

# Magnet That Truss Domestic Workers and Employers in Armed Conflict Societies: A Case of Mazoe in Changara District in Mozambique

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**Abstract:** Armed conflict in both developed and developing societies is inevitable and has become a major antecedent that impedes socio-economic development. The aim of this research was to establish the dynamics and antecedents that fasten the continued relationship between domestic workers and employers in war torn countries. The study sought to establish whether job satisfaction plays a role in keeping domestic employees in employment even if they work under difficult and life threatening conditions. The study employed apurely qualitative research methodology. The study used an interview to solicit data from 15 domestic workers who were purposively sampled from an approximate population of 200 domestic workers of Mazoe village in Changara district in Mozambique. Data was analysed using thematic data analysis method. The study found out that job satisfaction and abject poverty among domestic workers are the key factors that bind domestic workers and their employers in armed conflict societies. The provision of essential socio-economic services such as education, health services, assisting displaced workers, security to domestic workers and their children propels job satisfaction and binds domestic workers and their employers. The study recommended that employers should provide adequate socio-economic support and avoid abusing and exploiting domestic workers.

**Keywords:** Armed conflict, employers, domestic workers, job satisfaction.

**Subject classification:** Management science

## 1. Introduction

Issues on armed conflict in Africa and beyond have been on the microscope for time

immemorial. A significant number of scholars and academics have carried out several studies to establish the causes, effects and strategies of dealing with conflict at national

and organizational levels. Most armed conflicts have devastating effects to employees, employers, organizations [26], economic infrastructure [25], [22] and society in general. While it is an indisputable fact that armed conflict breed sour consequences to the socio-economic and political situations it cannot be avoided but rather needs to be managed in a way that reduces the consequences it poses to society. All forms of conflict in society or organisation are inevitable [24] and possess grave consequences on socio-economic development in the country and region. Armed conflict is one form of conflict which has stimulated a lot of debates among academics because of the ramifications it possess to employees, political and socio-economic development. Dava et al [6] are of the idea that civil wars in Africa and beyond have harmful effects on the technological, political and socio-economic development of the country [6]. Several countries in Africa such as Mozambique, Sudan, South Sudan, Rwanda, Democratic Republic of Congo and Somalia have been in armed conflict for more than a decade. The armed conflict which spanned for a long period disturbed a lot of developmental programs and the economic infrastructure such as bridges and roads in those countries. The fighting between the Mozambican government forces and the opposition forces in Mozambique resulted in the destruction of the country's economic infrastructure which consequently hampered almost all forms of development. Dava et al observed that the war in Mozambique was so intense to the

extent that it led to economic depression and meltdown [6].

Workers across the country in Mozambique have not been spared of being affected by consequences of armed conflict which ran for over a decade. Workers operate in violent, life threatening and stressful work environments caused by armed conflict. Nyanga [25] observed that in armed conflict societies, people including domestic workers are displaced, killed and sexually harassed by armed forces. The conflict in Mozambique was not an exception since it resulted in civilians including workers losing their lives and impoverished because of inter-community violence and the displacement of people. The intensity of the war impoverished workers to the extent that people of all levels of education in society ended up doing menial and tedious jobs such as household tasks, herd boy, shepherds and weeding other people's fields. In armed conflict society a significant number of people in society are employed as domestic workers and in Small to Medium Enterprises (SMEs) [25]. Armed conflict has caused most employers of domestic workers to fail of face difficulties to carry out their employment contractual obligations such as adequately remunerating employees, giving them benefits which address their economic and social needs such as transport allowance, cellular phone allowance, accommodation and medical. The observance and implementation of contractual obligations is part of the major factors that propel job satisfaction and employee motivation [6], [23], organisational citizenship [37], [17] employee retention, employee loyalty and commitment.

During the pre and post armed conflict period in Changara district in Mozambique, agriculture has been the most extensive and common economic activity, hence it became a major source of employment for domestic workers. Most people who were employed as domestic workers were also expected to do agricultural activities such as cultivating in the fields. Since the most widespread form of agriculture that is practiced is subsistence domestic workers were needed most so that they could help in the growing of food crops such as maize, wheat, groundnuts, corn and cassava. Dava in [6] argues that whilst the main source of revenue is agriculture for most families in Mazoe village in Changara district there is significant income that is generated from non-agricultural activities such as selling of firewood, wood, sugarcane and charcoal. The non-agriculture activities have also become a major source of employment for domestic workers. It has been observed [25] that most agricultural production in armed conflict societies come from family farming operations, which heavily rely on family labour and domestic workers. Domestic workers in unstable socio-political environment form the main source of labour in agriculture and small scale mining. However domestic workers in armed conflict societies experience a number of challenges some of which significantly affect their psycho-social status. In armed conflict societies domestic workers are sexually, emotionally and physically abused by their employers [7] and experience a huge violation of their human rights [27], [31] such as discrimination but surprisingly despite all the ill-treatment they get they continue to report for duty. What has

however remained unclear is what motivates domestic employees to remain in domestic employment where they are paid low salaries, emotionally and sexually abused by their employers and even go without pay for several months.

Before armed conflict started in Changara district, Mazoe village was viewed as one of the fastest developing growth points with the possibility of creating major economic centres and platforms in the area. During the good economic fortunes of the village, employees, domestic workers included used to move from one job to the other and one company to the other [8]. The minimum wage would be regularly reviewed; which in turn resulted in workers moving from low paying jobs to better paying jobs [8]. Armed conflict has however created serious distortions in the management of human capital and welfare of domestic workers. Armed conflict relegated domestic workers to 'slavery' which is characterised by ill-treatment, abuse of domestic workers and working without or with very little pay. Despite all the challenges domestic workers face they have remained in employment. It is therefore the aim of this study to investigate what binds domestic workers and their employers in armed conflict societies.

Literature has found that during the war in Columbia the poor and the uneducated, who comprised mainly women had limited options of employment which resulted in them ending up doing menial jobs such as domestic work. The main available jobs were home chores such as cleaning houses, cooking, herding cattle, cultivation of fields and also crop production. Domestic workers

worked for very long hours and received very low salaries and benefits [7]. A study carried out by Mwale [22] in Malawi established that during the war, domestic workers' rights are infringed upon by their employers and armed forces. Employees are verbally, emotionally, sexually and physically abused by their employers and/or their employers' relatives. In waste scenarios they go for several months without pay. Another study which has shown that people can stay in unpaid job is the one which was done by Shoniwa et al [30] which investigated what motivated Shabanie Mashava mine (SMM) workers in Zvishavane in Zimbabwe to continually report for work for over five years without remuneration. The study found out that a good wage and conducive work environment are key factors to employee retention and curbing brain drain and promoting employee loyalty and commitment. The study established that people stayed in unpaid employment in anticipation of being re-engaged and the revival of the mine. In armed conflict societies domestic workers are lowly remunerated which ordinarily should lead to high rate of brain drain, increased rate of labour turnover, lack of worker commitment, high levels of absenteeism and pilferage but domestic workers in Mazoe village in Changara district have stuck to their jobs under such unbearable conditions. It therefore becomes imperative to establish what keeps domestic workers in voluntary 'slavery' and what exactly fastens their relationship with their 'exploitative employers'.

Given the unresolved debates on what binds domestic workers and their employers, the researchers were stimulated

to do this research in order to fill the identified knowledge gap. The main purpose of this study is to investigate what binds domestic workers with their employers in armed conflict areas despite the war propelled work related, economic, social, technological and political distortions and challenges they face. The motivation to stay in lowly paying and or non-paying jobs by domestic workers in armed conflict society is an amusement which warrants the attention of researchers and academics. It is critical to establish the trusses that glue workers and employers together when their relationship suggests and indicates that the relationship cannot be sustained as an employment relationship.

## 2. Research methodology

The study used purely qualitative research methodology. The qualitative approach was the most preferred method to carry out this study because of its ability to provide depth and detail in analysing issues. Furthermore, most domestic workers in Mazoe in Changara district are not proficient in English language hence using other research methodologies apart from the qualitative would have created a possibility of losing a lot of information because of communication barriers. Soliciting data from semi-illiterate population require the use of qualitative methodology since it helps the researcher to gain full understanding and insights into the problem. Participants' feelings and ideas are accurately captured which in turn improves the trustworthiness, reliability and validity of results. Qualitative methodology

made it possible for the researchers to gather a lot of descriptive data that assisted in unearthing factors that bind domestic workers and their employers in war torn areas. The study employed the unstructured interview instrument to collect data from fifteen participants who were purposively sampled. The unstructured interviews enabled oral conversation between the researcher and respondents thereby paving way for the gathering of detailed and much needed data. Through this methodology domestic workers' experiences, feelings and perceptions were revealed since the methodology gave participants the opportunity to give detailed accounts of their activities which resulted in them staying longer in unpaid work. Purposive sampling technique was used to choose the 15 participants who took part in the study. The researcher employed a subjective sampling technique to choose participants because he wanted to collect data from those people who had worked in Mozambique during the war between government forces (FRELIMO) and opposition forces (RENAMO). Interviews were held at the domestic workers' premises. Conducting interviews at employees' workplaces made respondents to feel comfortable and secure hence they responded to questions in a relaxed environment. The researcher probed further in cases where respondents gave unclear and ambiguous responses. On the other hand, participants sought for clarification if they did not comprehend the requirements of the question. The study employed thematic data analysis approach to analyse data. All the data was presented and reported in descriptive form.

### **3. Findings and discussion**

Expectedly, in the profession of domestic workers, the study was dominated by female participants. There were five male and ten female participants. Most domestic work comprises cleaning houses, washing, cooking and baby-sitting which are all female dominated work activities. The few males who formed part of the domestic workers who participated in the study were responsible for a number of domestic activities which ranged from home chores, herding cattle and cultivating the fields. The age range of participants was between 38 to 68 years and their level of education ranged from primary education to early secondary education. There were exceptions where some domestic workers held diplomas and degrees in various disciplines. Participants' work experience ranged from seven to 18 years which is a clear indication that the rate of labour turnover was very low. The findings are consistent with other studies on the demography of domestic workers where female dominate their male counterparts and have limited literacy levels and have long work experience. All the participants lived in abject poverty and came from very poor socio-economic backgrounds and nine of them did not have homes of their own hence they regarded their work premises as their permanent homes. People without homes such as the nine domestic workers become vulnerable to subtle 'slavery' because even if they do not receive salaries they will continue to stick to their employer because they have nowhere to go.

The study established the following facts about domestic workers in armed conflict societies. In terms of definition a domestic

worker, who is also referred to as a domestic helper or domestic servant [9], [16], [21], [10] is a person who works for employers' household by performing different services such as laundry, taking care of children and the elderly and preparing meals. Most domestic workers live within their employers' households and get free meals and accommodation from their employers. However some of the accommodation that is provided to domestic workers in armed conflict societies is dilapidated and uncomfortable. For instance domestic workers can be accommodated in box rooms or asked to sleep in the kitchen. Felistus [9] argues that domestic workers are one of the most vulnerable groups of workers in the world. Her study established that domestic workers are forced to do degrading jobs or tasks and are physically, sexually and emotionally abused by their employers. Kingstone [16] says that in high risk areas such as war torn countries domestic workers are forced to abandon their religions and political parties and join their employers' religions and political parties. Such a move is a serious departure and violation of domestic workers' right to freedom of association. The freedom of association of domestic workers is further denied from domestic workers because domestic workers work in places which are regarded as private where strangers are not welcome. Moyana [21] says that while domestic workers are provided with free accommodation in the form of self-contained quarters, it however comes with restrictions such as limited number of visitors or no visitors at all.

The study revealed that job satisfaction was the primary 'glue' that truss domestic

workers with their employers. Most employers in armed conflict societies employ several strategies to attract and retain domestic workers. The strategies employed hinged around job satisfaction and they include among others provision of physical and social security, provision of social services such as education and health, provision of emotional support to displaced domestic workers' parents and provision of basic commodities to domestic workers. Most domestic workers in armed conflict societies live in abject poverty to the extent that they cannot afford to provide social services, psycho-social support, physical and social security for themselves and their families. For this reason, most domestic workers in armed conflict societies stay longer in lowly satisfying jobs. The findings are consistent with Nyanga et al [23] who established that job satisfaction was a key factor to employee retention and performance. The displacement, torture, killings and abuse of the poor who normally reside in high concentration areas binds domestic workers with their employers irrespective of the poor employment conditions. The destruction of homes and displacement of people in Changara district due to war has made most domestic workers homeless which made them become self-imposed 'slaves' and local 'refugees'. Their job satisfaction level was raised by their employer's ability to provide social services for them. It is the motivation to have social services that has bound employers and employees in armed conflict societies. One of the participants remarked, *'I no longer have a home and all my children were killed by armed forces so I have nowhere to go. Even if they do not*

*give me pay I will stay here till I die because at least they give me shelter, food and security.* Participant 8 (eight) also said, *'I am satisfied by my work because my employer provides me with social services, food and security which I cannot afford on my own.'* This shows that a significant number of domestic workers in armed conflict areas stick to lowly satisfying jobs because there are limited or no other employment options. Like any other armed conflict society, during the war in Mozambique most companies slowed down operations and others completely ceased operations which resulted in a limited number of employment opportunities. The limited number of employment opportunities left domestic workers with no other option other than sticking to their jobs.

Globalisation and gender activism have resulted in more women taking up full time employment in both the public and private companies [10], [2], [8], [4], [16]. During the civil war in Mozambique a significant number of women who did not take up formal employment were engaged in informal employment, which equally deprived them from performing their domestic duties and tasks. The increase in the number of women in both formal and informal employment ignited an increase in the demand of domestic workers in Mazoe village in Changara district in the Tete province in Mozambique. One of the participant said, "My boss spent most of the time at the market buying and selling clothes to foreigners mainly from Zimbabwe, Malawi, Angola, Namibia, Zambia and Tanzania. Her busy schedule made her to persuade me to stay in employment as her domestic worker. I worked

for her for 10 ten years because every time I gave her a notice to leave the job she would persuade me by giving a salary increment or other basic needs for my family." The engagement of women in full time formal or informal employment made domestic workers stay longer in employment in armed conflict societies because their employers incentivised them to do so. Contrary to the new roles and responsibilities of women in Africa and beyond, in African culture one of the main responsibilities of women is to do domestic work and rear children. Society expect employed or unemployed women to perform domestic duties such as preparing meals, laundry for her husband, children and herself, cleaning the house and the yard. The demand for domestic workers has further been increased by the fact that most men do not assist their wives to do domestic work. Failure by men to assist their wives to do domestic tasks make women fail to cope with the demand of domestic duties and responsibilities. The increased importance and need for domestic workers in armed conflict society increases job satisfaction among workers which in turn motivates them to stay longer in jobs. The findings are consistent with [1], [4], [20], [16], [21] that observed that in politically unstable societies domestic work does not fade but rather continues to transform into a more organized profession. Studies [20], [10], [9] have also shown that domestic work has grown and continues to grow into a 'women' profession that make women earn substantial amounts of money and become self-reliant. However, Bello [3] argues that most women find it difficult to penetrate in the domestic labour market because the

market is a closed one. Due to security reasons domestic workers are usually referred to a prospective employer by another domestic worker.

The study also established that one of the key antecedents that keep domestic workers in armed conflict societies in employment is the supportive leadership provided by their employers. Whilst some employers of domestic workers ill-treat them and deprive them of their legal rights regarding the terms and conditions of employment, some employers closely work with them and sympathise with them for the loss of their beloved ones because of the war. Employers provide support to displaced relatives of domestic workers which in turn increase domestic workers' level of job satisfaction. The relationship between employers and domestic workers is strengthened by the respect and dignity that is given to employees by their employers. Employers recognise and appreciate the contribution and effort their domestic make to the family. In some cases domestic workers' contribution is recognised by giving them incentives such as medical cover, accommodation for displaced nuclear family members. One of the respondents in Mazoe area, said, *'My employer is a lovely man because he takes care of me and my relatives. When my husband was killed by armed forces my employer accorded him a decent burial hence it is very difficult for me to leave this employment.'* Respondent 10 remarked, *'I stayed in employment for more than a decade because my employer respects and recognises the work I do. If I make an error he respectfully advised to do things better next time. Such a move made me feel loved*

*and wanted.'* The findings of this study are consistent with Shoniwa et al [30] and Longe [18] who observed that employees can stay in unpaid employment because of good and supportive leadership provided by the management team. Furthermore, job satisfaction among domestic workers is increased by empowering them and making them know that they are valued as individuals. Respondent 5 argues, *'I stayed in unpaid domestic employment for five years because my employer did not make me faceless at any given time but gave me the opportunity to express my views.'* This implies that providing good and supportive leadership, creating supportive work environment and empowering domestic workers are some of the antecedents that bind the relationship between domestic workers and their employers. Domestic workers in armed conflict societies are prone to various risks which include among others sexual assaults, verbal and physical abuse, displacement, death, injury and illness hence they need to be supported to reduce the level of risk. The reduction in the risk of being attacked by armed forces make employees stay in employment even if the employment conditions are not favourable. It should be noted that various labour laws and international labour organizations explicitly provide sections and sub-sections which grant domestic workers and emigrants right to good living and working conditions [13], [34], [35], [14].

Employers of domestic workers are generally wealthy and affluent people in society with strong socio-economic or political standing hence they have the resources and capacity to provide security services such as electrical fence, perimeter



walls and alarms on their premises. Provision of security features for family premises automatically benefitted domestic workers since they live in the same premises. Participant 3' remarks *'I could not leave my job for seven years because my employer provided me and my children with physical security services and other social security services which I could not get from other employers.'* The provision of security as has been propounded by Herzberg in his hygiene and motivator theory, security motivates workers to stay longer with their employers [29], [28], [32], [15], [12]. All the 15 respondents pointed out that the main factor that retained them at work was the security that was provided their employers. All the employers who provided security services to their employers retained them for a longer period than those who did not offer security services and wanted their domestic workers to commute to work. Commuting to work was both risk and expensive. A war torn country is characterised by poor and expensive transport network, shortage of cash, limited and expensive accommodation and power outage, which directly and/or indirectly affect domestic workers' net salaries. Commuting buses and trains are usually targeted for bombing by armed forces which become a security threat to domestic workers. Domestic workers who stay outside the premises of their employers have reduced net salaries and wages due to commuting associated fees.

The other reason that make domestic workers truss to their employers in armed conflict societies is the availability of modern and traditional legal security. All the villages, communities and societies in

Mozambique are governed by traditional leaders such as chiefs and headmen whose main role is to ensure that all members of society comply with the rules, regulations, norms and values of society. The role of traditional leaders is also to maintain peace and order, unity, democracy and fairness in society. The government of Mozambique established traditional courts in all the villages whose role is to resolve disputes according to customary law. Traditional courts provide communities with conflict resolution systems and emphasize on the implementation of restorative justice among members of society. Most disputes between domestic workers and their employers are resolved at traditional courts hence the traditional court provides restorative justice on the physically, emotionally and financially injured members of society. Domestic workers are usually people of straw hence they are prone to various forms of abuses by their employers. The availability of customary law and labour regulations to promote justice compel employers of domestic workers to treat domestic workers fairly and with dignity. The legal protection of domestic workers increases their job satisfaction levels which in turn make them stay longer in employment. One of the participants who was a Malawian national who stayed in Mazoe for over 25 remarked, "When I had a dispute with my employer the chief's court helped us to amicably resolve our dispute. We resolved the conflict and then I continued to work for him." Participant 12 said, "My employer was compelled by the village court to pay me my six month salary arrears which he was resisting to pay." Evidence therefore shows that domestic worker retention in

armed conflict societies is propelled by the availability of traditional courts and implementation of customary law. The imposition of sanctions on people who commit criminal and civil offences and do not behave in a manner that is consistent with the norms and values of society motivate domestic workers to stay longer in employment.

While in principle domestic workers have legal protection from customary, labour and constitutional laws, most domestic workers do not have signed contracts of employment which is a principal document and a pre-condition for compelling the parties to fulfill their employment relationship obligations. Failure to have a contract of employment clearly stating the obligations of employers and employees make domestic workers vulnerable to various forms of abuses such as performing duties that are regarded degrading. May [20] argues that domestic work in armed conflict areas created a mistress-servant or master-servant relationship between domestic workers and their employers because the law does not provide enough protection to protect domestic workers. Domestic worker in most countries Mozambique included, are regarded as poor and child-like beings with no rights [19], [20], [9]. There are several stereotypes labeled against domestic workers in armed conflict societies. Domestic workers are excluded from various rights and privileges such as vacation leave, maternity leave, sick leave and overtime pay. Most labour laws whether in armed conflict or peaceful countries give employees including domestic workers rights to maternity leave, vacation, overtime and sick

leave but most employers do not comply with those provisions. For example in Zimbabwe the constitution of Zimbabwe amendment 21 of 2013 and the Labour Act chapter 28:01 give all employees in Zimbabwe including domestic workers an express right to maternity leave, vacation leave and sick leave, collective bargaining and general fair labour practices. The labour laws in Mozambique, Zambia and Malawi also gave employees the right to vacation leave, maternity leave, sick leave, collective bargaining and overtime pay but employers of domestic workers deliberately deny domestic workers from exercising those rights. Despite being denied such essential rights domestic workers continued to glue to their employment because of limited employment opportunities.

The other major circumstance that motivates domestic workers in war torn societies to stay longer in employment is poverty. Most domestic workers stay longer in their jobs because they do not have enough economic muscle to provide for themselves and their relatives vital socio-economic services such as water, food, education, medical bills and shelter. In ability by workers to fend for themselves make them opt to stay with their employer so that they can be provided with the basic needs by their employer. This form of employment amounts to voluntary slavery since people do not stay in jobs because they are motivated or satisfied to do so but due to desperation. One of the respondents remarked, *"I have been with my employer for 18 years not because I wanted to but my poor background forced me to stick to the lowly remunerating job. My employer verbally*

*and physically abused me but because my parents could not afford to take care of me I decided to stay on the job.*" Poverty propels domestic workers in war torn countries to stay in employment that is characterised by low salaries, verbal and sexual abuse and poor working conditions. Armed conflict impoverishes people to work for lowly paying jobs. Poverty makes domestic workers glue to their employers irrespective of various forms of harassments which they were subjected to. For example, participant 3 who was female remarked, *"My employer would physically and sexually harass me but I did not report him to the police because I was afraid of losing my job.* The results are consistent with Gukurume and Nyanga's observation that poverty can enslave people or make them vulnerable to child and forced labour [11]. Domestic workers in war torn societies have been enslaved by working under deplorable and unbearable conditions and being paid very little money. Furthermore, low salaries and poverty motivate domestic workers to steal from their employers. Domestic workers make up for low salaries by steal their employers' groceries such as sugar, corn, flour, bread and meat to give to their starving relatives and family members. Domestic workers have an opportunity to steal groceries and clothes from their employers because most employers leave their grocery in the custody of domestic workers. Pilferage indirectly increases domestic workers' salaries; hence it motivates them to remain in employment.

The other factor that binds domestic workers and their employers is the ability for the employer to knock out boredom.

Most domestic workers in armed conflict societies do routine tasks such as preparing meals, cleaning houses, tilling the land, herding cattle and babysitting which usually breeds boredom. Creative and supportive managers retain domestic workers by knocking out boredom using job satisfaction strategies. Boredom snaps motivation, profitability and productivity [15], [33]. Some employers in armed conflict societies keep the workplace lively and introduce new things from time to time which in turn fasten the relationship between the employer and his/her domestic worker. Employers make sure that routine tasks are re-engineered by introducing more challenging and interesting tasks. For instance, a man who used to herd cattle can also be requested to clean the employer's car.

The last but not least antecedent revealed by this study that binds domestic workers and their employers is intimidation and instilling fear by imposing and making stiff home rules and regulations which domestic workers are expected to religiously follow. Most employers make employees their self-confidence and self-efficacy by imposing stiff rules which when broken are backed by a sanction such as physical and verbal assault or dismissal. Most people in armed conflict societies who can afford to hire domestic workers are usually very rich and possess licensed or unlicensed war weapons such as guns, which they can use to intimidate domestic workers when they want to leave their jobs. Domestic workers stay in employment because they are afraid of being killed or physically and emotionally injured by their employers. Domestic workers in some instances are treated as slaves and labourers and their

human and employment rights are infringed upon. One of the participant indicated, *'I stayed in unpaid employment for nine years because whenever I tried to give my male employer a notice to terminate employment he threatened me with death or other unspecified action he was going to take against me.'* The findings are consistent with Dava et al [6] who argued that a war environment is a life threatening environment for all citizens and results in employees entering into voluntary or non-voluntary slavery and stay in employment longer than they would have wanted [6].

The study further established that domestic workers 'glue' to their jobs because some of them self-awarded themselves benefits which were not sanctioned by their employers. Domestic workers give themselves benefits using unethical work practices such as pilferage. Pilferage is one of the issues that motivate domestic workers to stay in lowly or non-paying jobs. Domestic workers steal their employers' food stuffs, clothes, garden tools and furniture which they either sell or put to their own use. Participant 12 said, *'Domestic workers do not easily leave their jobs because they get extra money from selling items which they steal from their employers. During the war the RENAMO armed forces needed a lot of garden tools such as shovels and mattock to dig their security trenches. Most of these tools were sold or given to them by domestic workers.'* Participant 3 remarked, *'I stole my employer's expensive golden ring, expensive watch, money, clothes for his children and other precious jewellery for his friends from overseas. My boss would bring home his friends with expensive ornaments which I*

*would steal. I sold everything which I stole and earned a lot of money which I used to build my home near Tete town.'* This shows that domestic workers can stay in employment for unethical and wrong reasons. Pilferage can lead domestic workers to be imprisoned and /or beaten or killed by their employers. Pilferage is common in work places where employees are not given a living wage [30] so giving employees living wages help to reduce pilferage at workplaces. The pilferage behavior and practice by employees is consistent with the adage that *'If you give your employees nuts, you will attract monkeys.'* The findings are consistent with Moyana [21] who observed that domestic workers steal from their employers because they are paid low salaries and wages. Furthermore domestic workers are not given any meaningful financial benefits hence they augment their salaries by stealing and engaging in other corrupt activities. Contrary to Moyana [21], Cakoss [5] did not find a significant relationship between stealing and earning low wages. Pilferage is an unethical practice which is developed over a very long period of time and in some cases it is hereditary. Furthermore domestic workers have ample time to do other income generating activities for purposes of augmenting the meager salaries they receive from their employers. For instance domestic workers can knit and sell jerseys, buy and sell goods and grow vegetables for sale while at the same time they still perform their duties to the satisfaction of their employers. Some domestic workers especially men also grow and sell dagga to armed forces.

#### 4. Conclusion

The study made the following conclusions; firstly, job satisfaction is the principal 'glue' that binds domestic workers and their employers in war torn countries. Domestic workers in war torn countries stay longer in employment because of the good job attributes possessed by their jobs; secondly, voluntary and non-voluntary 'slavery' forces employees to stay in employment which they dislike; thirdly, poverty directly and indirectly forces workers to stick to their jobs even if the working conditions are deplorable; fourthly, domestic workers expect their employers to treat them with respect and dignity which in turn increases their motivation and job satisfaction levels; fifthly, armed conflict deprive workers autonomy and sustainable routes for them to get in and out of employment and sixthly, provision of both personal and job security propel employee retention. In light of the above indicated conclusions, the following recommendations were made: 1) Employers should provide adequate social and physical security to domestic workers so as to retain them, 2) domestic workers need to be equipped with knowledge regarding their human and employment rights so as to minimise chances of employee abuses, 3) employees should report to the police or traditional leaders all forms of physical, emotional and sexual abuses to relevant authorities so that all perpetrators are sanctioned, 4) government should put in place legislation that specifically protects domestic workers from abuse and forced labour, 5) Domestic workers should desist from stealing their employers' properties.

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