was the only member of his household in permanent employment. And, despite receiving a transport allowance from his current employers at FENZA, he stated that he could not afford to spend any of his wages on public transport.

Overall, intra-urban mobility had the impact of both bridging and reinforcing spatial and social divisions. As domestic workers moved between the city's most affluent and impoverished neighbourhoods, they connected these spaces and carried with them material goods and knowledge. But at the same time, workers experienced economic disparity and exclusion on a daily basis as they moved within the city. Mobility thus contributed to the broader reinforcement of inequality that shaped relations between domestic workers and employers.

Female-Centred Social Networks and Intra-Urban Mobility

Female-centred social networks played a crucial role in the recruitment of female domestic workers within the city, facilitating the intra-urban mobility of women and female children. These networks of kinship and mutual support were vital resources for both workers and employers in the city, just as they were for those engaged in long-distance migration strategies. As has been previously explored, urban employers frequently turned to their female kin to recruit domestic workers from rural areas. Employers across the socio-economic spectrum also relied on female kin and peers to help them find reliable and trustworthy workers from within Lusaka in a crowded and

[396] Potts, '"All My Hopes and Dreams are Shattered": Urbanisation and Migrancy in an Imploding African Economy- the Case of Zimbabwe', *Geoforum*, 37 (2006), p. 545; Gough, 'Moving Around', p. 248.
[397] Interview with Edwin Banda, Lusaka, 30 January 2014.

complex urban labour market. Dorothy Phiri, for example, relied on the labour of her niece Anna Banda, an arrangement made between the two parties and Anna's parents. Because of the urban context, employers could also draw on broader range of contacts, particularly female peers from church groups or workplaces. In the urban context then, while these social networks of labour recruitment continued to centre on women, these networks were more varied because of the diversity of urban social relations.

For domestic workers in the city, female kin offered a means to navigate the urban labour market and secure both housing and employment. Anna and her parents, for example, drew on the support of their kinswoman to enable them to pay for Anna's subsistence and education. Through the provision of domestic labour to her aunt, Anna found a way to cover the costs of accommodation and subsistence and secured some help towards the cost of educational supplies. This relationship of dependency was not however unidirectional. As was explored in Chapter Three, Anna's aunt Dorothy depended on the labour that her niece provided. Indeed, given Dorothy's limited economic means, sourcing help with domestic labour through her urban kinship network was her only way of securing the help that she needed.[398]

Female-centred social networks also played an important role in facilitating the entry of female migrants into domestic service long after they had first arrived in the city. In 1984 Elizabeth Bwalya moved from Chililabombwe in Copperbelt Province to Lusaka with her father and three siblings. Elizabeth had been living in Lusaka for around one year when her sister recommended she apply for a position as a live-in domestic worker. Elizabeth's sister and brother-in-law liaised with the employer on Elizabeth's behalf and escorted her to the interview.[399] Mutinta Kalobwe's experience was similar. Born in a village in Rufunsa District, Lusaka Province in 2000, Mutinta migrated to Lusaka to live with her father in 2012 in the hope of continuing her education. In late 2013, a female neighbour approached Mutinta with an offer of employment; the neighbour was acting on behalf of her female friend from church.[400] Elizabeth and Mutinta's experiences draw attention to the enduring importance of kinship and family connections in the recruitment of domestic workers.

[398] Interview with Dorothy Phiri, Lusaka, 10 August 2013.
[399] Interview with Elizabeth Bwalya, Lusaka, 16 February 2014.
[400] Interview with Mutinta Kalobwe, Lusaka, 1 March 2014.

Conclusion

The experiences of female migrants call into question many of the dominant narratives that continue to shape understandings of migration in Zambia. First, it is clear that migration needs to be studied from a broader perspective, going beyond the focus on labour migration within the formal, industrial sector, rural-urban movements and male migrants. Both urban and rural residents, male and female, have evidently relied on a broader set of strategies of mobility since independence, and indeed before. Daily movements within the city, residential mobility, and long-distance migration are all forms of mobility that deserve historical consideration.[401] Though there are important distinctions to be made between these forms of mobility, not least regarding distance and duration, all highlight the ways in which through mobility, individuals have connected households across spatial and social boundaries.

Most significant is the evidence that women and female children have participated in migration strategies in large numbers and, as a result, have made a significant contribution to both rural and urban households. The histories of female migrant domestic workers must be recognised and integrated into the broader history of migration in Zambia. By entering domestic service, migrant women and girls supported themselves and their families. The domestic labour performed by these female migrants needs to be seen not as a 'natural' extension of female responsibilities from the natal home to the workplace, but as a significant contribution to both the urban and rural economy and as a crucial factor in processes of post-colonial class formation and shifting gender relations.

If migration can be seen as a key measure of the depths of economic crisis facing a household or community, then studying the migration trajectories of women and girls provides a unique way of understanding the full range of strategies that people have pursued to survive in a context of extreme economic pressure.[402] The history of the migration of women and female children draws particular attention to the endurance of mutual dependencies between rural and urban households and to the changing obligations and expectations of kinship in the post-colonial context. Indeed, as a result of the social and economic ills caused by structural adjustment and liberalisation, such

[401] For more on the 'mobility paradigm' see Gough, 'Moving Around', p. 244.
[402] Grier has illustrated this in colonial Zimbabwe. See Grier, *Invisible Hands*, p. 4.

mutual dependencies have arguably only increased over time. The migration of children and young women within kinship networks can thus be understood as a pragmatic response to economic crisis as much as a long-standing means of sourcing labour.

These findings also point to the significance of women and girls in the shifting dynamics of kinship relations and patronage networks. Female-centred social networks were a vital resource for both urban residents looking for domestic workers and for migrants seeking employment and a place in the city. Women helped their kin to find domestic workers from within Lusaka and from across the country. These networks shaped female migrants' journeys to the city and their experiences of migration. More generally, by focussing on these social networks it becomes possible to understand how women and girls' migration strategies have actually unfolded, taking into account the different stages in a migrant's journey from 'home' to the city and the workplace.

The narratives of female migrants also challenge the dominance of trafficking and exploitation in international discourses on children and domestic service. While human trafficking and exploitation are clearly serious issues in need of international and local attention, focussing on children's mobility solely through this lens obscures the complex nature of rural-urban connections and children's own experiences. International development organizations that campaign on behalf of domestic worker rights in Africa and across the 'Global South' should also pay attention to the historical dimensions of the labour relations that exist in domestic service arrangements to understand the ways in the sector is bound up with complex relations of dependency, patronage and support that have connected rural and urban communities. Interviews with female migrants and employers demonstrate that the relations of dependency that have connected rural and urban communities have been a resource for both parties, even if - like all other such relationships - not one based on equal terms.

Moreover, it is too often assumed in the development literature that female children and young women are incapable of shaping their migration trajectories or working

lives.[403] The experiences discussed in this chapter show that female domestic workers have both shaped their migration experiences and placed great value on their ability to work. For Grace, Esnart, and countless others, migration to Lusaka was a strategy pursued to support themselves and their families and to improve their prospects. These potential benefits of course need to be balanced against the exploitation and overwork that many domestic workers have experienced. But the value that individual migrants have placed on their ability to migrate and to work should not be ignored.

[403] Hashim and Thorsen, *Child Migration in Africa*, p. 17.

5

'Decent Work for Domestic Workers': Interventions into the Domestic Service Sector

Introduction

Since the 1990s there has been a massive international effort to promote the rights of domestic workers. In countries across the world, governments have introduced legislation on domestic worker rights; trade unions organizing domestic workers have been established and existing worker organizations strengthened; and international organizations have integrated the promotion of domestic worker rights into their agendas.[404] Zambia has not been immune to these processes. In 2011 the Zambian government introduced minimum wage legislation for domestic workers and extended the rights held by employed workers to domestic workers for the first time. Two trade unions for domestic workers are currently active in Lusaka, promoting the new legislation and representing workers in disputes with employers. Furthermore, the ILO has been actively involved in promoting domestic worker rights in Zambia since the 2000s and has sought to partner with both the government and the unions in these efforts.

This chapter examines how various Zambian and international actors have attempted to formalise, professionalise and organize domestic service in the post-colonial period. The chapter focuses on three forms of intervention: attempts to organize domestic workers into associations and trade unions; Zambian state initiatives to formalise and professionalise domestic service and the relationship between these efforts and international campaigns to promote domestic worker rights; and the rise of 'maid centre' employment agencies, an area of the private sector simultaneously engaged with these wider attempts at formalisation but also pursuing a distinct business-based agenda.

[404] Prominent international actors promoting domestic worker rights include the ILO, the International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC), and the International Domestic Workers Federation (IDWF). For more information on the work of these organizations see their respective websites: International Labour Organization, 'Domestic Workers', accessed at http://www.ilo.org/global/topics/domestic-workers/lang--en/index.htm; International Trade Union Confederation, 'Issues: Domestic Workers', accessed at http://www.ituc-csi.org/domestic-workers; and International Domestic Workers Federation, accessed at http://idwfed.org/en; all accessed on 12 February 2016.

To begin, the chapter examines the history of worker organization from the late colonial period to the present day. This first section opens with a discussion of attempts to unionise domestic workers under colonial rule, before tracing the apparent decline in activism by domestic workers' organizations from the late 1960s to mid-1990s. The section focuses particularly on the history of UHDWUZ and the now separate organizations of U-ZCTU and U-FFTUZ, the longest running trade unions for domestic workers in Zambian history.[405] Such formal organizing practices are then juxtaposed with the looser networks of solidarity cultivated by domestic workers around the worksite and in their personal time, first discussed in Chapter Two.

The chapter then explores how the Zambian state has intervened in domestic service from the late colonial period to the present. It examines particularly the impetus behind and impact of the 2011 and 2012 legislation on minimum wages and working conditions for domestic workers. The final section of the chapter examines the rise of 'maid centre' employment agencies from the early 1990s to the present. This section explains the ways in which both domestic workers and employers have interacted with maid centres and how the maid centres have engaged with the state, trade unions and international organizations' attempts to promote domestic worker rights. The chapter examines how each of these processes has impacted upon the lives of domestic workers and to what extent these interventions reflected the needs and wants of domestic workers, compared with the political and economic objectives of those who sought to reshape the domestic service sector.

Forms of Worker Organization

This first section examines the history of attempts by domestic workers to pursue forms of collective organization. From the mid-colonial period onwards, there have been various attempts by small groups of domestic workers to organize in associations and trade unions. This section focuses particularly on the history of UHDWUZ, a trade union for domestic workers that has been active in Lusaka since the late 1990s. It explores the founding of UHDWUZ in the late 1990s and the leadership,

[405] As noted in the Introduction to this thesis, both trade unions operate under the UHDWUZ name. However, they are allied to different national trade union bodies (ZCTU and FFTUZ) and this distinction is used to differentiate between the two unions, hence use of the acronyms U-ZCTU and U-FFTUZ.

membership and activities of that union and its more recent manifestation as the separate organizations of U-ZCTU and U-FFTUZ. It places the development of these union bodies within the longer history of trade unionism in Zambia and examines the union's relationship with the national government and international organizations. It finally discusses forms of collective organization outside of the formal union model.

Trade Unions in African Labour History

In examining the history of collective organization among domestic workers in Zambia, it is helpful to briefly consider the ways in which historians have approached the history of labour movements in African contexts. In African historiography, the organization of workers has most frequently been associated with the development of formal trade unions. This understanding of worker organization developed out of the broader historiographical focus on formal, and particularly industrial, employment and male workers discussed in Chapter Two. This focus on formal labour movements has had a significant impact on the ways in which labour activism has been understood, leading to a limited, institutionally focused understanding of the ways in which African workers have pursued their grievances.

During the 1960s and early 1970s, Africa labour history focussed largely on macro-level developments in labour relations and the leadership of labour movements. These studies offered a top-down perspective of organized labour and the views and actions of individual workers remained obscure. Reflecting the influence of European Marxist thought on social scientists, many of these studies were interested in the *making* of a working class and everything assumed to be associated with it (modernity, class politics, socialism) in African contexts.[406] In African labour history, African workers and labour relations were understood in highly politicised terms, terms that had been defined and prioritised in relation to European class dynamics.[407]

From the late 1970s to 1990s labour historians began to question some of the underlying assumptions that had shaped the earlier labour historiography, including

[406] See for example G. Arrighi, *The Political Economy of Rhodesia* (The Hague, 1967); G. Arrighi and J. S. Saul, *Essays on the Political Economy of Africa* (New York, 1973).
[407] African labour historians began debating this issue in the 1970s. See Sandbrook and Cohen, 'Workers and Progressive Change in Underdeveloped Countries', pp. 1-8. On the influence of European Marxist historians on African historiography see F. Cooper, 'Work, Class and Empire: An African Historian's Retrospective on E. P. Thompson', *Social History*, 20 (1995), pp. 235-241.

understandings of the role of trade unions in African societies. Robin Cohen for example questioned the extent to which Nigerian unions were anti-colonial in sentiment, challenging the assumption that labour movements were directly aligned with nationalist concerns.[408] Studying relations between the labour movement and government in post-colonial Zambia, Burawoy highlighted the conflict-ridden relationship between mining unions and the Zambian state.[409] Various studies also highlighted the ways in which nationalist discourse had attempted to silence the labour movement. Ian Phimister and Brian Raftopoulous' volume on the labour movement in Zimbabwe, for example, stressed the importance of trade unions in resistance to the Rhodesian state during the liberation war, something that the post-independence organizations had silenced in Zimbabwe.[410]

However, despite significant shifts in African labour history, there were substantial analytical continuities in the framing of class relations and the recognition of forms of worker organization in Western modernist terms. As Frederick Cooper has argued, many early studies of African labour history associated the performance of wage labour with a progressive move towards proletarianisation, labelling workers who oscillated between town and country as 'semi-proletarianised' i.e. defined by their apparent failure to fulfil the degree of class development necessary to achieve 'class consciousness'.[411] The extent to which European capitalist relations were remade in African contexts as they interacted with local forms of social and economic relations was often overlooked and the capacity for workers to pursue their grievances outside of the Western labour movement model was rarely taken into account.[412]

Few studies of organized labour paid significant attention to the impact of gender relations within trade unions or in the history of industrial action. Jane Parpart's study of mineworkers on the Zambian Copperbelt and Carolyn Brown's history of Enugu coal miners in Nigeria were notable exceptions, but even these studies continued to

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[408] Cohen, *Labour and Politics in Nigeria*, p. 150.
[409] Burawoy, *The Colour of Class on the Copper Mines*, p. 3.
[410] I. Phimister and B. Raftapoulos, 'Introduction', in I. Phimister and B. Rafatapoulos (eds), *Keep on Knocking: A History of the Labour Movement in Zimbabwe 1900-97* (Harare, 1997), pp. xviii-xix.; L. Sachikonye, 'Trade Unions: Economic and Political Development in Zimbabwe Since Independence in 1980', in I. Phimister and B. Rafatapoulos (eds), *Keep on Knocking: A History of the Labour Movement in Zimbabwe 1900-97* (Harare, 1997), pp. 107-128.
[411] F. Cooper, *Decolonisation and African Society: the Labor Question in French and British Africa* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 12.
[412] For an early rejection of the descriptive and non-analytical nature of categories such as 'semi-proletarianised peasantry', see Freund, *Capital and Labour in the Nigerian Tin Mines*, p. 73.

focus on industrial labour and formal trade unions.[413] The enduring emphasis in African labour history on formal labour politics and worker organization suggests the continued influence of older narratives about the nature of class relations in Africa, i.e. male workers engaged in formal labour processes, pursuing formal labour politics. Women's experiences of organized labour and the history of informal worker associations both continue to be underrepresented. This is even though most workers in African societies never engaged in industrial labour processes or became members of formal trade unions.

Trade Unions for Domestic Workers

This section seeks to move beyond the unrepresentative historiographical focus on industrial labour unions and male workers outlined above by examining the ways in which Zambian domestic workers and advocates for domestic worker rights have used the trade union model to pursue their grievances. Many of those who have led efforts to organize domestic workers in Zambia were drawn to the union model of organization. This needs to be understood in relation to both the longer history of the Zambian labour movement and the expansion of political space after the transition to multi-party democracy during the early 1990s.

During the mid to late colonial period, the labour movement grew in size and influence in Northern Rhodesia. During the 1930s and 1940s, for example, white and African mineworkers organized a series of strikes against mine management and secured various improvements to pay and conditions.[414] A number of domestic workers on the Copperbelt participated in the mineworkers' strikes of the 1930s and 1940s. Evidence of the involvement of domestic workers in these strikes comes from various colonial government documents. The state's report into the 1935 strike at Mufulira, Luanshya and Nkana mines, for example, suggested that domestic workers employed by Europeans, on the Copperbelt had been pressured into supporting the mineworkers.[415] Reports into the 1940 strikes at Mufulira and Nkana mines similarly suggested that

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[413] J. L. Parpart, *Labour and Capital on the African Copperbelt* (Philadelphia, 1983); C. A. Brown, *"We Were All Slaves": African Miners, Culture, and Resistance at the Enugu Government Colliery, Nigeria* (Portsmouth NH, 2003).
[414] A comprehensive study of these strikes can be found in H. Meebelo, *African Proletarians and Colonial Capitalism: The Origins, Growth, and Struggles of the Zambian Labour Movement to 1964* (Lusaka, 1986).
[415] Northern Rhodesia, 'Evidence Taken by Commission Appointed to Enquire into the Disturbance in the Copperbelt, Northern Rhodesia, July-September 1935' (Lusaka, 1935), p. 358; as cited in Hansen, *Distant Companions*, p. 158.

domestic workers were pressured into participating, though the later report also noted that domestic workers were passing on information that they overheard in their places of work to the striking mineworkers.[416]

Despite the dismissive attitude of the colonial state towards the motivations of the domestic workers involved in these periods of industrial action, their participation in the 1935 and 1940 strikes does suggest that domestic workers shared some of the concerns of other urban workers with regards to urban inequality.[417] Though such solidarities may not be evidence of broad-based 'class consciousness', domestic workers in the late colonial period seemingly did engage in relations of solidarity with other black urban workers in a manner not dissimilar to the solidarities that developed between domestic workers and fellow urban residents in the post-colonial period, first discussed in Chapter Two.

During the late colonial period, domestic workers also tried to organize more formally. In the late 1940s the colonial state helped to form trade unions for shop assistants on the Copperbelt and later for mineworkers. Other groups of workers sought to follow suit. In the early 1950s groups of domestic workers in Kitwe and Broken Hill contacted labour officers about the possibility of forming a trade union.[418] In Lusaka, domestic workers also began to organize. In May 1950, domestic workers went on strike and held two public meetings to demand higher wages.[419] Despite these activities, these early attempts to organize were largely unsuccessful. The domestic worker associations in Kitwe and Lusaka appear to have dissipated during the 1950s, while the workers in Broken Hill do not seem to have formed an official union.[420] The sporadic and largely short-lived nature of worker organizations in Northern Rhodesia

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[416] Northern Rhodesia, 'Report of the Commission Appointed to Enquire into the Disturbances on the Copperbelt, Northern Rhodesia, July 1940' (Lusaka, 1941), p. 20; as cited in Hansen, *Distant Companions*, p. 160.
[417] The participation of domestic workers in industrial action on the Copperbelt and their relationships with other urban workers, is discussed in Hansen, *Distant Companions*, pp. 158-161.
[418] NAZ, MLSS1/9 33, Conditions of Employment in Certain Industries and Services- Domestic Servants, 1944-54, letter from P. M. Mosse, labour officer Broken Hill, to the Senior Labour Officer, Lusaka, September 1952; letter from R. E. Luyt, Senior Labour Officer, Kitwe, to the Labour Officer, Broken Hill, August 1952. See also Hansen, *Distant Companions*, pp. 166-169.
[419] Hansen, *Distant Companions*, p. 168.
[420] NAZ, MLSS1/9 33, Conditions of Employment in Certain Industries and Services- Domestic Servants, 1944-54; letter from R. E. Luyt, Senior Labour Officer, Kitwe, to the Labour Officer, Broken Hill, August 1952. See also Hansen, *Distant Companions*, p. 169.

contrasts with similar groups in East Africa, where domestic workers appear to have participated in more militant and successful activism.[421]

The colonial state in Northern Rhodesia argued that a trade union for domestic workers was impractical. Officials repeatedly told domestic workers that domestic service could not be treated like other forms of work because it took place within the private space of an employer's home and because employers made no profit from the labour of their 'servants'.[422] Janet Bujra finds a similarly dismissive attitude amongst British colonial officials towards the unionisation of domestic workers in late colonial Tanzania, where one official described such an attempt as 'little more than nonsense'.[423] The Northern Rhodesian state's stance towards domestic workers demands for representation and higher wages remained inflexible during the late colonial period, despite some debate among labour officers.[424] Thus while an increasing number of occupations came to be covered by minimum wage regulations during the 1950s, domestic workers remained excluded.

Despite the dismissive attitude of colonial officials and the short-lived nature of early attempts to organize domestic workers, there were further examples of domestic worker trade unionism during the 1960s. The National Union of Catering, Hotel and Domestic Workers (NUCHDW) appears to have been active on the Copperbelt and in Lusaka from 1960 to 1965. Though the records of NUCHDW have not apparently survived, those of the then Department of Labour offer some insight into the scope and scale of its activities. The union's membership expanded fairly quickly. Though the Department of Labour's Annual Report for 1960 noted that NUCHDW was unregistered and had only 7 members, by 1961 it was officially registered and its membership had increased to 1,145.[425] By 1962 the union claimed to have just over

[421] See for example Bujra's discussion of domestic workers in Tanzania; Bujra, *Serving Class*, pp. 154-156.
[422] Hansen, *Distant Companions*, pp. 167-168.
[423] Bujra, *Serving Class*, p. 50.
[424] Discussions over the introduction of minimum wages for domestic workers can be seen for example in letters between labour officers during the late 1950s. See for example NAZ, MLSS1/9 33, Conditions of Employment in Certain Industries and Services- Domestic Servants, 1944-54, letter from P. J. Law, Commission for Labour and Mines, to the Labour Officer Fort Jameson, August 1952.
[425] As is noted in Annual Labour reports for the years 1960 and 1961. NAZ, MLSS1/23 86, Department of Labour Annual Report 1960; NAZ, MLSS1/23 92, Department of Labour Annual Report 1961.

7,000 members.[426] The accuracy of these membership figures remains open to question and the proportion of members who were domestic workers is unknown.

It seems however that NUCHDW was very active during the early to mid-1960s. Most of the documentary material on the union focuses on disputes between it and various hotels and restaurants in Lusaka. Although it is unclear if the union similarly pursued disputes between domestic workers and employers, various sources suggest the seriousness with which the union campaigned for domestic worker rights. In 1963, for example, NUCHDW criticised the low wages and poor conditions of employment for domestic workers through the leading newspaper, the *Northern News*. The union specifically criticised European mineworkers in the press, arguing that these employers should provide free medical care to their domestic workers.[427] In 1964, the year of Zambian independence, NUCHDW continued to campaign for domestic workers, putting sustained pressure on the government to introduce an official minimum wage through regular correspondence and newspaper articles.[428]

By 1965 NUCHDW was still in operation and appeared to be in a strong position. In May of that year Mr Dulizani Banda, the union's Lusaka Regional Secretary, visited Cuba and met with Fidel Castro.[429] The origins of this Cuba connection are not explained in the documents; it is possible that the visit was arranged through either left-leaning unionists within the Zambian labour movement or through one of the southern African liberation movements in exile, resident in Lusaka in the 1960s, with connections to Cuba.[430] NUCHDW certainly appears to have achieved a degree of longevity that its predecessors had failed to do. But, despite its successes, the union had collapsed by mid-1965 because of various organizational problems and alleged misappropriation of funds by its officials. It is worth noting that such problems were by no means uncommon for unions more generally during this period. Overall,

[426] The NUHCDW claimed to have 7,027 members in its annual return to the Registry of Trade Unions for 1962. NAZ, MLSS1/26 73, National Union of Hotel, Catering and Domestic Workers 1952-1965; return for the year 1962.
[427] NAZ, MLSS1/26 73, National Union of Hotel, Catering and Domestic Workers 1952-1965, 'Free Medical Aid Sought by Union', *Northern News*, 14 November 1963.
[428] NAZ, MLSS1/26 73, National Union of Hotel, Catering and Domestic Workers 1952-1965; 'Wages Move But Mass Sackings Feared', *Northern News*, 18 August 1964.
[429] NAZ, MLSS1/15 126, Labour Officer Monthly Reports- Lusaka, 1963-1965, Department of Labour Monthly Report- Labour Officer, District: Lusaka, May 1965.
[430] On the history of Southern African liberation movements in exile in Lusaka, see for example S. Ellis, *External Mission: The ANC in Exile, 1960-1990* (London, 2012); H. MacMillan, *The Lusaka Years: The ANC in Exile in Zambia, 1963 to 1994* (Auckland Park, 2013).

although NUCHDW's campaign for minimum wages and better working conditions were unsuccessful in legislative terms, this example demonstrates that the campaign for minimum wages for domestic workers has both a long and local history.

More broadly the 1960s was a period of extensive industrial action. The newly-elected UNIP government was concerned about the impact of strikes and stoppages on productivity and economic stability and set out to curb trade union power. Through the 'Trade Unions and Trade Disputes (Amendment) Act of January 1965', UNIP sought to influence and weaken union structures. The 1965 Act led to the founding of ZCTU to replace the late-colonial United Trade Union Congress (UTUC).[431] The post-colonial state's attempts to control the labour movement resembled similar moves in post-colonial Tanzania, where the formerly active domestic workers' labour movement was increasingly silenced by the incorporation of all trade unions into the state-controlled National Union of Tanganyika Workers.[432] State attempts to curb union power intensified during the late 1960s with the nationalisation of key industries, including the copper mines.[433]

By the early 1970s, the activities of trade union members were increasingly constrained by the strengthening of state control through ZCTU and the gradual closing down of political space. During 1971 and 1972 UNIP ruthlessly suppressed its political opponents, detaining members of the United Progressive Party (UPP) who had received considerable support from workers on the Copperbelt.[434] After Zambia became a one-party state in 1972, expressing criticism of state policy, on labour or otherwise, became increasingly difficult. Workers continued to organize and to pursue their grievances, though commonly outside of formal union channels.[435]

During the 1970s there were however further attempts to establish a trade union or worker association for domestic workers. In 1973, for example, a group of workers formed the National Domestic Houseservants' Association of Zambia (NDHAZ). The association campaigned for higher wages, better working and living conditions, and

[431] Larmer, *Mineworkers in Zambia*, p. 63.
[432] Bujra, *Serving Class*, pp. 164-165.
[433] Larmer, *Mineworkers in Zambia*, pp. 83-85.
[434] Larmer, *Rethinking African Politics*, pp. 78-80.
[435] Larmer, *Mineworkers in Zambia*, pp. 110-114.

for all employers to register their workers with the ZNPF.[436] Despite its claims to be a national body, NDHAZ was grounded solely in the activities of domestic workers in Lusaka. Hansen's research suggests that although the NDHAZ continued to operate until 1979, it failed to build a broad following or to establish a sound structural base, collapsing after its leader left the organization. The failure of NDHAZ to establish a substantial presence was further demonstrated in interviews conducted by Hansen in 1983, with neither domestic workers nor ZCTU officials aware of its activities.[437]

By the 1980s, unofficial industrial action on the Copperbelt continued and often became violent, as workers rejected the deterioration of living conditions, increased prices and shortages of basic commodities that resulted from economic decline and structural adjustment.[438] At that time the labour movement also played a key role in campaigning for the reintroduction of multi-party politics to Zambia. Indeed, it was the Chairman of the ZCTU, Frederick Chiluba, who first called for Zambia to reinstate multi-party elections in December 1989.[439] Between 1989 and 1991, the labour movement joined with other advocates of democracy and civil liberties to form a movement for democratic reforms in Zambia. In 1991 the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD) was formally established as a political party, with Chiluba as its elected leader. The actors campaigning for multi-partyism were certainly reacting to the increasingly repressive policies and economic failures of the Kaunda government, but they were also likely inspired by general shifts in global politics, notably the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the collapse of one-party communist states in Eastern Europe.

Though the MMD government came to power with the support of the trade unions and owed much of its support to labour movement activists and workers, over the course of the 1990s the Zambian labour movement was severely weakened by the economic and political policies of the MMD. Once elected, MMD pursued a shift to a free-market economy as had been set out in their party manifesto. In line with this policy stance and to meet the demands of international donors, the Chiluba government pursued more extensive and aggressive economic liberalisation than UNIP had attempted during the 1980s. Though they aimed to revitalise the

[436] As discussed in Hansen, *Distant Companions*, p. 286.
[437] Ibid, p. 287.
[438] Larmer, *Mineworkers in Zambia*, pp. 5-6.
[439] Ibid, p. 55.

devastated Zambian economy, these policies led to further losses in industrial and public sector employment and a continued decline in urban and rural living standards.[440] Trade union membership and revenue declined substantially because of formal sector job losses. This undermined both the demographic and financial base of the labour movement. Throughout the 1990s both the influence and membership of trade unions continued to decline.

Despite the declining power of formal labour politics during the late 1990s, a new organization for domestic workers emerged at that time. In 1998 a small group of activists formed an association for domestic workers in Lusaka. Joyce Phiri of U-ZCTU described her experience of helping to form this association. After she was widowed in 1997 Phiri went to live with her relatives on a farm in Ibex Hill, to the east of Lusaka city centre. Several months after moving to the farm, Phiri met Edward Chitalu, a retired engineer who had entered domestic service to earn money following his retirement. Phiri worked with Chitalu to form an association for domestic workers. The association sought to 'educate' domestic workers and to help them to pursue grievances against their employers. In November 2000, this body was officially recognised by the Ministry of Labour as a trade union, the United House and Domestic Workers Union of Zambia (UHDWUZ). In subsequent elections for union official posts, Chitalu was elected UHDWUZ President and Phiri became Deputy General Secretary (Finance).[441] It is worth noting that Phiri herself did not have a background in domestic service; she had been previously employed as an accounts assistant and recalled that she used this background in finance to support the work of the union.[442]

UHDWUZ established a written constitution that set out the union's objectives and organizational structure. According to this document, UHDWUZ sought to organize domestic workers, campaign on their behalf for better wages and working conditions, and put pressure on the state to introduce legislative change in the interest of its members. Members were to be issued with membership cards in exchange for a

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[440] Further discussion of the economic situation in rural and urban Zambia during the 1980s and international and local responses to this can be found in Pottier, *Migrants No More*, p. 1-4, pp. 10-18; Ferguson, *Expectations of Modernity*, pp. 6-11; Larmer, *Mineworkers in Zambia*, pp. 173-175; Larmer, 'Reaction and Resistance to Neoliberalism in Zambia', pp. 30-32; Gould, *Left Behind*, p. 2-4.
[441] Papers of the United House and Domestic Workers Union of Zambia (UHDWUZ), letter from P. Simfukwe, Principal Labour Officer of Lusaka, to the Ministry of Labour, 25 February 2002.
[442] Interview with Joyce Phiri, Lusaka, 11 July 2013.

registration fee, a monthly membership fee and an annual renewal fee.[443] Phiri recalls that the bulk of the union's work in the early 2000s involved going door-to-door in different areas of Lusaka to inform domestic workers about the union, to 'educate' these workers and if possible recruit them as members. It is difficult to establish the number of members the union attracted at that time; Phiri herself was vague about the issue and did not seem to have access to documentary records for this period of the union's history.

Phiri acknowledged that many domestic workers had been unable to pay their membership fees and that the union therefore struggled to build a sound financial base. The union could only afford to pay officials on a sporadic basis and so struggled to employ additional staff to recruit new members and expand its membership.[444] Despite financial constraints, Chitalu, Phiri and their colleagues clearly had ambitious plans for the union's future. The UHDWUZ constitution, for example, set out proposals to hold a conference every four years to bring together branch leaders from across the country and establish new goals for the union's development and expansion.[445] By the 2010s UHDWUZ's activities remained restricted to Lusaka, though Phiri suggested that the union had tried to expand to Kabwe, the Copperbelt and Southern Province.[446]

In the mid-2000s UHDWUZ went through a period of crisis that resulted in a split into two rival organizations. The precise details of the split are difficult to establish but interviews with the leaders of both unions provide some insight into what happened. It appears that in 2005 or 2006 Chitalu was accused by several union members of corruption and was suspended from UHDWUZ. Kevin Liywalii, then a UHDWUZ official, investigated the claims. Liywalli stated that he and several other officials decided to break with Chitalu and Phiri to end the 'confusion' and make a fresh start for UHDWUZ. Liywalii became the President of the breakaway organization, U-FFTUZ.[447] Phiri became Acting President of U-ZCTU after Chitalu retired. Phiri was reluctant to discuss this period of the union's history but denied that Chitalu had engaged in corrupt practices. She instead argued that Liywalii and the members of U-FFTUZ had left UHDWUZ because they wanted to usurp control. Phiri also argued

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[443] UHDWUZ papers, 'Constitution of the United House and Domestic Workers Union of Zambia', November 2000.
[444] Interview with Joyce Phiri, Lusaka, 11 July 2013.
[445] UHDWUZ papers, 'Constitution of the United House and Domestic Workers Union of Zambia'.
[446] Interview with Joyce Phiri, Lusaka, 11 July 2013.
[447] Interview with Kevin Liywalii, Lusaka, 27 August 2014.

that Liywalli and his colleagues stole various UHDWUZ records, including the original certificate of registration that the organisation had received from the state.[448]

Both U-ZCTU and U-FFTUZ remain operational only in Lusaka - despite earlier ambitions neither has managed to establish a branch outside of the capital - and have been involved with the recent government and international interventions into the domestic service sector. Liywalii's U-FFTUZ appears to be the more active of the two unions. It has a permanent office in the FFTUZ headquarters in central Lusaka and employs several staff members on a full-time, salaried basis, including Liywalii. Though Liywalii did not state the precise number of employees, he stressed that all members of the U-FFTUZ executive are former domestic workers; Liywalii for example was employed as a gardener and caretaker when he joined UHDWUZ in 1998. Liywalii criticised U-ZCTU for failing to ensure the same; as noted above Phiri herself has never been employed in domestic service.[449] U-FFTUZ keeps extensive records including membership lists and a logbook of disputes between members and their employers. These records suggest that membership at the time of research (mid-2014) stood at 2,200 people, with 1,377 female and 845 male members.[450] Liywalii noted that collecting monthly subscriptions is a major challenge due to the low wages that most domestic workers receive.[451] The union thus depends heavily on the funding of donors such as the ILO, as will be discussed in further detail below.

In comparison with U-FFTUZ, U-ZCTU appeared to be far less active. U-ZCTU seems to have a smaller membership base and fewer active union officials than U-FFTUZ. Phiri estimated that U-ZCTU had approximately 3,500 registered members in mid-2013, of whom approximately sixty per cent were female. This membership figure is questionable however, given the financial and organizational capacity of U-ZCTU and the lack of supporting documentary evidence. Phiri suggested that U-ZCTU employed ten staff, six in the Executive and four clerks. But she only provided the name and contact details of one of these union officials, Provincial Secretary Mwanza Matthews, whom I accompanied on a recruitment drive in the Northmead area of Lusaka in September 2014. Phiri admitted to working on a voluntary basis,

[448] Interview with Joyce Phiri, Lusaka, 11 July 2013.
[449] Interview with Kevin Liywalii, Lusaka, 27 August 2014.
[450] Interview with Martha Kasaro, Deputy General Secretary U-FFTUZ, Lusaka, 27 August 2014.
[451] U-FFTUZ members pay a K15 joining fee and a K10 monthly membership fee. In addition, members must pay an annual fee of K8 to renew their membership.

earning her living instead through her employment as a secretary for a small local moneylending firm. U-ZCTU has no permanent office and Phiri holds meetings with U-ZCTU members at the office of her employer.[452]

The ways in which U-ZCTU and U-FFTUZ have engaged with domestic workers and employers differs. Both unions have pursued door-to-door recruitment initiatives throughout the city and have also helped individual domestic workers to pursue disputes with their employers. U-FFTUZ has kept fairly extensive records of disputes, recording the parties involved in each case and the outcome. Though U-ZCTU has not kept precise records of such cases, it does hold sporadic documentary accounts of disputes, particularly arising as a result of unfair dismissal and non-payment of wages. Both U-ZCTU and U-FFTUZ claimed to follow a strict line of procedure in dealing with disputes, issuing written letters to employers and organizing mediation between the various parties to settle disputes. In a minority of cases for both unions mediation led to a judicial case.

As membership organizations, both unions arguably have a responsibility to not only engage with their members but to develop strategies that reflect their members' wants and needs vis-à-vis working conditions, pay, and other grievances. However, both unions appear to have small membership bases in comparison with the large number of domestic workers currently employed in Lusaka. Furthermore, despite their engagement with domestic workers in helping to resolve disputes with employers, the extent to which members have helped to shape the objectives of UHDWUZ, and later U-ZCTU and U-FFTUZ, is subject to debate. Due to their lack of capital and low staffing levels, neither union communicates with its existing members in a systematic or regular way; this was particularly the case for U-ZCTU. Given these practical constraints, the extent to which either union is actually *representative* of either their members, or domestic workers as a whole, is questionable. Moreover, although the executive of U-FFTUZ are all former domestic workers and can thus draw on their own experiences of domestic employment, neither Phiri nor Matthews were employed in service before becoming union officials.

A further issue to bear in mind when considering the accountability of either union executive to their members is the issue of funding. Both unions have struggled to

[452] Interview with Joyce Phiri, Lusaka, 13 June 2014.

maintain an adequate income through membership subscriptions. Though U-ZCTU does not appear to have successfully attracted outside funding, U-FFTUZ has received significant financial support from the ILO and UN agencies through participation in various development projects. In 2011, for example, U-FFTUZ successfully bid to become the local implementing agency for an ILO and United Nations project on human trafficking, securing funding of c. K123,019 (US$10,925).[453] It is important to question how far the aims of such projects were determined by these international institutions rather than by domestic workers themselves. The findings of this research suggest that trafficking was not a major concern of domestic workers whose complaints to the union focussed instead on working conditions and wages. Despite the involvement of U-FFTUZ, as the 'voice' of local domestic workers, and the good intentions of local ILO staff, it seems that such projects were not developed to reflect the specific demands of local domestic workers. The issue of funding thus further highlights the limited accountability of U-FFTUZ to its members in its relations with a major donor such as the ILO.

In contrast to their limited systematic engagement with domestic workers, both U-ZCTU and U-FFTUZ have sought to forge close working relationships with international organizations, particularly the ILO. Both unions have participated in various ILO 'capacity-building' workshops. U-FFTUZ has also worked with the ILO on several development projects, like the 2011 anti-trafficking project noted above and more recent campaigns promoting the ILO 'Decent Work for Domestic Workers' agenda. In doing so U-FFTUZ has managed to gain access to resources that were out of reach both to its predecessors and many other local worker organizations, including U-ZCTU. For its part U-ZCTU has sought to promote the ILO's work by organizing events in Lusaka. In June 2014, for example, Phiri tried to organize an exhibition at the Lusaka Museum to commemorate the first anniversary of the passing of ILO Convention 189.[454] However these plans did not come to fruition and in the end only a small commemorative march took place on the back streets near Phiri's place of work. Phiri seemed to want to create an image of success to attract future support, and had asked a young man from a neighbouring office to take promotional photographs to be distributed to potential donors including the ILO. This outward-looking focus

[453] Interview with Kevin Liywalii, Lusaka, 27 August 2014.
[454] Interview with Joyce Phiri, Lusaka, 13 June 2014.

contrasted markedly with the realities of the situation, as a dozen U-ZCTU members sang to themselves along empty backstreets rather than to any public audience.[455]

Both unions have also engaged with the Zambian government in various ways over time, though seemingly in a less direct way than with the ILO. Before UHDWUZ was officially registered, Chitalu and Phiri worked with representatives of the Ministry of Labour to fulfil the requirements necessary to gain full union status.[456] More recently, U-ZCTU and U-FFTUZ have been involved in consultations with the Ministry of Labour and other state officials in relation to the introduction of protective legislation and minimum wage regulations for domestic workers. However, much of this recent interaction between the unions and government officials appears to have been facilitated by the ILO.[457]

Perhaps the most direct and sustained form of contact between the unions and the Zambian state has been through the judicial system. Since its foundation UHDWUZ has helped domestic workers to pursue their grievances through the Industrial Relations Court (IRC). U-FFTUZ General Secretary Oscar Cheupe explained that while most cases were settled with employers through informal negotiation, a small number of cases had to be pursued through the IRC.[458] The capacity for the unions to use the judicial system has been strengthened in recent years because of the passage in 2011 of protective legislation for domestic workers. Judge Musona of the IRC suggested that the legislation has bolstered the legal position of domestic workers. Musona noted for example that the recent legislation has enabled union officials, like Cheupe, to make specific references to infractions of conditions of employment such as unfair dismissal and non-payment of wages. Musona noted that although he does not often preside over cases involving domestic workers, he has on several occasions ordered employers to make payments to domestic workers in line with the new labour laws.[459]

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[455] The outward-looking approach of the unions can be understood as an example of 'extraversion' as defined and discussed by Jean-Francois Bayart. See Bayart, *The State in Africa*, pp. 20-32.
[456] Interview with Joyce Phiri, Lusaka, 13 June 2014.
[457] For example, in February 2014 I attended a meeting organised by the ILO to discuss the implications of its recent survey on domestic service in Zambia and invited representatives from various government departments, U-ZCTU, U-FFTUZ, ZCTU, FFTUZ, the Zambian Federation of Employers (ZFE) and the managers of several maid centres.
[458] Interview with Oscar Cheupe, General Secretary, Lusaka, 27 August 2014.
[459] Interview with Judge Musona, Lusaka, 1 September 2014.

In the coming years, both U-ZCTU and U-FFTUZ will need to address the challenge of how to remain 'relevant' now that the government has introduced protective legislation. As Shireen Ally has illustrated in the South African context, the extension of full democratic and legal rights to domestic workers can have negative consequences for the labour movement. In South Africa, domestic workers had, despite severe legal restrictions, organized into various associations and trade unions from the late nineteenth century onwards.[460] During the transition to democracy in 1994 domestic workers participated in public marches to demand that their rights as workers be reflected in the laws of the post-apartheid state. In 1996 the South African Domestic Workers Union (SADWU) was finally legalised and the government introduced extensive protective legislation for domestic workers. Yet in this context of increasing rights for domestic workers, the union itself unravelled.[461]

It is important to question why the organized labour movement for domestic workers would decline in a context of more open political space. In South Africa, as in Zambia, the trade union for domestic workers was certainly hindered by internal divisions. But rather than being the result of such internal tensions, Ally sees the decline of SADWU after the transition to democracy as the outcome of the state's efforts to 'empower' domestic workers. In South Africa, the democratic transition and the introduction of legal protection for domestic workers entailed a fundamental revision of the relationship between domestic workers, the labour movement and the state. The state directly and indirectly usurped the role of the union, casting itself as the representative voice of domestic workers' interests. The state introduced reforms either without consulting SADWU, or after consultations in which organized labour was framed as a recipient of state support and empowerment.[462] The decline of SADWU also likely reflected a perception among domestic workers that that there was less need for a union after the changes were introduced. Both this and the increased role of the state have clear implications for the Zambian context as the labour movement for domestic workers was in a much less strong position than SADWU when the new legislation was introduced.

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[460] Ally, *From Servants to Workers*, pp. 148-150. See also Van Onselen, *Studies in the Economic and Social History of the Witwatersrand*, pp. 54-60.
[461] Ally, *From Servants to Workers*, pp. 154-155.
[462] Ibid, p. 147.

Though neither U-ZCTU nor U-FFTUZ has ever achieved the organizational capacity or influence of SADWU, it is clear that both Zambian unions will need to come up with ways to remain relevant to their members now that the government has stepped in to provide a 'voice' for domestic workers and has introduced, in law at least, many of the reforms that the union built its organizational aims around. The unions can however play a role in monitoring the implementation of the new laws, as will be discussed in further detail below. Organized labour can also play a key role in expanding areas of the new legislation that remain inadequate. Maternity protection is a particularly significant issue. The current legislation provides decidedly limited support for new mothers. At present women are entitled to take 120 days' maternity leave but only after two years' continuous service and without pay.[463] By pressuring the government to expand social protection measures such as maternity leave and by monitoring the implementation of the new legislation, the unions may be able to carve out a unique position for themselves, because at present too few local actors in positions of influence are promoting either agenda.

Worker Solidarity Outside of Formal Organizations

A more enduring challenge facing domestic worker organizations like U-FFTUZ and U-ZCTU is that the clear majority of domestic workers have been either unaware of the existence of a trade union for domestic workers, and/or have preferred to pursue their grievances outside of formal channels. This was in part the result of the highly sporadic nature of the formal unionisation of domestic workers, as outlined above. But it also reflects the highly personalised and non-institutional nature of labour relations between domestic workers and their employers and the capacity for domestic workers to pursue alternative means of individual and collective resistance against exploitative labour relations.

Rebecca Ginsburg's observations about such resistance among South African domestic workers are useful for considering informal methods of worker organization. Ginsburg argues that because domestic workers often juggled multiple interests and priorities, particularly if they were the sole provider for relatives and other dependents, they had to carefully consider how to respond to the inequalities and injustices they faced at work. Ginsburg argues that the responsibilities domestic workers managed commonly

[463] Government of Zambia, 'Statutory Instrument No. 3 of 2011'.

limited their capacity to engage in *explicit* resistance to exploitation or even to open formal negotiations with their employers. But, in Ginsburg's study, this did not mean that domestic workers passively accepted conditions and practices that they found to be objectionable.[464]

As was illustrated in Chapter Two, rather than engage in explicit confrontation with employers or seek to establish formal worker organizations, most of my interviewees have similarly pursued informal, *ad hoc* solutions to their grievances. Some workers actively cultivated the gendered and generational ties of kinship to secure the support of a patron and improve their working conditions, even if that meant enduring a degree of exploitation. Grace Musonda, for example, endured five years of low pay and long working hours in order to earn the money she needed to pay for her education.[465] Other interviewees refused to submit themselves to the inequalities enforced by their employers and pursued individual strategies of resistance, such as leaving a position without giving notice. Though some workers chose not to give notice because of fear of potential deterioration of conditions in the final few weeks of service, many likely saw this as a means to 'pay back' an employer for mistreatment by leaving her without a domestic worker at short notice. Such strategies of resistance could also lead to collective action, as men and women helped fellow workers to find alternative employment. These varied actions illustrate how domestic workers have endeavoured, even if not explicitly, to shape their working conditions.

Some domestic workers did pursue resistance through collective organization, though this was often informal and highly localised. As we saw in Chapter Two, relations of solidarity have developed between domestic workers in response to the inequalities of domestic service. Those narratives revealed how domestic workers have offered each other material and moral support, helping each other to access food and resources and sharing information and gossip about their employers and other residents. When domestic workers wanted to quit a job, many discussed their options with fellow workers and sought advice about potential openings. Such relations of solidarity were clearly distinct from the conventional notions of 'class consciousness' described in much of the labour historiography.[466] But they nonetheless suggest that domestic

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[464] Ginsburg, *At Home With Apartheid*, p. 24.
[465] Interview with Grace Musonda, Lusaka, 13 February 2014.
[466] This conceptualisation of consciousness is of course associated with the work of E. P. Thompson. See Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, pp. 9-10. Though this older definition has been

workers were far from atomised and often had a clear sense of common purpose and identity as an exploited group of workers. Ally's study of domestic workers in South Africa similarly suggests the need to broaden our understanding of worker solidarity beyond formal organizations in order to fully understand how domestic workers have participated in collective mobilisation.[467]

Relations of solidarity among Lusaka's domestic workers also provided a space to discuss broader inequalities. Interviews with individual domestic workers demonstrate that these workers were and are highly cognisant of the unequal structures of class, gender and status that shaped both their working conditions and the broader urban social structure. Furthermore, by observing the interactions of domestic workers around the worksite I became aware of the extent to which domestic workers use this space to debate and discuss issues of inequality and the position of poorer Zambians in relation to wealthier residents of the city. These discussions covered both personal experience and more general observations about the structural inequalities that shape Zambian society.

Government Interventions in Domestic Service

Since the 1990s various governments around the world have intervened in domestic service, introducing legislation and promoting market-orientated models of domestic service. The Zambian government recently joined in such efforts and between 2011 and 2012 pursued the most extensive intervention into domestic service seen in the post-colonial period. But why did the Zambian government decide to intervene in domestic service? After all, although the post-colonial state had pursued extensive interventionist policies into the economy and labour relations after it came to power, such interventions had, by and large, completely ignored the domestic service sector. The recent legal changes have also come at a time when state intervention in the wider economy has markedly diminished in comparison with earlier decades, in line with broader efforts towards liberalisation. This section locates the Zambian state's

critiqued in subsequent studies of class, the focus on formal labour politics has remained a prominent theme in African and broader labour history.

[467] Ally, *From Servants to Workers*, pp. 164–167. On the formation of informal worker organizations by domestic workers see also Bozzoli, *Women of Phokeng*, pp. 100-101; Ray and Qayum, *Cultures of Servitude*, pp. 196-198.

recent intervention in domestic service within both the local and regional context and in relation to broader international efforts to promote domestic worker rights.

The Colonial State and Domestic Service

Various forms of direct and indirect intervention shaped domestic service under colonial rule. First, as was discussed in Chapter One, relations between domestic workers and employers were regulated through Masters and Servants legislation. This legislation applied to the employment of all African workers by Europeans, including domestic workers, and stipulated that European employers had to pay a cash wage and provide housing, food and medical care to their employees.[468] This punitive legislation was part of the colonial state's broader efforts to both regulate interactions between Europeans and Africans and enforce order and discipline in colonial society.

Secondly, and clearly tied to the state's interest in legislating on the employment of African workers, the state monitored the domestic service sector. Colonial labour officers recorded the number of 'domestic servants' and employers in their monthly and annual reports. These reports commented on average wages and the division of domestic service into particular types of employment, ranging from cooks to housemaids and garden boys. As was discussed in Chapter Two, during the late colonial period, these reports also included a breakdown of employment figures by gender and, to a lesser extent, by age. As Bujra has suggested for colonial Tanganyika, the Northern Rhodesian colonial state's efforts to monitor domestic service were likely motivated by a desire to maintain order in urban areas by ensuring that employers adhered to Master and Servant legislation and that African workers were properly located within the urban economy.[469] The state feared urban African unemployment and wanted to ensure that Africans in town were employed.

The colonial state also sought to shape relationships between European employers and their domestic workers through the promotion of particular 'servant management' practices. The state engaged in various projects to provide guidance to new settlers on the management of 'servants'. These interventions into social and domestic life were largely pursued by working with women's organizations or with individual female

[468] See Hansen, *Distant Companions*, pp. 50-51.
[469] Bujra, *Serving Class*, p. 56.

settlers who were held in high esteem.[470] During the late 1940s the colonial state encouraged the WI to develop a pamphlet on household management to advise new settlers on 'proper' servant-keeping practices.[471] This pamphlet was but one source made available to new settlers and to 'old hands' to guide them in their dealings with African workers. This third area of intervention should not be overlooked. Such indirect interventions had long-lasting consequences for labour relations and promoted an idealised model of middle-class, gendered domesticity that continued to influence domestic service throughout the post-colonial period.

Finally, in the midst of decolonization in the early 1960s, the colonial state sought to belatedly reshape the language of domestic service. In February 1961, a circular was sent to all Commissioners of Labour in Northern Rhodesia instructing them to use the term 'garden hands' rather than 'garden boys'. An amended version of the 'Employment Services Manual' was then issued in 1964; the amended manual included the more dramatic shift of language from garden boys to 'garden workers'.[472] However these attempts to alter the language of domestic service failed to produce either an immediate or lasting change. Colonial officials continued to use the terms 'domestic servants', 'housemaid' and 'garden boy', and these survived the transition to independence in October 1964.[473]

The Post-Colonial State and Domestic Service

After independence, the government took an increasingly detached approach to domestic service. The state rarely intervened in the sector in comparison with its colonial predecessor and monitored domestic workers and employers far less closely. From 1971 the government stopped publishing figures for the domestic service sector in its annual labour reports. Though it is not possible to determine exactly why the

[470] See for example the household management manuals written by colonial housewife Emily Bradley; Bradley, *A Household Book for Africa*; Bradley, *A Household Book for Tropical Colonies*; Bradley, *Dearest Priscilla: Letters to the Wife of a Colonial Civil Servant.*
[471] NAZ, MLSS1/9 33, Conditions of Employment in Certain Industries and Services: Domestic Servants, 1944-54, The Federation of Women's Institutes of Northern Rhodesia, 'Hints to Settlers', Lusaka, 1949.
[472] The shift from 'garden boys' to 'garden hands' is suggested in NAZ, MLSS1/19 17, Labour Exchanges and Agencies General, 1961-1964, notice to Employment Exchanges, February 1961; by 1964, the term 'garden workers' was being promoted in NAZ, MLSS1/19 18, Employment Exchange General 1962-1964, Employment Services Manual, August 1964.
[473] This can be seen for example in the monthly reports of labour officers in Lusaka for August and October 1964. NAZ, MLSS1/15 126, Labour Officer Monthly Reports Lusaka, 1963-1965; monthly labour report for Lusaka, August 1964; monthly labour report for Lusaka, October 1964.

state took an increasingly less interventionist approach to the domestic service sector from 1971 onwards, it was at least partly the result of the declining economic fortunes of the Zambian state at that time. Because of dramatic economic decline, various government departments were forced to scale back staffing levels and budgets and domestic service was not a priority for the Ministry of Labour, faced as it was with the considerable challenge of managing widespread labour unrest.

Nevertheless, although the Zambian government did not intervene directly in domestic service for most of the post-colonial period, its inaction arguably shaped the sector indirectly. As Ally has argued, the absence of protective legislation for domestic workers does not mean that the state has not intervened in domestic service relationships.[474] For example, although the UNIP government introduced further protections and minimum wages for various occupational groups during the 1960s and 1970s, it excluded domestic workers from these reforms by its inactivity. Zambian state officials were clearly aware of the scale of domestic service, not least because many elected officials and civil servants would have been employers themselves. The state's failure and unwillingness to extend labour legislation to domestic workers had a significant impact on their experience as both workers and as citizens; not only were domestic workers excluded from labour laws, they were also unable to claim the full range of rights accessible to other Zambian citizens.

For most of the period under study the Zambian government failed to address the gendered inequities within domestic service. This is evidenced for example in the lack of attention paid to domestic service in the records of the UNIP Women's League. UNIP Women's League records for the 1960s and 1970s suggest that domestic labour was occasionally discussed in relation to members' own domestic responsibilities.[475] But members did not discuss, as part of the formal record at least, the institution of domestic service, either in relation to their employment of domestic workers or the place of domestic workers within broader society. From the mid-1980s onwards there was a limited increase in the attention paid to women's issues in government policy planning, reflecting broader global turns towards the incorporation of women into

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[474] Ally, *From Servants to Workers*, pp. 23-24.

[475] As is evidenced in Women's League external correspondence. See British Library, Endangered Archives Project (EAP) 121/1/2/1b, Papers Relating to Provincial Organisation, Visits and Tours, 1954-1962, letter from Mrs R. W. K. Jere to National Secretariat of African National Congress, February 1960.

decision-making processes at the official level.[476] Such initiatives gathered pace from the mid-1990s and President Chiluba made gender more central to policy-making decisions. Yet although increased attention was paid to gender-based violence, the gendered dimensions of poverty and gendered imbalances in political participation and representation, there was little focus on the gendered inequalities of domestic service.

Zambian gender activists and policymakers were more than likely aware of the exploitative working conditions that many domestic workers faced. But they were either unable or unwilling to pursue this cause. Many of those involved in government policy-making and gender-based activism in Zambia would themselves have employed domestic workers to enable them to work outside of the home. But, as Bujra has suggested, as employers they were perhaps uncomfortable with acknowledging their participation in occupations that reproduced gender and class privilege.[477] Ally similarly highlights that feminists in various contexts have often struggled with the dilemma of participating in an institution that reproduces gendered, class and racial privilege and have thus remained silent on the issue.[478]

It was only during the 2010s that the Zambian state began to intervene explicitly and purposively in the domestic service sector. In 2011, the government passed legislation that introduced minimum wages and extended full employment rights to domestic workers for the first time.[479] According to this legislation, domestic workers were to receive a minimum full-time wage of K250 (US$22.00) per month and a monthly transport allowance of K102 (US$9.09). This legislation also stipulated a set of minimum working conditions, including a maximum forty-eight hour working week, compulsory overtime pay for hours worked more than this limit and severance pay for workers dismissed without notice. Domestic workers were granted leave of no less than two days per month and would receive full pay for sick leave of up to one month. The legislation also required that female domestic workers should be granted 120 days of unpaid maternity leave.[480] Eighteen months later, in July 2012, an amendment to

[476] Government of Zambia, 'National Gender Policy', p. 43.
[477] Bujra, *Serving Class*, p. 5.
[478] Ally, *From Servants to Workers*, p. 4.
[479] Ibid; Government of Zambia, 'Statutory Instrument No. 45 of 2012'.
[480] Government of Zambia, 'Statutory Instrument No. 3 of 2011'.

this legislation increased the minimum wage to K420 (US$37.30) per month.[481] These policy interventions were the most extensive of their kind in Zambian history.

But what prompted the Zambian state to extend legislation to cover domestic workers in 2011 and to further increase the minimum wage level in 2012? These actions need to be understood as arising from a combination of local, regional and international pressures. Locally, it is important to consider both political developments and the influence of trade unions and employer associations. It has been suggested that the MMD government felt under pressure to take a more interventionist approach to reducing poverty in order to counter the pro-poor, populist message of the opposition Patriotic Front. U-FFTUZ officials made this argument particularly strongly. Liywalii for example suggested that the 2011 legislation was an attempt to garner support from among the poorer members of Zambian society in the run up to the 2011 general election.[482] This argument has some merit, though it likely minimises the intentions of Zambian politicians who sought to reform the domestic service sector as part of a broader social justice and/or gender equality agenda. Furthermore, while this legislation may have boosted support for MMD among the poor, it was much less popular among the wealthier classes who would now have to pay their workers according to the government's minimum wage. Indeed, newspaper coverage from 2011 and 2012 suggested considerable discontent towards such legislation among employers.[483]

Liywalii's comment is suggestive of the lack of influence of domestic workers, whether as individuals or through collective organization, in the development of government policy. Although the unions were involved in some meetings with local state and international officials in the run up to the passing of the 2011 legislation, the extent to which the unions' activities had prompted ministers to embark in legislative change was minimal. The involvement of individual domestic workers in the development of this legislation was even more limited. Ally's work on the relationship between the South African state and domestic workers is instructive. Ally suggests that in the

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[481] Government of Zambia, 'Statutory Instrument No. 3 of 2011'; Government of Zambia, 'Statutory Instrument No. 45 of 2012'.
[482] Interview with Kevin Liywalii, Lusaka, 27 August 2014.
[483] Examples of negative coverage of minimum wage legislation for domestic workers includes: K. Chimpinde, 'Govt sets new minimum wage for shopkeepers, domestic workers but ZFE dismisses it as absurd', *The Post*, 12 July 2012; Editor, 'Opposing Minimum Wage', *The Post*, 18 July 2012; K. Chimpinde, 'Propose alternative minimum wage, Shamenda tells ZFE', *The Post*, 20 July 2012.

process of introducing protective legislation for domestic workers during the 1990s and early 2000s, the South African state cast domestic workers in a 'vulnerable' and passive role. Rather than being understood as actors in the labour process, domestic workers thus became the '*subjects* of state policy'.[484] Such an approach to domestic worker rights ignored the capacities of those engaged in the labour process to voice their opinions on the specific reforms that were needed.[485] The findings of this project generally support Ally's arguments. For although the Zambian state arguably sought to 'empower' domestic workers through the introduction of minimum conditions of employment and wages, it did so by constructing domestic workers as victims of exploitation in need of state protection and incapable of shaping the conditions of their work without state intervention.

Alongside these local pressures, regional dynamics also played a role. As was suggested above, the South African government began introducing protective legislation for domestic workers during the 1990s. In 1996 South Africa's existing labour laws were extended to cover domestic workers for the first time and a state agency was established to monitor labour practices in the sector. In 2002 the government introduced a statutory minimum wage and made annual salary increases mandatory. The 2002 legislation also regulated working hours, leave, sick and severance pay, and made formal written contracts compulsory.[486] The South African state's efforts to formalise domestic service had a clear emphasis on professionalization, further illustrated by the development of the Domestic Worker Skills Development Project to provide accredited training to domestic workers. It would be another ten years before Zambia would introduce similar legislation. But it is highly likely that Zambian state officials, particularly those with links to South Africa or a background in trade unionism and social justice campaigning, were influenced, directly or indirectly, by these regional developments. It should be noted that although Zimbabwe had introduced protective legislation for domestic workers in 1981, there were no similar shifts in Zambia, suggesting that although the impact of regional influences should be borne in mind these alone do not explain why Zambia chose to introduce legislation when it did.[487]

[484] Ally, *From Servants to Workers*, p. 12.
[485] Ibid, pp. 14-15.
[486] Ibid, p. 68.
[487] On the introduction of legislation for domestic workers in Zimbabwe see Pape, 'Still Serving the Tea', pp. 389-391.

Alongside local and regional influences, international organizations began to exert pressure on the Zambian government to introduce protective legislation for domestic workers from the mid-2000s. As previously suggested, there was an explosion of interest in domestic service among international organizations and policy advocates during the early 2000s. Much of this interest developed out of their broader interests in gender and childhood. For example, concerns about gender equality and children's rights helped to direct the attention of policymakers and activists towards the employment of children in domestic service and later to the exploitation of domestic workers more broadly. Concerns about forced and coerced migration also played an important role in shaping the interests of these organizations. Many of the studies on domestic service and the resulting policy initiatives that have been promoted by organizations such as the ILO, Save the Children and UNICEF, have focussed on the cross-border migration of domestic workers and the trafficking of women and children.[488]

The ILO has played a particularly prominent role in shaping the international discourse on domestic worker rights and driving forward initiatives to intervene in domestic service. The organization has long recognised domestic service in formal occupational terms and included domestic workers in the 'International Standard Classification of Occupations'. During the 2000s, the ILO pursued a more interventionist approach to domestic service at an international level, leading to the development of the 'Decent Work for Domestic Workers' agenda. This initiative sought to improve the conditions of work for domestic workers worldwide, to end the employment of children in domestic work and to raise awareness of domestic worker rights. This agenda was promoted though various in-country development projects. The ILO's adoption of Convention 189 was an effort to establish international labour standards for domestic workers for the first time.[489] From 2011 the ILO began working with a range of stakeholders in various countries, including national governments, trade unions, workers and employers, to align national labour laws with the international standards set out in Convention 189.

[488] For a discussion of the development of the study of trafficking by international organizations see Hashim and Thorsen, *Child Migration in Africa*, pp. 13-14.
[489] For more on the 'Decent Work for Domestic Workers' initiative see International Labour Organization, 'Domestic Workers'. Accessed at http://www.ilo.org/global/topics/domestic-workers/lang--en/index.htm on 7 February 2016.

The ILO has supported the Zambian government in its efforts to develop and introduce legislation on the rights of domestic workers. Evans Lwanga, National Project Coordinator for the 'Making Decent Work a Reality for Domestic Workers' initiative at the ILO Zambia, noted that the ILO first began working with the government on domestic worker rights in 2009. At that time the ILO was working with the Zambia Federation of Employers (ZFE) to develop a set of guidelines for employers of domestic workers that reflected the ILO 'Decent Work for Domestic Workers' agenda. Lwanga stated that in an effort to develop a coordinated approach towards the promotion of domestic worker rights, the ILO ensured that the ZFE document was also aligned with the government's objectives. In 2013 the ILO worked with the Ministry of Labour and the CSO to measure the extent of domestic service in urban and rural areas of Zambia.[490] This survey was highly significant, not least because it provided important data on an otherwise largely undocumented sector of the post-colonial economy.

It would however be false to attribute the Zambian government's decision to introduce legislation on domestic worker rights entirely to the influence of external actors like the ILO. As was argued above, the government was reacting to a range of local, regional and international pressures. Nevertheless, the ILO's initiatives on domestic workers did likely help to shape both the content and timing of the legislation. The Zambian government passed this law in the same year that the ILO Convention 189 was passed. Furthermore, the Zambian legislation encompassed many of the factors that the ILO had been campaigning for through the 'Decent Work for Domestic Workers' agenda, including the introduction of a minimum wage, guidance on maximum working hours and mandatory leave, and minimum age regulations to prohibit the employment of children in domestic service.

It is difficult to make a definitive assessment of the impact of the 2011 and 2012 legislation on the lives of domestic workers to date, because the law is not yet officially or systematically monitored. However, interviews with domestic workers and employers provide some insight into the extent to which working conditions and labour relations have been affected. Many domestic workers reported that they were now being paid the legal minimum wage. For some interviewees, this had involved an

[490] Interview with Evans Lwanga, National Project Coordinator ILO Zambia, Lusaka, 12 August 2013.

existing employer increasing their wage to meet the new legal requirement. For those who entered employment after the legislation came into force it seemed that employers were aware of the law and sought to comply. As will be explored in further detail below, for those workers and employers who used a maid centre, the minimum wage was a condition of the contract that both parties entered.

Nevertheless, the recent legislation is not without its limitations. First, many workers complained that the minimum wage would lead to a race to the bottom in wages. Several interviewees reported that their employer had reduced their wages after the new minimum wage was introduced. These interviewees felt unable to challenge this reduction in wages for fear of losing their jobs. Other interviewees complained that employers would refuse to pay more than the law demanded. Though this is a common critique of minimum wage legislation, it is important to bear in mind the extent to which formalisation can restrict the capacity of domestic workers to bargain with their employers and shape their own working conditions. This is particularly problematic in domestic service relationships because the power dynamics involved are already often highly asymmetrical and personalised.

Indeed, while the enactment of protective legislation is often seen as a crucial step in the 'emancipation' of domestic workers, one can question the extent to which state intervention in domestic service has actually resulted in the empowerment of domestic workers. The formalisation of domestic service can be interpreted as another means of disciplining domestic workers, ostensibly constraining their capacity to shape the labour process. Many of Ally's interviewees, for example, resented the formalisation of labour relations through mandatory written contracts precisely because it undermined their ability to mobilise the idiosyncrasies of the labour process. [491] As was examined in Chapters Two to Four, many domestic workers in Zambia have used the ambiguities of their employment relations to their advantage, even in limited circumstances.

Many interviewees also criticised the lack of any mechanism to monitor or enforce the new legislation. Given the highly decentralised and widespread nature of the domestic service sector such a task would of course be extremely labour intensive. This mirrors a wider lack of capacity within Zambia to monitor laws protecting formal sector workers. Without a dedicated monitoring mechanism, the Zambian government relies

[491] Ally, *From Servants to Workers*, pp. 13-15.

on employers and domestic workers to comply with the legislation and to report any infractions to the local labour office. But many domestic workers stated that they would not pursue a dispute through official channels because they thought that labour officers were corrupt. Interviewees suggested that labour officers were likely to accept bribes from employers and to give out confidential information in exchange for payments. Without the trust of domestic workers, the limited mechanisms that do exist to enforce the new legislation will undoubtedly not be effective.

Finally, it is important to note that the new legislation has had a limited impact on the welfare of child domestic workers and indeed any workers paid partly in kind. According to the protective legislation for domestic workers passed in 2011 it is illegal to employ anyone under the age of fifteen years in domestic service.[492] The new legislation has thus only extended rights and protection to those of legal age to be employed as domestic workers. But, as has been argued throughout this thesis, children have long been and continue to constitute a significant proportion of those employed in domestic service in Lusaka. Many of these young people are thus in the difficult position of needing and wanting to work but not being eligible to ask for the same conditions of employment as adult workers because they are not covered by labour laws. The illegality of their labour thus renders them invisible and unprotected as workers. It also potentially threatens their future employment, as employers may fear employing workers in illegal arrangements.

Protective legislation is of course a key part of securing rights and protections for domestic workers. But in order for all domestic workers to benefit from the protections of labour law, such legislation must be developed with the active participation of the workers involved. Legislation must recognise and be applicable to the diversity of working arrangements in which men, women and children engage. Without a nuanced and sensitive approach to labour law, the government risks creating a bifurcated labour market, with adults in formal employment able to access rights and protection and children and adults engaged in more informal arrangements, including those between kin, invisible to the state and excluded from protection.

[492] Government of Zambia, 'Statutory Instrument No. 3 of 2011'.

The Rise of Maid Centres

Since the 1990s, so-called 'maid centres' have mushroomed across Lusaka and many of Zambia's urban centres. As employment agencies, maid centres serve a double function, providing employers with access to a ready supply of domestic workers and helping unemployed men and women to find employment. The types of labour relations negotiated through a maid centre involve both employer and domestic worker agreeing to formal, written contracts of employment that specify pay and working hours. Since 2011 these contracts have been drafted to reflect the labour laws on domestic service. The formalised, professional employment relationships that maid centres promote clearly stand in marked contrast to the informal labour relationships that have characterised domestic service for most of the post-colonial period.

There are few studies of maid centres or similar employment agencies for domestic workers, in Africa or in other contexts. The relationship between employment agencies and domestic work has been addressed mostly in studies of the international migration of domestic workers from the 'Global South' to the 'Global North'.[493] There are of course marked differences between the functions and capacities of employment agencies operating in an international context compared with a domestic setting. Perhaps the most significant issue for our purposes is the extent to which international agencies operate within an established legal and operational framework. Though there are certainly many examples of illegal international migration in domestic service facilitated by unregulated recruitment agents, overall there appears to be a much higher degree of regulation and monitoring of international recruitment agencies than domestic ones, particular in the 'Global South'.[494]

Employment agencies for domestic workers that operate within national borders, such as the Zambian maid centres, are of course also subject to national laws and regulations. But the monitoring of such agencies and the enforcement of regulations depends on the capacity and willingness of national state and law enforcement. In

[493] See for example Anderson, *Doing the Dirty Work*, pp. 32-34, pp. 62-66, pp. 71-75.
[494] Anderson describes for example how the French employment agency *Emploi Daubigny* passed on data about its workers and clients to the French national statistics agency; Anderson, *Doing the Dirty Work*, p. 71. For more on the use of employment agencies for international migration see Momsen, 'Maids on the Move: Victim or Victor', p. 5, p. 8.

reality, the Zambian state is unaware of and unable to monitor the activities of most maid centres because of the small, informal nature of most enterprises. The maid centres of Lusaka thus occupy an ambiguous position within the broader domestic service sector. Some are officially registered with the state as employment agencies and have been involved in broader efforts to formalise the sector, whilst others are small operations, often run by a sole entrepreneur working in the informal sector.

Drawing on interviews with the staff of various maid centres in Lusaka as well as with employers and domestic workers who have used centres across the city, this section examines how domestic workers and employers have engaged with maid centres from the 1990s to the present. The section places maid centres into a longer historical trajectory of the role of employment agencies for sourcing domestic workers. It both compares the new maid centres to older forms of employment agencies such as colonial labour exchanges and locates the recent rapid expansion of the maid centre industry within the broader economic context of the 1990s and 2000s.

Colonial Labour Exchanges: 'a kind of domestic service agency'?

Little attention has been paid to the use of labour exchanges to recruit domestic workers in the colonial period. This may reflect the fact that many employers preferred to recruit domestic workers based on personal recommendations rather than through a formal labour exchange. Hansen's study of domestic service in Northern Rhodesia, for example, emphasises that colonial housewives and officials recruited their workers based on personal recommendations of friends and colleagues or trusted African workers. Hansen does later acknowledge however that 'in general, workers with traceable work records were preferred', suggesting that colonial employers might have been open to the more formal recruitment methods offered by the labour exchange if workers with references could not be found through more informal means.[495]

Despite the lack of attention paid to employment agencies in the literature, it seems that European settlers in Northern Rhodesia did associate labour exchanges with the recruitment of domestic workers. An article in the *Central African Post* in 1963 tellingly suggested that the use of labour exchanges had only recently began to

[495] Hansen, *Distant Companions*, p. 64.

broaden out beyond domestic service and that prior to this, European settlers viewed the exchanges as little more than 'a kind of domestic service agency, where they could find a house servant or someone to keep an eye on the children… but very little more'.[496] In terms of the number of settlers using labour exchanges to find domestic workers, a number of exchanges reported receiving a large number of requests for 'domestic servants'. In the early 1960s, for example, the Ndola labour exchange struggled to meet European demands for female 'domestic servants' even though increasing numbers of African women had recently registered at the exchange.[497]

More has been written about the recruitment of domestic workers through labour exchanges in the South African context. There the development of labour exchanges was clearly linked with broader efforts to control the mobility and employment of Africans. Ally, for example, discusses how a labour exchange was established in Cape Town in 1902 as part of broader 'apparatuses of state control over the supply and distribution of paid domestic labour'.[498] Labour exchanges continued to act as a means of monitoring the supply and distribution of domestic workers under apartheid and became part of the broader set of institutions aimed at controlling African migration to urban areas.[499] In the Northern Rhodesian context, labour exchanges were similarly used to monitor the movement and employment of rural-urban migrants, including male and female domestic workers. But control over labour migration was never established to the same extent as in South Africa, despite attempts to restrict rural-urban migration and control urban population growth.

Domestic Service and Employment Agencies in the Post-Colonial Period

Though labour exchanges were popular with some employers in the colonial context, they were not the dominant form of recruitment and it seems that their use declined even further after independence. It is difficult to find data on the numbers of domestic workers employed through labour exchanges during the 1960s and 1970s. But Hansen's study of domestic service in Lusaka in the mid-1980s offers some insight into the unpopularity of this method of recruitment for employers in the decades after

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[496] NAZ, MLSS1/19 18, Employment Exchanges General Sections 1962-1964, 'N.R. Exchanges Find Employment for 4,831', *Central African Post*, 13 September 1963.
[497] NAZ, MLSS1/19 18, Employment Exchanges General Sections 1962-1964, 'Hundreds of Job-Seekers Throng Labour Exchange', *Luntandanya*, 11 August 1962.
[498] Ally, *From Servants to Workers*, p. 31.
[499] Ibid, p. 38.

independence. Hansen found that less than two per cent of her interviewees recruited domestic workers through the government labour exchange. Instead they preferred to recruit domestic workers based on the recommendations of peers or colleagues.[500] As the majority of Hansen's interviewees were of European or other expatriate nationality, this preference for personal recommendations could be interpreted as a continuity of hiring practices among this group of employers from the colonial period onwards. But interviews conducted with black Zambian employers for this research project also highlighted the importance of personal recommendations when deciding to hire a domestic worker.

Figure 3. Advertisement for Beverly Hills Maids Centre. Photograph taken by the author in Woodlands, Lusaka, 6 February 2014.

[500] Hansen, *Distant Companions*, pp. 229-230.

Given the apparently enduring preference of employers across the social spectrum to employ domestic workers based on personal recommendations, why over the last twenty years has there been a substantial increase in the number of employment agencies for domestic workers? It is important to consider broader economic and political factors and the changing circumstances of individual employers. In part, maid centres appear to have grown out of the increased marketization of the Zambian economy from the 1990s onwards. As was discussed previously, the MMD government instituted a wave of policies to liberalise the economy from the early 1990s. These policies introduced increasingly market-based approaches to public services and formerly nationalised industries.[501] Many of these policies were driven by the demands of international donors whose economic outlook favoured an individualistic and free-market approach to the economy. Maid centres likewise sought to establish a market-based approach to labour relations. The maid centre approach to domestic service has entailed a high level of depersonalisation, as informal and verbal labour arrangements were replaced by a formal, 'client-employee' model of contractual employment.

The findings discussed in the rest of this section are based on interviews conducted at five maid centres in Lusaka. Interviews were conducted with staff of each centre and with domestic workers who registered at three out of five of them. The first maid centre I visited, Thornton Corporate Associates, was located in the city centre on a side street of Cairo Road. Pamwi Maid Centre was run from a private primary school in Woodlands, while Beverly Hills Maids Centre in nearby Chalala operated exclusively as an employment agency. The fourth and fifth maid centres that I encountered were in Kabulonga; one was operated by a Pentecostal church, the Abundant Life Fellowship, and the other was a private enterprise called Aunty Veronica's Maid Centre. As is suggested by this brief description, the maid centres discussed below can best be characterised as diverse in terms of scale, location and business model.

Interviews with maid centre staff and users reveal the perceived benefits of using this service for both employers and domestic workers. For employers, maid centres offer an

[501] See Ferguson, *Expectations of Modernity*, pp. 6-11; Larmer, 'Reaction and Resistance to Neoliberalism in Zambia', pp. 30-32.

alternative source of labour to the more traditional methods of recruiting labour through kinship or other social networks. It was suggested that some employers have turned away from kin-based labour relations in an effort to exercise more choice over the person they employed. Martha Banda, a staff member at Beverly Hills Maids Centre, explained the process that employers go through when looking for a domestic worker through the centre. She explained that the client can specify the gender, age and level of experience of the domestic worker. Martha then arranges for several workers to be interviewed by the client in her presence. The client pays a 'picking fee' of K150 ($13.32) and then signs a contract of employment with the worker and maid centre.[502] Rather than a family member 'sending' someone from a rural area, maid centres thus enable employers to interview several prospective candidates and make a choice based on their preferences.

Even for employers who preferred to recruit domestic workers through kinship networks, maid centres have increasingly become an alternative source of labour. Interviews suggest that many urban residents have increasingly struggled to find domestic workers from within their family networks. In particular, there was a prevalent discourse in interviews that it has become increasingly difficult to recruit girls 'from the village'. Both Priscilla Njovu and Jane Kafula, for example, suggested that parents in rural areas have become unwilling to let their daughters go to town because they feared that their children might be abused by their employers or other urban residents.[503] Though these narratives likely reflect sincerely held concerns about female children's mobility, they also suggest that anti-trafficking discourses promoted by local and international actors and the local media have influenced the migration practices of rural Zambians. Developments in education have also likely played a role, as increasingly numbers of children in rural areas have gained access to primary education and so are unavailable, likely also unwilling, to take employment in domestic service.

The formality of employment relations arranged through a maid centre also offers employers a range of protections and guarantees that informal hiring practices do not provide. If the employment arrangement fails because the worker fails to uphold her

[502] Interview with Martha Banda, Beverly Hills Maids Centre, Chalala, Lusaka, 6 February 2014.
[503] Interview with Priscilla Njovu, Lusaka, 22 August 2013; interview with Jane Kafula, Lusaka, 10 February 2014.

side of the contract, for example by failing to produce a medical note after a period of sick leave, the employer can return to the centre to find a replacement domestic worker. The employer does not have to pay an additional recruitment fee in such cases. In addition, most maid centres purport to offer only domestic workers who have been vetted and 'trained'. Veronica Tembo, the owner and manager of Aunty Veronica's Maid Centre in Kabulonga, explained that all the domestic workers on her books have been through a strict programme of training. The training for female domestic workers was extensive, covering basic cooking skills, childcare, security awareness, first aid, personal hygiene, dress and manners. This training was also moral, with Veronica taking care to inculcate her trainees with 'Christian values'.[504] The training programme for domestic workers at the Abundant Life Fellowship similarly emphasised morality and Christian values.[505] Significantly, this moralistic discourse replicates much of the discourse of the colonial period.

For their part, domestic workers appear to have an ambiguous attitude towards the training that maid centres insisted upon. Some workers clearly appreciated the opportunity to develop their skills and employability. Iris, a domestic worker in her mid-thirties, said that she appreciated the training she had received from Beverly Hills Maids Centre because she thought it made her more attractive to employers.[506] But other workers begrudged having to undergo full-time training, sometimes for several months, before they could interview for domestic service positions. Some interviewees complained that they did not learn new skills because they already had many years of experience in domestic service. Others resented being forced to undertake what often amounted to unpaid labour. At Pamwi Maid Centre in Woodlands, for example, the training that domestic workers received involved them cleaning the primary school that was run by the owners of the maid centre. The workers involved received no payment for doing so.[507] This arrangement seems to have been an effective means for the managers of Pamwi to 'train' their domestic workers while keeping down their overheads.

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[504] Interview with Veronica Tembo, Aunty Veronica's Maid Centre, Kabulonga, Lusaka, 6 August 2014.
[505] Interview with Patricia Bwalya, Abundant Life Fellowship, Kabulonga, 18 February 2014.
[506] Interview with Iris Tembo, Beverly Hills Maids Centre, Chalala, Lusaka, 6 February 2014.
[507] Interviews with Charity Lavu, Pamwi Maid Centre, Woodlands, Lusaka, 6 February 2014 and 8 February 2014.

Figure 4 Veronica Tembo in her office at Aunty Veronica's Maid Centre in Kabulonga, Lusaka. Photograph taken by the author, 6 August 2014.

There were several reasons that domestic workers registered with a maid centre. Some were attracted to the training and support. Many interviewees hoped that the maid centre would help them to find work after a period of unemployment. Both male and female domestic workers suggested that it has become increasingly difficult to find employment through traditional methods such as going door-to-door. Mr Musonda, an unemployed male domestic worker in his early forties, explained that he had spent months looking for domestic work by going door-to-door before he first visited Beverly Hills Maids Centre in 2014. He had also applied for non-domestic service jobs with both private companies and in several government departments.[508] By registering with a maid centre, unemployed domestic workers like Mr Musonda thus hoped to save the time and travel costs involved in looking for work.

Finding employment through a maid centre also offered domestic workers the option of securing working conditions that reflected the new legislation. All five of the maid

[508] Interview with Mr Musonda, Beverly Hills Maids Centre, Chalala, Lusaka, 6 February 2014.

centres that were visited stipulated that employers must pay their employees at least the national minimum wage and set out clear obligations regarding leave, sickness benefits and dismissal. Finding employment through a maid centre thus offered domestic workers a guaranteed minimum income and forced their employer to agree working hours and other conditions of employment in an explicit written form. If an employer violated the terms of the employment contract, for example by failing to pay the stipulated wage, the worker could return to the maid centre for support. If a dispute with an employer could not be resolved, the contract would be terminated and the maid centre would help the worker to find another position.

Yet although the formalisation of labour relations through written contracts has offered clear benefits to domestic workers, it also has drawbacks. First, given the low levels of education that many domestic workers had received, it is likely that they were unable to fully understand the precise details of the written contract, which was provided only in English. Even if the maid centre staff offered oral translation, many workers would have been at a disadvantage when giving written agreement to the conditions of the employment arrangement. Many workers also reported that they were not provided with a written copy of the employment contract they had signed, making it difficult for them to check the terms of the contract once they had started work. Though the staff of all five maid centres stated that copies of contracts were provided to all parties involved, it seems possible that domestic workers were not provided with the same level of support and information as employers, who were often in a more powerful economic and social position than both the workers and maid centre staff. In addition, it is worth restating the more general critique of formalised contracts discussed above; written contracts may have undermined workers' capacity to informally negotiate pay, terms and conditions with their employers once employment had commenced.

There could also be financial drawbacks to using a maid centre for domestic workers. Like employers, domestic workers had to pay a fee to register with a maid centre. At Thornton Corporate Associates, for example, the registration fee for domestic workers was K150 ($13.32). Unlike employers however, domestic workers did not have to pay this fee upfront; it was instead deducted directly from their first month's wage. At Thornton, employers were contractually obliged to make the first wage payment through the maid centre so that the domestic worker's registration fee could be

deducted.[509] The other maid centres visited practiced similar arrangements. As noted above, domestic workers were also expected to undertake a period of unpaid training in order to qualify for placement with an employer. As this training was often on a full-time basis and lasted for around one to two months, workers 'in training' could not realistically generate income while they waited for a position to become available. For some interviewees, this period of waiting was simply too expensive and resulted in them withdrawing from training to look for piecework in domestic service or elsewhere in the low-income compounds.

Alongside their work with domestic workers and employers, maid centres have engaged with a diverse range of local and international actors. As employment agencies, maid centres should theoretically be registered with the Ministry of Labour and comply with various laws and regulations. Some of the maid centres visited stated that they had official registration while others were more ambiguous and seemed to be operating on an informal basis. Formal registration did not however mean that the state was able or attempted to monitor the activities of maid centre. Beverly Hills Maids Centre has been operational for almost twenty years and is officially registered with the Ministry of Labour. But in her eight months working full-time at the centre, Martha had never encountered any form of communication from state officials.[510] Despite seemingly having little formal interaction with the state, the staff members of several maid centres appeared to see themselves as playing an important role in the protection of domestic worker rights. Veronica, for example, stressed the responsibility she felt in ensuring that domestic workers were protected from exploitation.[511]

The promotion of domestic worker rights by maid centre staff is also suggestive of the ways in which maid centres have approached relationships with international and local worker organizations. The ILO has certainly sought to engage maid centres as part of its broader strategy of promoting domestic worker rights at an institutional level. The ILO invited maid centres to various meetings and workshops as part of its 'Decent Work for Domestic Workers' project and has helped to forge relationships between maid centre staff and local worker organizations. As was illustrated in Figure 1, the

[509] Interview with Betty Zimba, Lusaka, 18 February 2014.
[510] Interview with Martha Banda, Lusaka, 6 February 2014.
[511] Interview with Veronica Tembo, Lusaka, 6 August 2014.

walls of Veronica's office were covered in the ILO posters promoting the 'Decent Work for Domestic Worker's agenda and Convention 189. For their part, U-FFTUZ and U-ZCTU have also pursued relationships with maid centres as part of their efforts to promote domestic worker rights and ensure compliance with the new labour laws.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined how trade unions, the Zambian government, and maid centres have attempted to formalise, professionalise and organize domestic service during the last fifty years. Since the late 1940s there were various sporadic attempts to organize domestic workers and formalise the labour relations of domestic service. The colonial state sought to control labour relations through the Master and Servant legislation and through various interventions into the domestic lives of European settlers. At that time, small groups of domestic workers also sought to organize into associations and trade unions, though most of these early organizations for domestic workers were short-lived and enjoyed only limited success.

The impetus for domestic workers to pursue formal organization must be understood in relation to the broader Zambian labour movement. Labour solidarity enjoyed significant support among large numbers of the Zambian workforce from the late colonial period onwards. Though the post-colonial state did much to dismantle the power of the labour movement, particularly during the 1990s, labour solidarity continued to exert a significant influence on the ways in which Zambian citizens conceptualised the relationship between employers and workers and workers and the state.[512] In the late 1990s the union model was again pursued by a group of activists and domestic workers, leading to the formation of the longest-running trade union for domestic workers in Zambian history, UHDWUZ.

During the 2000s efforts to formalise the domestic service sector gathered pace. Reacting to local, regional and international developments, in 2011 the Zambian government ratified the most extensive legislative intervention into domestic service in Zambian history. Domestic service was covered by minimum wage regulations for

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[512] On the decline of the Zambian labour movement during the 1990s see F. E. Mulenga, 'Fighting for Democracy of the Pocket: The Labour Movement in the Third Republic', in J-B. Gewald, M. Hinfelaar, and G. Macola, *One Zambia, Many Histories: Towards a History of Post-colonial Zambia* (Leiden, 2008), pp. 243-258.

the first time, minimum standards for working conditions were made explicit and domestic workers became entitled to a range of social protections. The ILO sought to support the Zambian state and to boost the capacity of U-ZCTU and U-FFTUZ. In doing so the ILO pursued and promoted it's 'Decent Work for Domestic Workers' agenda. The new legislation made a positive impact on the working conditions of some domestic workers and enabled many men and women to access a guaranteed minimum income for the first time.

The development of maid centres from the early 1990s acted as another formalising influence on labour relations. These businesses developed alongside broader efforts to liberalise the Zambian economy and introduce market-based approaches to both business and labour relations. Though this sector has grown over time, this form of intervention had an uneven impact on hiring practices. Maid centres certainly broadened the spectrum of hiring options available to wealthier Zambian employers, providing an alternative to kinship-based labour relations and other forms of informal recruitment. But, according to the findings of this research and other studies conducted since the 1980s, most hiring has taken place through informal methods and labour relations rooted in kinship have remained the primary source of labour for poorer households.[513]

Although these various interventions have brought about some gains for domestic workers, particularly in relation to the establishment of a minimum set of employment standards, many limitations remain. These result in large part from the failure of both local and international actors to tailor their interventions to the broad and complex nature of the domestic service sector and – linked to this – their failure to engage directly with domestic workers as agents in these interventions. Local trade unions and maid centres, in line with the Zambian government and the ILO, have increasingly framed domestic service as a formal, marketised form of labour relations. But this understanding does not capture the complex, ambiguous relationships in which most domestic workers and employers have engaged, as outlined in preceding chapters. Domestic workers and employers have relied on and continue to cultivate informal labour relations rooted in kinship networks. As has been demonstrated, such practices reflect the ways in which both parties have sought out mutual and unequal

[513] As discussed in Hansen, *Distant Companions*, pp. 229-230; Bond, Chiiya, Chonta, and Clay, 'Sweeping the Bedroom', pp. 17-20; and ILO, 'Draft Report', p. 4.

relations of dependency as a means to survive and manage the inequalities and uncertainties of post-colonial social and economic life.

In addition, all of the interventions discussed above have involved a high degree of generational bias, with child domestic workers effectively excluded and silenced.[514] As the employment of children under the age of fifteen in domestic service is illegal, the recent legislative gains for domestic workers are inaccessible to working children. The trade unions and maid centres too have focussed overwhelmingly on representing adult workers. As was argued in the previous chapter, for their part the ILO and international actors tend to refer to child domestic workers solely in relation to anti-trafficking and projects to combat child labour. Yet by casting children in the role of dependents, each of these actors has ignored the reality that many children depend on employment in domestic service for survival and will continue to seek work as domestic workers regardless of the lack of legal protection.

[514] Hashim and Thorsen, *Child Migration in Africa*, p. 5.

Conclusion

This thesis has explored the history of domestic service in Lusaka. It has rejected a narrow focus on middle-class domesticity and, in doing so, has demonstrated the breadth and diversity of domestic service in the post-colonial context. During the last fifty years, black Zambian households across the socio-economic spectrum have employed domestic workers in a range of labour arrangements. Some employers replicated (while adapting) the formal, contractual model of domestic service that was established and supported under colonial rule. However, this model was largely out of reach for poorer employers and, even for those better off, was not always the preferred form of employment relationship. Labour relations rooted in kinship relations continued to be attractive to employers across the period, with kinship networks providing a crucial source of cheap labour for urban employers in all areas of the city.

Analyses of domestic service in Africa over the last fifty years have largely failed to account for and address the diversity of domestic service, particularly in relation to female workers and the informal arrangements made between kin. By taking a broad view of domestic service and studying the history of kinship-based domestic service arrangements, the importance of women and children's labour is brought logically to the fore. The gendered preferences of urban employers, particularly in relation to rising demand for childcare from the 1970s onwards, led many thousands of women and female children to find employment in domestic service, some migrating across considerable distances to do so. Through their labour, women and girls supported households in both urban and rural communities.

This concluding chapter draws together the arguments outlined in the previous chapters. It first addresses holistically arguments that are developed through the thematic chapters of the thesis, drawing attention to the intersectional nature of post-colonial inequality and to the importance of the labour of women and girls. The chapter then outlines the broader significance of this research for African and global historiography and policy-making on domestic service issues. The chapter ends by addressing the limitations of this project and suggests opportunities for further research on domestic service in Africa, particularly concerning the rural dynamics of female labour migration and the history of children and work.

Post-Colonial Inequality

The history of domestic service offers critical insights into the complex nature of inequality in post-colonial Africa. The racialised social and spatial stratifications of colonial urban spaces were remade in many post-colonial African cities, as wealth-based hierarchies replaced former racial divides. In Lusaka, as elsewhere, the social relations of gender, class, generation and kinship were not made in the abstract but produced and reproduced through interactions between people. The inequalities that shaped domestic service relationships were a microcosm of broader social and spatial stratifications. Domestic service was one of the most significant drivers in bringing together men, women and children from different social positions. There were few other situations, for example, in which a female child from a village in Lusaka Province would find herself living and working with a middle-class family in Woodlands, or an uneducated man from Bauleni would find himself interacting with a university-educated woman in Kabulonga. The findings of this research unmistakably demonstrate that it is not possible to understand how social and economic relations were revised and reproduced in African cities like Lusaka without considering relationships between domestic workers and employers.

Worsening economic security over the post-colonial period led both domestic workers and employers to cultivate relations of dependency. These dependencies were rooted in established social obligations and led to the development of domestic service arrangements that were simultaneously exploitative and affective. Both parties in domestic service relationships were tied to each other and depended on the other for security and survival, even if on unequal terms. Consider Grace Musonda's experience of working long hours, often seven days per week for her employer for very little pay. Grace experienced a high degree of exploitation in terms of the hours she worked and the remuneration she received. Yet she considered her employer to have been 'like a sister' and someone whose 'support' enabled her to complete her education.[515] As was discussed throughout this study, there were many other examples of supportive and even affective ties between workers and employers.

This capacity for domestic workers and employers to engage in and cultivate labour relations that were at once unequal and exploitative *and* affective and supportive is

[515] Interview with Grace Musonda, Lusaka, 13 February 2014.

perhaps the least well-understood aspect of domestic service. This partly reflects existing academic analysis of the topic. As was argued in Chapters Two and Three, researchers of domestic service have commonly dismissed the use of familial or affective language by either domestic workers or employers. They interpreted such language as either a false perception of the relationship by the worker or employer, a form of 'false consciousness', or a tool deliberately used by employers to disguise exploitation.[516] The affective dimension of relationships between domestic workers and their employers has also not been adequately recognised by the various state and non-state actors. The various interventions into domestic service pursued by such actors since the late colonial period clearly demonstrate this lack of understanding.

It is certainly important to question the extent to which the use of kinship terms translates into practice. In certain, and arguably many, employment relationships 'fictive kinship' may well have been used as a gloss for exploitation. Grace's experience clearly illustrated that affective ties didn't necessarily limit the exploitative nature of domestic service arrangements. Yet the narratives of domestic workers and employers reported and analysed in this thesis suggest that it is also vital to recognise and take seriously the possibility that forms of affection did develop, notwithstanding the myriad inequalities that distanced worker from employer and the very real exploitation that domestic workers experienced. Despite the seeming contradictions, exploitative and affective relations could co-exist in domestic service relationships, just as they can in familial and social relationships.

The Underestimated Importance of Female Domestic Workers

By considering the history of domestic service arrangements across the socio-economic spectrum and both kinship-based labour relations and more formal contractual employment, it becomes clear that women and female children have formed a larger proportion of domestic workers in Lusaka than has hitherto been acknowledged. This study shows that increasing numbers of female adults and children entered domestic service after independence as a result of a confluence of factors, including changing dynamics in the supply of and demand for domestic labour and reactions to increased economic inequality and hardship.

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[516] See for example Bozzoli, *Women of Phokeng*, pp. 102-104; and S. Todd, *The People: The Rise and Fall of the Working Class, 1910-2010* (London, 2014), p. 29.

Female labour-force participation increased across society from the 1960s onwards. Yet even as increasing numbers of women gained access to education and employment opportunities, particularly from the late 1960s to late 1970s, domestic labour remained gendered as a female responsibility. In order to work outside of the home, thousands of women, including domestic workers themselves, had to find a 'substitute' to care for their children and take care of domestic tasks, leading to an increased demand for domestic workers.[517] The need for childcare was particularly significant in generating demand for female domestic workers as a result of enduring gender stereotypes surrounding the care of children.

Hansen's insights into the gendered dynamics of domestic service, particularly the dominance of male workers into the 1980s, remain useful and indeed reflect the demands of many employers seeking to employ domestic workers in formal, contractual arrangements. However, when it came to employment through less formal mechanisms and for childcare, employers overwhelmingly sought out female labour and often female kin. Female employers mobilised their social networks to 'bring' women and female children into their homes from across Lusaka and indeed across Zambia. As was demonstrated in Chapter Four, this generated an immense demand for female migrant domestic workers, and in the process provided a means for women and girls in rural areas to migrate to the city.

The ways in which Zambian women and girls' economic roles, and broader gender relations, have shifted during the last fifty years cannot be understood without appreciating the neglected history of domestic service. For employers, the need to find a 'substitute' to take care of their domestic responsibilities meant that female emancipation was often predicated on securing the labour of another. For workers, selling domestic and care labour provided one of the only mechanisms through which a woman or child could support herself and her family. This was true for domestic workers who commuted within Lusaka, for those who 'lived in' and for those who migrated across long distances to sell their labour. As will be discussed below, these findings about the relationship between domestic service and broader changes within

[517] The difficulty for women of managing both domestic labour and paid employment outside of the home was of course not unique to Zambia and has been observed in contexts around the world. See for example De Souza, 'Paid Domestic Service in Brazil', pp. 52-54; Anderson, *Doing the Dirty Work*, p. 16; Gill, *Precarious Dependencies*, p. 6.

gender relations suggest the need for historians everywhere to consider the role of domestic service in shaping the gender relations they study.

The Broader Significance of this Research

This thesis has purposively drawn on a broad body of scholarship and its findings are relevant to the study of labour, gender and age in Africa. This research was particularly inspired by feminist approaches to the history of African urban communities and work. In line with this body of scholarship, the study has drawn attention to the important contributions that women have made to the survival of urban households and to the significance of female workers and labour migrants to the broader economy. However, it has also sought to go beyond the existing literature on gender and work, highlighting in particular the lack of attention paid to intersections of gender and age.

In post-colonial Zambia, most women and children were excluded, by law or custom, from formal sector employment and so pursued employment in less well-understood areas of the economy such as domestic service. This gendered occupational exclusion was of course not unique to Zambia. Yet we still know too little about the working lives of women and girls in urban areas, particularly those who pursued informal employment. The findings of this research thus make an important contribution to the literature, providing insights into the working and living conditions of female adult and child domestic workers.

The individual experiences of women and girls were analysed in relation to broader changes in gender relations in post-colonial society. In Zambia, as elsewhere, many female employers depended upon securing the labour of others to enable them to work outside of the home, earn money and access crucial resources. For many women, employment was a crucial element of attaining autonomy, control and security. In this sense employment had the potential to balance or partly compensate for asymmetrical gender relations by providing women with a source of income and security separate from their husbands or male relations. But employment was also about supporting family economies and working together with one's husband and male relatives to ensure household survival in a declining economy. These findings suggest the need for future research on gender in Africa to consider domestic service, in its myriad forms.

Domestic service, by both enabling women to work outside of the home and offering a source of employment in a context of retrenchment and economic decline, clearly underpinned and shaped broader changes in gender relations and female empowerment.

The findings of this study also have an important relevance beyond the academy, specifically in relation to development projects targeting the domestic service sector. As was discussed in Chapters One and Five, there has been a significant increase in the attention paid to domestic worker rights by international development organizations and human rights groups since the 1990s. These campaigns have largely centred on a critique of poor working conditions and low wages and have often presented domestic workers as the powerless victims of exploitative employers. It is not the intention of this thesis to dispute that many men, women and children have endured extreme exploitation while employed in domestic service, but it is important to consider their perspectives of the nuances and complexities of their relationships with employers, as this study has sought to do.

It is equally important to recognise the capacity for domestic workers to shape, eve in limited ways, the conditions of their labour and to resist exploitation. Many interviewees had pursued everyday acts of resistance; others could and did walk away from exploitative experiences. Furthermore, as was discussed in Chapter Two, domestic workers have often supported each other through the provision of food, moral support and advice. The discreet nature of these solidarities and associated activities does not make them any less significant than more overt forms of protest. Indeed, this history of solidarity shows that domestic workers were not the isolated, fragmented labour force that is commonly presented both in the literature and in international campaigns. Indeed, domestic service often offered an escape from other forms of coercion. As we saw in the case of Esther, migration into domestic service could provide a refuge from the gendered and generational inequalities and demands of one's natal family.[518] The idea that domestic workers, children included, could play a role in shaping the conditions of their labour and mobility is all too often ignored in campaigns for domestic worker and children's rights.

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[518] Interview with Priscilla Njovu, Lusaka, 22 July 2013.

Alongside this call to pay attention to the capacities of domestic workers to articulate their own views on and critiques of domestic service, this thesis argues that those who campaign for domestic worker rights in Africa should acknowledge and understand the historical dimensions of domestic service arrangements. As has been illustrated throughout this thesis, domestic workers and employers in Lusaka have engaged in working relationships that are bound up with complex and long-standing affiliations of patronage and support. Those involved in kinship-based labour relations will likely continue to understand their relationships in terms of kinship-based service and not formal employment. Without considering this complex history of social obligation and service, it is unlikely that legislative and rights-based approaches to reforming domestic service will be effective.

Further Research: Rural Dynamics and Children's Voices

An important aspect of the history explored in this thesis is the recognition that urban and rural communities continued to be connected and dependent upon one another throughout the post-colonial period. As we have seen, employers in Lusaka depended upon kin in rural areas to help them with meeting their needs with regards to domestic and care labour. From the rural perspective, urban kin often provided a source of financial support, either through employment or remittances. This thesis has concentrated primarily on the urban side of these dependencies. Further research within rural communities would enable us to better understand the ways in which rural residents shaped the dynamics of these relationships. As we saw in Chapter Four, the assumption that employers alone determined the migration trajectories of children and women overlooks the impact of migrants' own aspirations and decision-making capabilities. It would be useful to understand, for example, how the parents of child migrants mobilised their contacts in the city as part of a broader strategy to help their children to secure access to education and employment.

Research with the rural families of migrant domestic workers could also provide additional insight into the contributions that female adult and child migrants made to the rural economy. As was argued in Chapter Four, remittances sent by female migrant domestic workers made a significant contribution to rural households. Yet because the sample of testimonies examined in the chapter was small, it was difficult to come to more concrete conclusions about the impact of such remittances on broader

social relations. For example, to what extent did female labour migration lead to a shift in gendered and generational power dynamics within rural communities? Did female migrants gain greater authority and prestige within the household because of their economic contributions? Though it is well known that male migrants made such an impact on rural households and societies through the remittance of urban wages, the impact that female migrants have made is less well understood and acknowledged. Recent research in the Democratic Republic of the Congo suggests that daughters could increase their prestige through economic contributions to the family economy, in that case through the provision of consumer goods.[519] Future research in Zambian rural communities might usefully investigate how the migration of women and female children led to similar changes in gendered and generational power dynamics.

This thesis has insisted upon the importance of children as both workers and labour migrants. Both male and female children remain almost entirely absent from the small body of writing on Zambian domestic service as well as from the broader history of labour in Zambia. Significant insights into children's involvement in domestic service were gained through oral history interviews work with adults. Yet there are limitations to this approach. First, as various scholars have suggested, interviewees may recast their memories as they age as a result of later experiences and shifting public discourses.[520] Though this thesis does not support the idea that oral histories are 'unreliable' or 'inaccurate' because of the impact of memory, it is likely that the ways in which domestic workers described and understood their experiences of work as children were influenced by subsequent experiences of employment and changing public discourses on the employment of children as domestic workers.

Furthermore, and perhaps most importantly given this thesis' concern to advance understandings of children and work, is the need to consider how historians can better access and integrate children's own views into historical research. The need to better engage with children's perspectives is particularly pertinent to research on African female children who, perhaps more than any other population group, are presented under the guise of victimhood and passivity, unable to shape the conditions of their

[519] K. Pype, 'To Repair or Not to Repair: Unusable Communication Objects and the Experience of the (Once) Modern', paper presented to the African Studies Seminar, African Studies Centre, University of Oxford, 28 November 2013.

[520] For further discussion of the relationship between oral history and memory see for example Passerini, 'Work Ideology and Consensus under Italian Fascism', pp. 53-62; Portelli, 'What Makes Oral History Different', pp. 63-74; Thomson 'Memory and Remembering in Oral History', pp. 78-95.

lives or labour. Interviews with female children currently employed in domestic service could provide a useful counter-narrative to these arguments, illustrating how female children, even in limited circumstances, have participated in decision making processes and shaped the contexts in which they live and work.

Finally, a fruitful area for future research is the history of maid centres. Although the histories of a small number of maid centres were examined in Chapter Five, more research is clearly needed before the full impact of these employment agencies on the domestic service sector over the last twenty years can be understood. Over the next five to ten years it is likely that maid centres will continue to expand within the domestic service economy. Future researchers will need to examine how these new organizational forms have impacted upon relations between domestic workers and employers. For example, has there been an increased formalisation of working conditions because of the expansion of maid centres? Have governments or international development organizations interacted with these agencies as part of efforts to improve domestic worker rights and if so, what has been the result? These are just some of the questions that need to be considered to understand the ways in which maid centres have affected the landscape of domestic service, and in doing so have reflected and shaped ideas about the 'ideal' person to employ as a domestic worker.

Driven by the experiences of the men, women and children who have participated in domestic service during the last fifty years in Lusaka, this thesis has moved away from a narrow focus on housekeeping practices among the middle classes and shown the centrality of domestic service to the survival of households across the socio-economic spectrum. It is unlikely that domestic service will decline in importance as a source of labour and employment in Lusaka. It is part of the fabric of post-colonial social life, bound up with complex relations of obligation, service, inequality and dependency that have connected and continue to connect households across the city and the country over successive generations. Domestic workers will continue to sell their labour to support themselves and further their aspirations and employers will continue to depend on this labour. What remains to be seen is whether domestic service will continue to be a *taken-for-granted* aspect of post-colonial society, or whether domestic workers will be able to take advantage of their newly acquired legal rights and demand

both better working conditions and public recognition of the centrality of their labour to social and economic life in Lusaka and beyond.

Appendix A: Oral History Project Participants

The following is a list of all interviews conducted for the oral history project. Interviews are listed by location and then subdivided into categories according to the person's employment situation or the type of perspective sought, e.g. domestic worker, employer, or relative of migrant domestic worker. Interviews in each sub-section are listed in date order.

The symbol * is used to indicate that the interviewee's name has been changed to protect his/her anonymity. The dates and locations of interviews remain unchanged.

Lusaka

Domestic Workers

Custom Banda, 13 July 2013
Mercy Banda, 13 July 2013
Elita Nachula, 17 July 2013
Grace Njovu, 17 July 2013
Febby Phiri, 17 July 2013
Mariana Banda, 17 July 2013 and 29 July 2013
Jennifer Phiri, 28 July 2013
Lillian Banda, 29 July 2013
Justina Banda, 5 August 2013
Judith Phiri, 9 August 2013
Dorothy Phiri, 10 August 2013
Esnart Lungu, 12 August 2013
*Anna Banda, Lusaka, 14 August 2013
Fridah Njovu, 16 August 2013
Edwin Banda, 30 January 2014
Agnes Mumba, 2 February 2014
Christine Tembo, 2 February 2014
Maria Tembo, 2 February 2014
Monica Zimba, 2 February 2014
Bana Musonda, 4 February 2014
Bridget Lupiya, 4 February 2014
Evaristo Mubanga, 4 February 2014
Mary Chirwa, 4 February 2014
*Grace Musonda, 13 February 2014
*Mayben Banda, 13 February 2014
Herbert Bwalya, 13 February 2014
Imelda Kalobwe, 13 February 2014
Elizabeth Bwalya, 16 February 2014
*Matilda Tembo, 16 February 2014
*Niah Mumba, 16 February 2014
*Veronica Mumba, 16 February 2014
*Betty Zimba, 18 February 2014
*Beatrice Keyala, 23 February 2014
Cecelia Phiri, 23 February 2014
Rebecca Phiri, 23 February 2014
Amai Banda, 25 February 2014

*Mildred Phiri, 25 February 2014
*Queen Kangwa, 25 February 2014
*Mutinta Kalobwe, 1 March 2014
*Carol Banda, 2 March 2014
Grace Mwale, 29 May 2014
Justina Phiri, 29 May 2014
Judith Chiteta, 1 June 2014
Naomi Yalubamba, 1 June 2014
Beatrice Bwalya, 4 June 2014
Mwiinga Lupaka, 4 June 2014
Ruth Phiri, 4 June 2014
Sylvia Chiwala, 4 June 2014
Agnes Mutonga, 6 June 2014
Dorcas Kapimpa, 6 June 2014
Elizabeth Phiri, 6 June 2014
Mary Chisaka, 6 June 2014
Emily Botha, 9 June 2014
Jane Phiri, 9 June 2014
Mundia Lyopu, 9 June 2014
Stanley Shifwati, 9 June 2014
Akrina Kauloumina, 12 June 2014
Andrew Banda, 12 June 2014
Augustine Mulanda, 12 June 2014
Bridget Mutale, 12 June 2014
Teophilous Mafonko, 12 June 2014
*Chawa Phiri, 17 June 2014
*Howard Chanda, 17 June 2014
Evaristo Mwiinga, 19 June 2014
Franklin Monga, 19 June 2014
Major Goma, 19 June 2014
Raphael Ngosa, 19 June 2014
Esther Konda, 2 July 2014
Evelyn Banda, 2 July 2014
Gertrude Mambwe, 2 July 2014
Rafia Nachilya, 2 July 2014
*Bridget Musonda, 5 July 2014
*Joffrey Musonda, 5 July 2014
Rebecca Keyala, 5 July 2014
*Ben Mulanga, 7 July 2014
Felice Chungwe, 7 July 2014
Mulenga Kangwa, 7 July 2014
*Gabriel Phiri, 12 July 2014
*Justina Phiri, 12 July 2014
*Steven Chanda, 12 July 2014
*Cecelia Chirwa, 15 July 2014
Chingumbe Nachula, 15 July 2014
*John Bwalya, 15 July 2014
*Hope Kasano, 16 July 2014
*Rebecca Ndlovu, 16 July 2014
*Temwa Malambo, 16 July 2014
*Clarence Chiteta, 25 August 2014
Kenny Matambo, 25 August 2014

Employers

* Priscilla Njovu, 22 July 2013
Judith Chilese, 1 August 2013
Mikala Mukongolwa, 2 August 2013
Christine Kalebwe, 15 August 2013
Maria Mulanga, 15 August 2013
Odilia Kabwe, 15 August 2013
Rose Banda, 15 August 2013
Jane Kafula, 10 February 2014
*Chombe Nachula, 18 February 2014
*Jester Phiri, 18 February 2014
*Zoe Jones, 18 February 2014
*Diana Banda, 25 February 2014
Stella Soko, 29 May 2014
Sacha Makulu, 12 June 2014
Bessie 'Mama' Chanda, 7 July 2014
Thelma Chongo, 7 July 2014
*Mohamed Hassan, 12 July 2014
*Abida Mulanda, 15 July 2014
Mrs Patel, 15 July 2014
John Jellis, 9 August 2014
Pepita Jane Maria Jellis, 9 August 2014
Mrs Nchito, 1 September 2014

Trade Unions

U-ZCTU

Joyce Phiri, Acting President, 11 July 2013, 28 January 2014, 13 June 2014 and 15 July 2014
Alice Phiri, union member, 16 June 2014
Harriet Mukololo, union member, 16 June 2014
Irene Kamau, union member, 16 June 2014
Riberia Chambanenge, union member, 16 June 2014
Rose Chanda, union member, 16 June 2014
Theresa Chanda, union member, 16 June 2014
Mwanza Matthews, Provincial Secretary, 16 June 2014 and 3 September 2014

U-FFTUZ

Fisher Chowa, union member, 29 August 2014
Kevin Liywalii, President, 27 August 2014 and 29 August 2014
Lloyd Malambo, Provincial Secretary, 27 August 2014
Martha Kasaro, Deputy General Secretary, 27 August 2014 and 2 September 2014
Oscar Cheupe, General Secretary, 27 August 2014

Maid Centres

*Iris Tembo, Beverly Hills Maids Centre, Chalala, 6 February 2014
Martha Banda, Beverly Hills Maids Centre, Chalala, 6 February 2014
Mr Musonda, Beverly Hills Maids Centre, Chalala, 6 February 2014

Thomas Chinyama, Beverly Hills Maids Centre, Chalala, 6 February 2014
Charity Lavu, Pamwi Maid Centre, Woodlands, 6 February 2014 and 8 February 2014
*Patricia Bwalya, Abundant Life Fellowship, Kabulonga, 18 February 2014
Veronica Tembo, Aunty Veronica's Maid Centre, Kabulonga, 6 August 2014

Other Interviews

Sister Lynn Walker, Bauleni Street Kids Project, 30 July 2013
Pastor Alex Chirwa, Bauleni resident, 4 February 2014
Pastor Benson, Bauleni resident, 13 February 2014
Pastor Rodia, Bauleni resident, 13 February 2014
Evans Lwanga, National Project Coordinator ILO Zambia, 12 August 2013 and 14 February 2014
Pastor Phiri, Bauleni resident, 23 February 2014
Judge Musona, Industrial Relations Court, 27 August 2014

Chimusanya, Rufunsa District, Lusaka Province

Migrant Domestic Workers

*Grace Mambwe, 21 June 2014
*Rebecca Kangwa, 21 June 2014
*Margaret Chisaka, 22 June 2014

Relatives of Migrant Domestic Workers

Margaret Lupiya, 21 June 2014
Martha Njovu, 21 June 2014
Semu Lameck, 21 June 2014

Mpanshya, Rufunsa District, Lusaka Province

Domestic Workers

*Judith Banda, 22 June 2014
*Naomi Banda, 22 June 2014
*Sylvia Chiteta, 22 June 2014
*Jessie Phiri, 23 June 2014

Other Interviews

*Emily Ngosa, stallholder at Mpanshya market, 22 June 2014
Josephine Njovu, stallholder at Mpanshya market, 22 June 2014
*Lucy Mumba, stallholder at Mpanshya market, 22 June 2014
Magdalena Mwanza, stallholder at Mpanshya market, 22 June 2014
*Martha Mutale, stallholder at Mpanshya market, 22 June 2014

Chipata, Eastern Province

Migrant Domestic Workers

Amino Chirwa, 18 July 2014
Josephine Phiri, 18 July 2014
Kennedy Mwale, 18 July 2014
Sylvia Sakala, 18 July 2014
Jennifer Phiri, 19 July 2014

Relatives of Migrant Domestic Workers

Esnart Jere, stallholder at Central Chipata market, 19 July 2014
Loveness Kumwenda, stallholder at Central Chipata market, 19 July 2014
Mary Ndhlovu, stallholder at Central Chipata market, 19 July 2014
*Gladys Phiri, stallholder at 19 July 2014 and 20 July 2014

Other Interviews

Amai Banda, resident of Magazine compound, 18 July 2014
*Anne Mumba, Labour Officer, Chipata Labour Office, 18 July 2014

Appendix B: Interview Questions

Mr Kalobwe and I used the following questions as a guide during interviews with domestic workers, employers and trade union officials. As we were keen to let the interviewee shape the interview process, each list was used to spark discussion of certain issues rather than as a fixed set of questions.

Domestic Workers

Questions about childhood:

Where were you born?
Describe you home town/village [if not Lusaka]
What did your parents do there?
Do you have brothers and sisters?
Did you go to school?

If born outside of Lusaka:

When did you come to Lusaka? How old were you?
Why did you migrate to Lusaka?
Do you keep in contact with your family in your home town/village?

Questions about domestic work:

When and why did you enter domestic service?
Have you had live-in or live-out jobs?
How did you find employment?
What tasks did you perform in the house? How have these differed between households?
Tell me about your employers.
What types of things would make you leave a job?
Have you ever participated in a domestic workers' union?

Questions about interests and future aspirations:

What do you like to do outside of work?
Would you like to live in the city in the future or would you like to live in a rural area?
If you would like to move where would they live and with whom?
Have you lived in other towns in Zambia or in region?

Employers

Questions about childhood:

Where were you born?
Describe you home town/village [if not Lusaka]
What did your parents do there?
Do you have brothers and sisters?
Did you go to school?

If born outside of Lusaka:

When did you come to Lusaka? How old were you?
Why did you migrate to Lusaka?
Do you keep in contact with your family in your home town/village?

Questions about domestic work:

When and why did you start employing a domestic worker?
How did you find your employees?
What do you look for in an employee, e.g. do you have a preference for age, men versus women, regional origin?
Have you experienced any problems with an employee?

Questions about kinship:

Do you support any relatives or kin in other parts of Zambia?
Do relatives ever come and stay with you and your family?

Trade Union Officials and Members

Questions about the person's experience of work:

When did you begin working with the union?
What does your job with the union involve?
How did you get involved in this work?
What jobs have you previously had, e.g. a background in domestic service or another occupation?

Questions about the union:

What are the aims of the union?
What has the union campaigned for, e.g. was the union involved in the recent legislative reforms governing domestic worker rights?
How has the union attracted members? How many members do they currently have?
How is membership broken down by gender, age and type of domestic employment?
Could you tell me about a recent dispute the union has helped a member with?
How has the union overcome the problems associated with unionising domestic workers, e.g. personalised nature of labour process, workers not wanting to risk losing their job by making complaints?

Questions about how the union works with other organizations:

Does the union work with the government? How did the union react to the new minimum wage legislation? Do you think the new legislation will be effective?
Does the union work with other local or international organizations, e.g. ZCTU, ILO, ITUC?

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Interviews

The following is a list of interviews directly referenced in the thesis. Interviews are listed in date order. A full list of those who participated in the oral history project, broken down by location and category of interviewee, can be found in Appendix A.

Joyce Phiri, U-ZCTU, Lusaka, 11 July 2013 and 13 June 2014
Mariana Banda, Lusaka, 17 July 2013 and 29 July 2013
Priscilla Njovu, Lusaka, 22 July 2013
Dorothy Phiri, Lusaka, 10 August 2013
Esnart Lungu, Lusaka, 12 August 2013
Evans Lwanga, ILO Zambia, Lusaka, 12 August 2013
Anna Banda, Lusaka, 14 August 2013
Fridah Njovu, Lusaka, 16 August 2013
Edwin Banda, Lusaka, 30 January 2014
Mary Chirwa, Lusaka, 4 February 2014
Iris Tembo, Beverly Hills Maids Centre, Lusaka, 6 February 2014
Martha Banda, Beverly Hills Maids Centre, Lusaka, 6 February 2014
Mr Musonda, Beverly Hills Maids Centre, Lusaka, 6 February 2014
Charity Lavu, Pamwi Maid Centre, Lusaka, 6 February 2014 and 8 February 2014
Jane Kafula, Lusaka, 10 February 2014
Grace Musonda, Lusaka, 13 February 2014
Elizabeth Bwalya, Lusaka, 16 February 2014
Niah Mumba, Lusaka, 16 February 2014
Betty Zimba, Lusaka, 18 February 2014
Chombe Nachula, Lusaka, 18 February 2014
Patricia Bwalya, Abundant Life Fellowship, Kabulonga, 18 February 2014
Cecilia Phiri, Lusaka, 23 February 2014
Mildred Phiri, Lusaka, 25 February 2014
Queen Kangwa, Lusaka, 25 February 2014
Mutinta Kalobwe, Lusaka, 1 March 2014
Stella Soko, Lusaka, 29 May 2014
Semu Lameck, Chimusanya, Rufunsa District, Lusaka Province, 21 June 2014
Evelyn Banda, 2 July 2014
Josephine Phiri, Chipata, 18 July 2014
Veronica Tembo, Aunty Veronica's Maid Centre, Lusaka, 6 August 2014
Andrew Banda, Lusaka, 12 August 2014
Augustine Mulanda, Lusaka, 12 August 2014
Teophilous Mufonko, 12 August 2014
Clarence Chiteta, Lusaka, 25 August 2014
Kevin Liywalii, U-FFTUZ, Lusaka, 27 August 2014
Martha Kasaro, U-FFTUZ, Lusaka, 27 August 2014
Oscar Cheupe, U-FFTUZ, Lusaka, 27 August 2014
Judge Musona, Industrial Relations Court, Lusaka, 1 September 2014
Mwanza Matthews, U-ZCTU, Lusaka, 3 September 2014

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