Abstract

Zambia has exceeded 14 million citizens, and around 6 million represent the work force. Women make up 48% and the clear majority is found in the informal work sector. Most women live in poverty and being unemployed is a luxury they cannot afford. As a result an increasing number partake in risk occupation, such as trafficking and sex work. In respond to this vast problem international and local organisations alike, have employed strategies to promote women's level of knowledge, skill, income and power.

This dissertation examines the impact of a Zambian vocational training program in their pursuit of strengthening economic situations for marginalised women. Technical and Vocational Education and Training play an important role in the pursuit of securing education for all and improving economic life for the working-age population of low-income societies. In order to assure the feasibility of these objectives former participants of one specific program have shared their narratives that form an explanatory model of present outcomes and impact.

The qualitative study was based on four in-depth interviews with women from Livingstone, Zambia, They were all former participants of a tailoring skill program hosted by the organisation reviewed in this dissertation. Together, their stories produced information on challenges and opportunities that prevail for self-employed women in the informal work sector.

The main findings indicate that the barriers of forming a viable working life related to lack of information, deficient skillset, shortage of rescores and poor communication. In such, there seems to be a disproportion between what the women had expected and what they gained from the program. Throughout this dissertation, the challenges of setting up a sustainable self-employment in the informal sector will be reviewed and compared to principles within the framework of occupational justice.

Acknowledgement

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Chapter One: Introduction

The aim of this study is to bring to light *how TVET programmes can "secure successful employment for marginalised women in the informal sector of Livingstone, Zambia".* The dissertation is based on the findings from an organisation, which primary goal is to alleviate sex work by implementing programmes related to psychosocial support and vocational training. The organisation was strategically elected because members of its vocational programme gave negative feedback concerning outcomes subsequent to their training. Narratives were formed by members of the organisation and the framework of occupational justice was employed to review the *"injustices that persist when participation in occupations is (…) restricted"* (Townsend & Wilcock 2004). Within this framework four occupational outcomes are described, which will act as the main principles to indicate each outcome as positive or negative. The outcomes either correspond with or contradict four central occupational rights. In relation to the dissertation, occupational rights examine how vocational training brings about meaning, balance, choice and participation in everyday life for vocationally trained individuals. Consequently, the principles of occupational justice define the attributes that promote or diminish successful employment for marginalised women. In "occupational justice," the term "justice" refers to the notion of "sharing power" through the distribution of resources and elimination of social indifferences (Stadnyk, R , Townsend, A & Wilcock, A. (2010). Thus, this refers to how marginalised women are included and incorporated in their working life and how their occupational needs are met. Based on these prerequisites, the intention of this dissertation is to explore whether or not Zambian women experience enhanced occupational justice by attending a vocational training programme.

TARGET ORGANISATION

The organisation used for this dissertation is a Zambian rehabilitation centre for former sex workers. The non-governmental organisation offers courses and programmes aiming to create a viable everyday life for marginalised women. The organisation's main goal is to promote the women´s sense of coherence. This is done by enhancing their level of knowledge and teaching them new skillsets within a specific trade. By responding to the millennium goals of "*combating HIV/AIDS* and *education for all''* the organisation govern the idea that education, health promotion and empowerment will foster meaningful and purposeful lives.

The organisations area of proficiency is to counteract risk activity through vocational training, income generating activities, career tuitions, leadership development and counselling. The organisation was registered in 2004 in response to the increased number of sex workers in and around Livingstone. The founders believe that the privatisation of publicly owned companies, the geographic location and the influx of expatriate workers are the central factors for the augmentation of sex work. By implementing a door-to-door approach, the organisation has acquired some hundred beneficiaries since 2004. The approach is called "the night watch programme", where the organisation encounters with the women at the Zambian boarder posts and local bars in an attempt of promoting the programmes they can offer. This programme is the first step towards improving lives of marginalised women who were forced into sex work on the basis of poverty. Women that choose to join the organisation also become members of gender support groups, attend informational meetings, join sports clubs and receive school funding for their children. After a mobilisation period, the organisation assesses its members and offers them vocational training, with the intention that members will then establish individual income generating activities.

The organisation's main emphasis is on empowerment, and its strategic plan argues that communities and individuals will become active agents in their own lives by

receiving increased knowledge of HIV, livelihood and sustainable income generating activities. When using the expression *sustainable income generating activities* they refer to the vocational programmes they offer. As these programmes help beneficiaries form new skill sets, they challenge and work against the women's participation in risk behaviour. The members can choose from a variety of vocational programmes; tailoring, catering, peer education, home based care and farming. Most programmes last for six months, and on completion date the women are expected to render the capability to set up their own individual enterprise.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DISSERTATION

In May 2012 UNESCO gathered 100 member states to debate the transformation of technical and vocational education and training (TVET). In line with the millennium developmental goals TVET is underlined as an important pursuit towards "education for all." It is said to be one of the main concerns in order to meet the challenges of unemployment and to improve access, inclusion and equity for the general population. To improve vocational training, one must obtain a better understanding of how TVET acts as a tool to improve socio-economic conditions, particularly for unemployed youth and women (UNESCO 2012). By focusing on *improved socio-economic conditions* as the main objective, one must recognize that the fight to eradicate unemployment is not resolved by training alone. In order to increase the efficiency of TVET, job creation must also be in place (World Bank 2004).

Failing to obtain work after attending vocational training is a challenge faced by several members of the target organisation. A number of surveys composed by former volunteers indicate the lack of job acquisition following TVET. One narrative gives evidence to such negative occupational outcomes.

"I was granted a position at a dressmaker shop. But my employer would not let me work with the sewing machine, even though I was a certificated seamstress. Instead I was placed as a cleaner and had to mop the floors. The worst part was that my employer considered it to be a trainee placement and refused to give me a salary".

The target organisation created their vocational training using the guidelines established by The Zambian Technical Education, Vocation and Entrepreneurship Training Authority (TVETA). TVETA[1] base their framework and guidelines on research and recommendations from the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and the World Bank. It is therefore in the organisation's best interest to re-evaluate how they bring about "better work, life and lifelong learning" for their members (UNESCO 2012), as an increased number choose to go back to sex work in order to provide for their family.

PROBLEM STATEMENT

The purpose of this dissertation is to obtain a better understanding of how vocational training for marginalised women can facilitate employment in the informal sector. The theme was elicited on the grounds of statements outlined by women formerly attached to the programme and volunteers affiliated with the organisation. With a number of women returning to the streets after completing a programme that is based on principles described by international organisations, the dissertation seeks to gather narratives explaining the actual outcomes of attending vocational training.

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[1] http://www.teveta.org.zm

The discourses gained through in-depth interviews will provide new insight on how to design programmes that correspond with actual needs illuminated by former participants. To align with the purpose of the dissertation the problem statement reads as following:

"How can TVET programs secure successful employment for marginalised women in the informal sector of Livingstone, Zambia"?

Based on this problem statement, the specific research questions listed below will contribute to answering the main objective.

- How do the women experience their working life?
- How did the women perceive the TVET programme?
- How do the women experience support from family, friends and the community?

LIMITATION OF STUDY

This dissertation is based on findings from Zambian women with their stories subjective to the country and culture they represent. According to Ricouer (1984) all humans are holders of a predetermined linguistic, which is based on the culture they belong to. This is a form of symbolic mediation that allows members of the same society to implicitly understand each other without explicitly reasoning for their actions and mode of expression (ibid). The fact that the interviewers country of origin differed from the interviewees might have caused possible limitations for this dissertation. Even though an interpreter was involved to translate the language, there is

still a risk that the significant data present deceptive content as a result of misinterpretation of implicit meanings and expressions.

The selection of theory and exploration of former research is carried out by the postgraduate alone. Accordingly, the postgraduate is responsible of employing relevant literature that will allow for an adequate treatment and truthful presentation of the findings. The research report is subsequently limited by the access to relevant publications and books. As the dissertation was compiled in Zambia most textbooks and reports were collected and copied from the Norwegian University of Life Science in the prearrangement of the fieldwork. After the data collection period, literature was retrieved from online recourses. Certain works had restricted access or were not published digitally, in which case secondary resources were employed.

STRUCTURE OF THE DISSERTATION

In Chapter two, the context, topicality and relevant literature will be described. Followed by Chapter three, where the theoretical framework will be outlined. Chapter four explains how the dissertation was carried out. Thereafter, in Chapter five, the findings will be presented. Chapter six and seven close the dissertation with a section on discussion and conclusion.

Chapter Two: Background and Topicality

International organisations and the Zambian government alike have encouraged the promotion of skill training and employment to marginalised women. This chapter illustrates the conditions that training institutions and their beneficiaries face in the pursuit of attaining financial prosperity and well-being. The following section presents a snapshot of the informal sector and its implications, the framework and principles of vocational training, Zambia's history and prevalence of self-employment for Zambian women.

INTRODUCING THE CONCEPTS

The Informal Micro-Enterprise Sector

Small producers, petty merchants and casual workers are some of the trades that for decades have consumed the world of work with no formal attachment to the modern economy (ILO 2000). With time, markets have changed, trades have shifted and financial crises have passed. Simultaneously there has been an on-going discussion about how to label formal and informal work. Accepting that informal work is vast, and for many low income countries the major sector, it is necessary to choose a definition that corresponds with the working life described by the interviewees in this dissertation. The definition proposed by ILO is presented below:

"*Very small units producing and distributing goods and services, consisting largely of independent self-employed producers in the urban and rural areas of developing countries, some of whom also employ family labour and/or a few hired apprentices, which operate with very little capital or none at all; which utilize a low level of productivity; and which generally provide very low and irregular incomes and highly unstable employment to those who work in it*" (ILO, 1997).

The immense deficiency of jobs in the formal sector in Southern African countries has forced the majority of the working-age population to go about employment in the Informal Micro-Enterprise Sector (IME). Between 80-90% of work applicants in low income countries undertake employment in the IME sector in present time (Haan 2006), and the interviewees represented in this dissertation all work within the IME sector. Haan (2006) defines work in the IME sector as "very small scale (both in terms of workforce and capital investment), use of outdated technologies and traditional forms of work organisation and management, and reliance on local and regional markets". See table 1, which lists the typical characteristics that form the IME sector.

Table 1: Typical characteristics of Informal Micro-Enterprises (Haan 2006)

Tiny scale operation	- 10 staff or less
	- USD 1,000 invested capital or less
	- In most cases merely USD 100 or less
Non-modern technologies	- Out-of-date manufacturing practice
	- Out-of-date machineries
	- Out-of-date managing approach
Traditional forms of organization	- Family run business
Weak position in the markets	- In charge of both manufactures and
	- Low requirements to set up a business
	- In respond to low-barriers-to-entry; facing strong competing and saturated markets

The combination of small size, out-of-date machinery, limited financial administration and poor marked orientation causes low technology level. The chain of causation leaves the informal entrepreneur with limited access to capital and an inconsequential skillset (Haan 2006). The IME is a sizeable sector and by looking at its different characteristics it can be divided into two categories: a high-end and a low-end.

Table 2: High and Low Informal Micro-Enterprise (Haan 2006)

High-end IME	Low-end IME
- Micro- and small enterprises - Some potential for growth - Combination of traditional and modern technology - Product ranging from simple to complex - Relatively market-oriented - Formalised in terms of registration, business license, taxation and social security	- Self-employment activities that function as 'employer of the last resort', especially for poor women and minorities. - Minor form of organisation, with help from close family members - Usually part-time or seasonal - Non-modern technology - Local market - Income is too low to re-invest and serves only as a contribution to the household income.
Industries affiliated with high end IME: metalwork, woodwork, dressmaking, repair service, sawmills, garment assembly, motorised transport and construction	Income Generated Activities (IGA) can be: seasonal trading, small stock, and craft activities.

Technical and Vocational Education and Training

In 2000 UNESCO took the Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) definition into practice. With a lasting discussion on how to separate intellectual work from technical work, UNESCO promotes TVET programmes with a goal of preparing skilled workers *"to meet the challenges posed during the transition from the Industrial Age to the Information Age, with its concomitant post industrial resource requirements and the changing world of work"* (UNESCO 2006). With this statement, UNESCO demonstrates that the two worlds of work cannot be viewed as separate and isolated dimensions.

TVET is acknowledged and employed by The World Bank (2013). However, the objectives are slightly different from UNESCO as the World Bank emphasises promotion of human capital and financial prosperity. UNESCO, on the other hand, holds human development as their main objective. According to UNESCO (2013), there is a risk in specifying TVET programmes as having a focus on human capital and financial prosperity because it can lead to training outcomes that fail to meet local expectations. For a TVET programme to secure good results, one must take the environmental conditions, social context and cultural setting into consideration.

Haan (2006) underlines that the purpose of the apprenticeship training is to "learn the trade, and then proceed to set up his/her own business". There are several other pathways to self-employment within the informal sector. However, enterprise-based training remains, in practice, the vital principle, where skills like technical know-how and business abilities are taught (Haan 2006). Another important condition to survive as an individual-entrepreneur is to be a part of a network. Furthermore, potential entrepreneurs must "recognize that training alone is not an effective means to combat unemployment" (Wold Bank 2004a). For the training to be considered successful, participants must obtain jobs and their employment should include both higher level of pay and better working conditions. (IDB 2000). Hanushek & Woßmann (2007) point

out that the fluctuating markets in the developing world impede the number of employment opportunities and create constrains for skilled and unskilled individuals alike.

The Zambian organisation in this dissertation employs a TVET programme divided in two segments, starting with a six-month educational training period in a classroom environment, followed by a six-month apprenticeship in the IME sector. The apprenticeship is carried out to advance the likelihood of self-employment amongst the programmes participants.

THE ZAMBIAN CONTEXT

An introduction to Zambia

The Republic of Zambia is a land-locked Sub-Saharan country with a population of 14 million (CIA 2014) and is home to seven head tribes, where 73 different dialects are spoken. Since gaining independence from the United Kingdom in 1964, English has served as the official language (CIA 2014). The nation was declared a one party state by the first postcolonial leader, President Kenneth D. Kaunda, who held the office for 27 years. Not until 1991 was a multi party system implemented, and since that time four presidents have served the Republic of Zambia (World Bank 2014).

Zambia's economic and employment sector

After many years of political stability and with recent encouraging economic growth and performance, Zambia has reached the state of a lower middle-income country. The paramount industry is mining, and for decades copper exports have had the largest influence on the nation's economy. Nevertheless, agriculture still acts as the principal industry for employment. Despite Zambia's economic growth, the majority of the working age population has not experienced financial prosperity (World Bank 2014).

Overall, 42% of Zambians live beneath the national poverty line, most of whom inhabit the rural areas where about 70% experience sever inequality (World Bank 2014). In 2012 the working age population was estimated at 5.8 million and is predominantly employed in the informal sector, which makes up no less than 88 % of the country's labour force (Central Statistical Office 2013). According to the World Bank (2013) the "majority of Zambians are already working; they cannot afford to be unemployed." This statement illustrates that unemployment is not the main concern; rather the issue is how to address the conditions for Zambians with few, low paid job options. Therefore, the biggest economic development challenge is how to improve the productivity within non-farming self-employment. This domain is also known as an informal enterprise, and individuals working within this sector are often faced with productivity drawbacks, lack of financial capital and no space to work (World Bank 2013). It is the second largest employment sector after informal agriculture and is therefore in need of further examination to better understand the employment condition in the informal sector (World Bank 2013). Furthermore, additional research will create a basis for the guidelines on the enlargement of small grants, cash transfers and microfinance plans to informal enterprises (UNDP 2011).

According to the World Bank (2004b), the vast accumulation of self-employment within the IME sector is a direct consequence of insignificant development within wage employment. However, the ILO (2004a) suggests that the role of the IME sector in Zambia should serve as brooding box for preliminary activities. In other words, the IME sector would allow for the possibility to develop a good skillset, accumulate adequate resources and/or reach the ability to diversify one´s business, therefore equipping the individual to enter the formal sector.

The ILO (2004a) carried out a survey in four urban and rural areas of Zambia where the 191 surveyed households only 8.5% had obtained formal employment. The residual 91.5% were either self-employed or working for someone within the IME

sector. Furthermore, the common attribute amongst the self-employed Zambians was lack of access to information. The result was the set-up of identical establishments, facing the same scarcities and fighting over the same market segment. As an example, the local grocery market in Livingstone holds approximately a hundred stalls and of which you will find rows of 20 women sitting right next to each other, marketing the exact same items, displayed them in the exact same fashion and sold for the exact same price. Hence, relying on neighbours, family members and potential rival companies for information might explain "why most household livelihood activities are less diverse, more rudimentary and vulnerable to external factors" (ILO 2004a).

Women's employment in Zambia

Zambian women are generally considered subordinate to men and the view of the submissive housewife is part of the country's principal value base. Their challenges are often trivialised and they are generally the last members of the family to benefit from household earnings. This pattern of society creates conditions were women "have less voice, less autonomy, fewer opportunities and lower self-esteem, from childhood to old age" (UNICEF 2008). The outline of the Gender Inequality Index (GII) of Zambia is food for thought when exploring women and the economy in more detail:

"In Zambia as a whole, women hold 14 percent of parliamentary seats. Nineteen percent of adult women have a secondary or higher level of education, compared to 34 percent of their male counterparts. For every 100,000 live births, 591 women die from pregnancy-related causes, and the adolescent fertility rate is 146 births per 1,000 live births. Female participation in the labour market is 74 percent compared to 86 percent for men. The result is a GII value for Zambia of 0.739 in 2008" (UNDP 2011).

In the 1990s, both the number of employment opportunities and the real income standards of the formal sector in urban areas decreased significantly. In conjunction with men holding the majority of formal employment figures, these conditions demonstrate the challenge that women face in obtaining work in the formal sector. The decrease of prospective work gave good breeding grounds for women's involvement in the informal sector (UNICEF 2008). Finding work or establishing self-employment is not extremely difficult. However, the low barriers of entry create highly competitive grounds, making prices and profits particularly low and the working hours exceptionally long (UNICEF 2008).

Due to the restricted research of the IME sector, there is little understanding of the nature and requirements of the field. What is known is that around 50 percent of the IME businesses are operated by women, and most are one-person run enterprises (Haan 2006). Female-run IMEs generally focus on particular areas of entrepreneurial activity that include retail trading, knitting, dressmaking, crocheting, cane work and beer brewing.

Statistically, entrepreneurs in the informal sector earn more than employees in the formal sector. However, male 'informal' entrepreneurs earn particularly more than their female counterparts, as they are primarily affiliated with high reward, rapid growth manufacturing enterprises (Haan 2006). As a rule, women-run businesses have low return on equity as a result of minor market shares and insignificant market power (Haan 2006). Furthermore, they usually operate from the grounds of their own home.

Women representing 48% of the Zambian work force. Of which, the vast majority work in the informal sector. Focusing on how women in the informal sector perceive their everyday working life, this dissertation reinforces the need described in the Zambian economic brief (World Bank 2013): to better understand the environment women work within and the vocational training they have obtained. When viewing the

semantics within tribal dialects, it is evident that Zambian women are actively undermined. Language is a powerful tool and it contributes to the formation of expectations, attitudes and stereotypes for both genders. In 2004 The World Bank published a paper on the meaning of proverbs, with the intention of obtaining a better understanding of women's influence in the modern economy. The negative connotations they found gave evidence to women's constraints and limitations in terms of financial power and decision-making. The tribal languages have created a steep hierarchical system based on gender stereotypes (World Bank 2004). When women are perceived as less able and of less value they are restricted from buying property and having access to supportive structures and finances (UNICEF 2008). See table below.

Table 3: Sex stereotyping "Zambia - strategic country gender assessment" (World Bank 2004)

Saying in local Language	Meaning in English	Associated gender issue
Akaume takachepa. (Bemba)	A male is never young or small.	A male is more likely to be listened to
Bakaintu tabajisi mitwe. (Tonga)	Women do not have brains.	Undermines women's participation in decision-making and cannot reason
Sina musali ki mutu? (Lozi)	Is a woman a human being?	Provokes and creates low self-esteem and low self-worth
Musali kilishete. (Lozi)	A woman is a granary	Reinforces men's control over women's sexuality
Kwapa tacila kubeya (Bemba)	The armpit can never be higher than the shoulder	A woman can never assume leadership or hold higher position than a man.

In addition to being undermined, "women are robbed of time" (UNICEF 2008). They are expected to be the main carer of both the household and the children and at the same time help out with earnings. More over, single women face critical circumstances as they take care of the household, children and earnings all alone. This often forces them into tray activities, like trafficking and sex work (UNICEF 2008).

As women "take second place" (UNICEF 2008) they also face great challenges in terms of profit making, business networking and obtaining financial support in the IME sector. The severity of these challenges has created a disproportion and overrepresentation of women repeatedly facing "constraints in accessing productive resources and essential public services" (UNDP 2011).

In short, as women represent the key figure of underprivileged individuals (UNDP 2011) and in main only have access to easy entry low paid jobs, they rely on the informal sector's infrastructure as a means of survival (World Bank 2004a). To better understand womens position in the Zambian economy the subject of self-employed women in the formal sector will be presented. The purpose of including formal sector employment in this section is based on the ILOs (2004b) statement that the informal sector can act as a stepping-stone for employment opportunities in the formal sector. An analysis of the formal sector will also help to assess which attributes lead to successful employment.

Zambian women in the formal sector

The report, "Challenges of Growing Small Businesses (…)" (ILO 2004b) examined the significant characteristics of women entrepreneurs in the formal sector of Zambia. The women that were surveyed in this report oppose the stereotype of the *self-employed woman in the informal sector* as they hold a higher level of education, good financial circumstances, business background and formal work experience. Even though the women in this paper have privileged circumstances, their situation still serve as a good example for all self-employed women in Zambia (ILO 2004b).

One significant challenge is that women lack exposure to and experience with relevant business networks. This is related to the perception that African societies have towards women, as it is unprecedented for a woman to repeatedly spend time with men and strangers. Unfortunately men dominate most business networks, and in order to grow one's network it is unavoidable to interact with strangers (ILO 2004b). Being denied access to such networks therefore creates an additional barrier based on whom you know rather than what you know.

Women also misconceive their abilities and in general lack of confidence and the paper suggests that women need "positive role models" that can demonstrate how to interact with supportive structures (ILO 2004b). Similarly, this would indicate the need for role models that can encourage women to enhance their business network in despite of cultural predeterminations.

Women in the formal sector also predominantly represent feminized sectors and within niche markets, tailoring can yield high returns. However, lack of information and supportive structures impede Zambian women to pursue these opportunities (ILO 2004b). Furthermore, African women typically employ a horizontal approach to growth. This is understood as the initiation of several singular businesses and it entails over-stretching one's capabilities, time and resources.

Closing remarks

This section has served the purpose of describing the general conditions that persist for self-employed women in Zambia. The topics of TVET, IME sector, Zambia, and women have brought about a general understanding when moving onto the theoretical foundation. Furthermore, occupational justice topics juxtaposed with the Zambian context acts as a good pointer for comprehending how the principles of occupational meaning, balance, choice and participation seeks to analyse the collection of data.

Chapter Three: Framework of Theory

This chapter presents the framework that was applied to explore how a skill-training programme can create just and righteous lives for Zambian women. In order to prove a theory tenable, the results need evident signs of being suitable, effective and applicable in practice (James 1907). Applying occupational justice as the theoretical framework was based on the inference that the ability to do what is valuable is to exercise justice. To fully vindicate this statement, the subsequent chapter will describe a specific selection of topics related to occupational justice. Firstly the historical background of occupational justice will be presented, followed by the logic of occupational justice. A presentation of the breakdown and clarification of occupational rights and its corresponding negative outcomes will round off the chapter.

OCCUPATIONAL JUSTICE: THE BACKCLOTH

Occupational Justice was originally founded by Ann A. Wilcock and was further developed in collaboration with Elizabeth Townsend (Wilcock 2006). The concept is both formed by and applicable to occupational therapists, however it is not confined to the specific profession as it concerns society's ability to include and incorporate each individual's occupational needs (ibid). The concept has been developed over the last decade when theoretical frameworks, ideas and concepts from other branches of science have been easily available. There has therefore been a time of influence and development for new theoretical frameworks.

The concept of occupational justice derives from the works of theorists within the field of Social Justice. The following section presents key authors within the field of social justice and how their principles have guided the construction of Occupational Justice

(Wilcock 2006).

Social Justice

The writing and legislation of social justice dates back to the 19th century when the Catholic controversialist Luigi Taparelli d'Azelglio revolutionised the field of social justice with his novel approach. He created a set of concepts describing societal and social structures, and used these renewed semantics of social order to introduce the principle of "Dritto Ipolattico," which promotes the rights of different social groupings (Thomas 2003). Even though his framework was specifically targeted at uniting the headland of Italy, Taparelli is still seen as the initiator of social justice (ibid).

Inspired by Taperellis work, John Stuart Mill stresses the importance of sharing power amongst all members of society. In the writing of 'On Liberty,' Mill criticises the government's level of control by emphasizing the importance of individual freedom. He also supports the idea that both the government and its citizens share the responsibility to act in a way that will promote a sense of happiness for every individual (Mill 1977 – 1991).

In recent work on social justice, John Rawls and Tara Smith emphasize individual rights and responsibilities, respect and fair treatment as important moral principles and personal virtues (Wilcock 2006).

From Social to Occupational Justice

The classical theorists mainly look at the distribution of resources, whereas the modern theorists believe that focusing on the allocation of goods fails to amend biological and social indifferences (Stadnyk, Townsend & Wilcock 2010). The following section reviews Iris Marion Young, Vicki Schultz and Martha Nussbaum and their opinions on Occupational Justice.

Iris Marion Young focuses on the subject of responsibility and how it connects to power, privilege, interests and abilities (Godoy 2013). She looks at personal capabilities, and how individual and collective responsibilities are influenced by social connections (ibid). Through her career, she systemically works towards creating and implementing structures that would create a just society, which would "illegitimate suppression of group differences" (Scheuerman 2006). She stresses the fact that individuals are responsible for making their own choices, however their actions cannot be fully understood without viewing the background from which they originate (Godoy 2013). Therefore, each individual develops a unique set of needs and capabilities creating a heterogenic-based society. Young disassociates herself from the idea that a society should strive for homogeneity and she promotes the notion that each individual's distinctive prerequisite must be addressed subjectively. (Godoy 2013).

Vicky Schultz (2000) portrays a utopian vision where all individuals are able to mould their own working life, reach their ambitions, create social networks and obtain a sense of belonging by contributing to their respective communities. In a response to Schultz' *Life Work*, Ertman (2002) suggests that we need to focus more on the conformity of domestic arrangements. Although Ertman shares Schultz' notion to equalize paid work for all members of society regardless of gender, race, class and sexual orientation, Ertman (2002) emphasizes that equality of work for intimates is also important. She refers to the development stages of Eriksson, where work and love are seen as equally important to avoid isolation and stagnation as adults (Ertman 2002). Stadnyk, Townsend, & Wilcock (2010) suggests that Schultz mainly look at how paid work can create opportunities in other areas of life to create a just society.

Martha C. Nussbaum originated her work from the Capability Approach, drawn up by Amartay Sen as a discord to traditional distributive theories. She supports his criticism of equality evaluation based on resources because it doesn't recognize that each individual acquires disparate levels of capacity to function in society (Nussbaum 2003). Nussbaum (2003) argues that Sen's oppositional approach evaluates and measures individual well-being and social arrangements to bring about financial and

social growth. By looking at capability, one looks beyond human capital as a means to bring about economic change and incorporates one's ability to improve social structures (Sen & Nussbaum 1993). Nussbaum supports the Capability Approach because it has the contingency to work as a *"normative concept of social justice"* (Nussbaum 2003). However, Nussbaum speaks of Capabilities and not Capability. In both approaches, individuals are defined as active agents that are able to utilize their resources depending on their capability to function. Furthermore, every individual possesses a different set of needs, causing certain individuals and groups to require more capabilities than others in order to utilize their functions. In line with the capability approach, resources must be divided in such a way so that all individuals are capable to function in society (Nussbaum 2011).

OCCUPATIONAL JUSTICE, RIGHTS AND OUTCOMES

As proposed, there is a strong synergy between social justice and the theory of human occupation. By merging the two concepts into one, it creates a strong argument that occupations act as a vital building block to create social justice for all human beings. Thus, individuals that experience deprivation might be hindered to participate in occupations of their choice (Townsend and Wilcock 2004). Recognizing traditional theories and comparing how other professions employ justice to alleviate inequality, occupational justice stands out by proposing that individuals are enabled through the occupation in which they participate. Townsend and Wilcock (2004) shed light on *"the injustices that persist when participation in occupations is barred, confined, restricted, segregated, prohibited, undeveloped, disrupted, alienated, marginalized, exploited, excluded or otherwise restricted"*.

Individuals hold a unique set of "occupational needs, strengths, and potentials which require differing forms of enablement" in order to grow as occupational beings (Townsend and Wilcock 2004). By facilitating equal opportunities and the ability to

utilize one's full potential, occupational justice intends to remove individual discrimination and develop public accessibility. By practicing these principles, individuals will be independent and hold the capability to establish a sense of purpose, enjoyment and acknowledgement (ibid). A sense of individual purpose and belonging in life develops when a society's economic structure, political governance and conventional norms accommodate all individuals in a community.

Occupational justice presents an approach both complementary to and different from social justice. Occupational justice diverges from social justice in the way it views individual participation through enablement and by promoting "humans as autonomous, yet interdependent occupational beings" (Wilcock 2006). Wilcock's definition of the occupational-based approach to justice is as follows:

"the promotion of just socioeconomic and political conditions to increase individual, population, and political awareness, resources, and opportunity for people to participate in doing, being, and becoming healthy through engagement in occupations that meet the prerequisite of health and every person's different natures, capacities and needs"(Wilcock 2006).

If occupation is experienced as alienating, depriving, marginalizing and unbalancing, we are looking at outcomes of inequalities. In response to these cases of injustice we form occupational rights, which look at humans' need for meaning, balance, choice and participation to function as occupational beings (Townsend & Wilcock 2004).

Right to and Inequalities of Occupation

The four occupational rights and associated types of occupational injustice have the ability to demonstrate development and change on an individual level. Their relationship can be viewed as a continuum, in which the causality between each of the four extremities emerges when a situation impedes, forces or enables activity. In turn, this creates positive or negative outcomes.

Meaning – Alienation

The concept of "meaning" as a basis for occupational right is founded on the idea that every individual develops through purposeful occupation. In contrast, lack of positive and meaningful occupation can result in alienation and, at worst, lead to impediment of identity formation. There is an underlying notion that each individual values occupation differently, and what is purposeful to one person might be regarded as meaningless to the next person (Townsend 2010).

Each individual perceives meaning subjectively, which is influenced in a social setting. The societal and cultural contexts are indispensable factors that help shape our idiosyncratic standards and life stories (Hasselkus 2011). By engaging in new occupations, we build a continuum of perceptions, predispositions and sense of meaningfulness. Occupation and meaning are therefore "inextricably intertwined in our lives, each contributing to the other throughout our life spans" (Hasselkus 2011).

Both Hammel (2004) and Wilcock (2006) explain how four intangible conditions of human existence can create meaning. Through what we do, perceive to be, ought to belong and strive to become, meaningful occupation is formed. It is an ever-incomplete process, and the contingency of being able to participate in occupation of personal interest and significance renders possibilities for personal growth and contributes to well-being.

Occupational alienation occurs when valued activities, sense of identity, future hopes and cohesive environment are estranged. Wilcock (2006) notes that alienation was a central concept to Marx in his philosophy regarding nature, community and humans and goes as far as placing human built community and the natural state of the world on opposite poles to explain separation (Marx 2007). By doing so, the concept of alienation can occur on the basis of human-made products, monetary systems, social arrangements, religions, laws, and even philosophy (Wilcock 2006).

Considering that sense of meaningfulness is perceived as subjective, Marx' viewpoint can be applied. However, only the individual can determine the outcome of an occupation as alienating. Wilcocks' (2006) elaboration of a form of employment typically identified as alienating is that of an industrial worker. Manual labour is often "highly standardised and rigidly repetitive," leaving little space for mental processes like control, choice or creativity.

Through occupation, our identities evolve, and as humans we require the ability to express ourselves in a context of personal and subjective significance (Christiansen 1999). To build and sustain meaningful occupations requires positive experience, and for most people factory work will degrade sprit and personality. In turn, it can even "distort identity formation" (Christiansen 1999).

"The meaning of occupation is relevant in what we are called to do, what excites, engages, or demands something of us, in contrast to those occupations that leave us bored, disinclined, or neglectful" (Kirk 2011).

Balance – Imbalance

The concept "occupational balance" is based on the right to participate in a various number of activities. It is a temporal concept and concerns the allocation of time. Occupational balance implies that individuals participate in both productive-, leisure- and self-sustaining activities, and that the different areas are equally valued. Imbalance occurs when an individual is over or under occupied. Occupational imbalance is therefore a lack of time for occupations other than paid work, or conversely, the impediment of participation due to existential conditions such as survival, family and parenting responsibilities (Backman 2010).

The arrangement of occupations is formed by the requirements of the occupation, determinants in the environment, skillset of the person and recourses available. Through one's lifetime the importance of occupations will vary, and at times personal

and environmental conditions will require us to choose and prioritise against longstanding goals and values (Backman 2010).

There are many ways to understand the concept of balance. Backman (2010) refers to Westhorp (2003) where he defines balance as harmony. She renounces the notion of balance as uniform, where occupation, time and effort resemble one and another. Rather, harmony considers life to be a unison arrangement where the odd selection of occupations, interaction with societal environment, sense of contentment and time allocation all play a role in the experience of life as balanced. Metaphorically, harmony is compared with a rewarding symphony (Backman 2010).

"A satisfying piano composition does not have an equal distribution of key strokes, but rather a harmonious arrangement of high an low notes, some long, short, loud or soft, some in chords, and some alone. The skill of the pianist, quality of the instrument, and presence of an orchestra also influence enjoyment of the piece. So it is with occupational balance". (Westhorp 2003 in Backman 2010)

Balance and imbalance are compared to the concepts of harmony and conflict. An important mnemonic rule is that neither balance nor harmony can be comprehended as opposite poles to imbalance and conflict. Balance is based on the notion that people can only perceive his life as harmonious in light of his "individualized experience" (Backman 2010).

Choice – Deprivation

Occupational choice involves exertion of autonomy. Barriers to choose between occupations can evoke a sense of deprivation, which again creates a feeling of not being in control. Deprivation is caused by external factors, such as governmental regulations and structures that isolate individuals from participation. Structures that create occupational deprivation are often upheld because society tolerates or ignores certain situations, such as gender stereotyping, institutionalisation and racism

(Whiteford 2010).

Fundamental to occupational therapy is support to independent living for everyone in society. To be independent is the ability "To do things for oneself; having choice, control and participation in society" (Creek 2008). This means autonomy of thought, will and action, therefore choosing one's occupations unreservedly.

In general, individuals will experience deprivation when they face extreme conditions. As mentioned under occupational balance, the social and physical environment might govern certain circumstances leaving the person with less control. In order for a person to outlive conditions like poverty, hunger, severe unemployment or political instability, one must accept that the level of occupational choice will be negatively affected. Virtually, personal beliefs and values will only have a real impact on occupational choice when the pressure from harsh realities has declined (Whiteford 2010). Wilcock defines deprivation as:

"A state of prolonged preclusion from engagement in occupations of necessity and/or meaning due to factors which stand outside of control of the individual"(Whiteford 2010)

There are five globally recognized aspects of occupational deprivation that create a level of estrangement from valued occupation. These are aspects are geographic location, employment situation, gender-role stereotyping, institutionalisation and expatriation. The three aspects relevant to this thesis are geographic location, employment situation and gender-role stereotyping.

Geographical isolation expresses the absence of resources and occupational variety. Remote and exposed communities might not only be destitute in regards to power and water, but they may also lack meaningful occupational forms and valued commodities. Deprivation as a consequence of employment condition concerns unemployment, underemployment and overemployment, where unemployment has the largest impact.

Work is considered fundamentally imperative to all individuals. It "influences social acceptance" and it is the very framework that girds one's occupational identity. Such predeterminations can therefore "create or delimit opportunities for others to participate" and "can be viewed as a primary contributor to occupational deprivation for multitudes of people worldwide" (Whiteford 2010). Gender inequality that "has characterized women's occupations for thousands of years is still evident today, particularly in developing countries" (Wilcock 2006). In the aftermath of influential emancipation of women "child rearing is still regarded by most societies as the occupational domain of women." This becomes a major factor of deprivation in developing countries, as women are the leading contributor to household income and childcare. Thus, it leaves women little or no time for other valued or recreationally-based occupations (Whiteford 2010).

Participation – Marginalisation

Occupational participation has reference to inclusion rights. Marginalisation therefore occurs when groups are discriminated. Discrimination and participation often occurs implicitly because it relates to people's expectations of which individuals in society are natural members of a certain occupation. The classification of occupation as highly valued or less valued is therefore determined by society.

Wilcock (2006) defines participation as "involvement in any of life's occupations that may be self- as well as family- or sociopolitically initiated". Law (2002) describes the concept as "a vital part of the human condition and experience" which can lead "to life satisfaction and a sense of competence."

To obstruct or evade individuals from participation can lead to social exclusion and impede psychological, emotional, and skill development (Law 2002). Marginalisation is an indirect form of oppression where the negative outcomes are a consequence of well-established norms in a community. The fact of the matter is that society's tendency to predetermine behaviours, interests and occupational forms has a negative

spiral effect. If, by chance, a person is prejudged as unwanted to certain occupations than he will never obtain the foundation, skillset or attitude required by society.

"The case of occupational marginalization emerged with recognition that humans, individually and as populations, need to exert, micro everyday and decision-making power as we participate in occupations. Moreover, we need choices related to participation in a wide range of occupations" (Townsend and Wilcock 2004).

The negative outcome of an unjust world and the occupational rights that aim at rectifying these iniquitous conditions are interlaced. Thus, the ability to choose between a variety of meaningful occupations will build empowerment (Townsend and Wilcock 2004).

"Empowerment is a participatory process of learning to critique and transform individual feelings, thoughts, and actions, as well as the organization of society, so that power and resources can be shared equitably" (Townsend 1998).

The concepts of occupational meaning, balance, choice and participation form the analytical instrument employed in this dissertation. Put together, these concepts hold the contingency to break down and compare the significant data of each single narrative. Furthermore, the juxtaposing of the result and principles of occupational rights form the indications that can bring about an improved TVET programme and better conditions for their beneficiaries.

Chapter Four: Methodology

Research design

The application of methodology is a prerequisite for all forms of research as it guides you to the appropriate tools and frameworks when collecting, analysing and presenting data. A qualitative approach focuses on the experience displayed through the lens of the interviewee. This is an exploratory approach, which illustrates a subjective view that is hard to capture through a quantitative research design (Dalland 2007). The aim of this dissertation has been to gain a deeper understanding of the challenges faced by the women after attending vocational training. The phenomenological data will also illustrate the situation the women find themselves in and describe the attributes that stand in need of change. These conditions also provide relevant information to other organisations and governmental institutions which intention is to empower women. And so, this section describes the research process of how the phenomenological data was chosen, gathered and displayed in a trustworthy manner.

Sampling

The size within purposive sampling is usually small and carefully selected. It is essential to explicitly consider the implications related to sampling, as it elucidates both scope and limitation of the dissertation. By choosing candidates with a unique understanding of the vocational training, together with an interpersonal basis that underpinned the problem statement, the strategy for sampling remained consistent with the purpose of the dissertation (Chambliss and Schutt 2010). Firestone (1993) points out that the topic selected in advance of the data collection brings about the contingency for choosing candidates. The parameters that guided the selection were based on three characteristics; (i) member of target organisation, (ii) former apprentice at target TVET programme, (iii) participated in the tailoring programme.

Choosing participants rather than the coordinators, planners and leaders of the TVET programme was based on Miles and Hübermans (1994) concept of 'thick description.' It would have proven difficult for leaders to describe the outcomes of attending a training programme without being biased. In order to obtain both relevant and rich information on the topic, only programme participants were interviewed. The participants themselves are in the sole position to narrate stories about the challenges and opportunities that arise after achieving a diploma in tailoring. Furthermore, the sample selection did not constitute or represent the view of a vast number of women. This was not the intention of the dissertation, as the mechanisms of qualitative methods hold the power to obtain substantial information based on a small number of in-depth interviews.

Therefore the number of interviewees was determined during the process of collecting data. Thirty candidates compiled with the criteria's and confirmed the invitation to participate. The interviewees were randomly selected and after conducting four interviews adequate data had ben obtained. The residual candidates were given notice that the data collection process had ended.

Interview and analysis

All the in-depth interviews were recorded on film. This method was chosen over tape recording to enable the interpreter to review non-verbal communication that could have been overlooked while the interview was being conducted. Non-verbal communication varies greatly between different cultures and can often lead to misunderstandings if interpreted incorrectly. Therefore, the local interpreter had two central roles: translating the actual interview and correctly gauging the interviewee's response to the questions asked.

Laughter is a prime example of non-verbal communication that can be expressed and interpreted in many different ways. Laughter can be used to positively acknowledge

something, but it can also be used to protect oneself from something. After three years in Zambia it is still difficult to fully grasp the different types of mannerisms, one of which is when laughter is used to mask discomfort. Zambia has a pronounced hierarchal system, and people with lower status will seldom correct misunderstandings with someone of higher status. A common reaction would be to respond with laughter.

In collaboration with the Zambian interpreter, we were able to detect when laughter was used to conceal sensitive matters. The interpreter was present during the interviewing and when transcribing the data. Unmasking "hidden truths" at a early stage of the data collection process created the ability to restructure both interview guide and probes for later interviews. This semiotic analytical approach was mainly used in relation to ethical and verification considerations (Askheim, 2008). Even though the case studies were captured on film, central thoughts and judgements were written down immediately after all interviews. This matter will be discussed further under the subject of verification.

The empirical data activates a certain understanding of the overall theme when coupled with a theoretical foundation. Prior to the interview, the research questions were based on former research, previous experience and general theoretical knowledge. Following the interview process, it became much more clear as to which theoretical framework to adopt. This research paper actively conducts a dialectic approach where the theoretical foundation and empirical data create a joint understanding that corresponds with the problem statement (Thagaard 2002).

The presentation of the interviewees' narratives and statements highlights the crucial findings. The categorisation of the collected data was divided in accordance with principles described in occupational justice: meaning, balance, choice and participation (Townsend 2010).

Verification

The principles of validity and reliability described in Askeheim (2008) and Kvale (2002) were conducted to monitor the objectivity of the qualitative research. It is worth mentioning that these terms are actively used within Norwegian literature to describe the quality evaluation of phenomenological data. However, verification, validity and reliability are often employed within quantitative research. It is therefore worth emphasising that the aim of this study is not to find single truths or quantify the result in any way. Thus, by giving account for how the methodology led to a particular result the qualitative method was critically reviewed by employing principles described by Askeheim (2008) and Kvale (2002).

Validity and reliability

A preliminary design was drawn up to test the likelihood of obtaining trustworthy data. By carrying out a test interview, both the interviewer and interpreter were better equipped to meet the interviewees, and an objective attitude was put into practice. Following the preliminary design of the research questions, interview guides and probes were reconstructed and the feasibility was enhanced. All together, this process lead to an impartial interview process, which evaded leading questions and decreased the likelihood of biased information. This has also worked as an important agent to meet the interviewees with an open and non-judgemental mindset.

Another important factor was phrasing. Good teamwork with the translator served as a key component to avoid ambiguous questions and probes. The women's level of education and the differences in culture were also carefully considered. These were circumstances that could affect the understanding of the various questions, and were reviewed after the test interview. During the interviews, video documentation was implemented to enhance the reliability. It was easier to detect the nonverbal communication cues, therefore making it easier to detect if the sentence structure, tone of voice, or body language affected the answers.

When text-basing the data, the translator examined the videos and, in collaboration with the interviewer, the transparency of the result was discussed. In the process of language vetting, quotations were altered to suite a broad audience. It is important to note that the result is not a rendering of the reality but an abstraction (Kvale 2002), and by vetting the language it is easier to relate and grasp the statements. In respect to ethical consideration, language vetting also helped depersonalise the data and has made it harder for local readers to identify the interviewees.

Ethical considerations

Ethical consideration is a comprehensive subject, and when carrying out qualitative research you often develop a close relation with the interviewees. Ethical rules do not articulate clear-cut answers, but act as a framework when evaluating the moral aspect of research. This thesis applies three ethical principles: informed consent, confidentiality and consequences, as described in Kvale (2002).

The main principle of informed consent is for the participant to understand the agenda and true nature of the dissertation. The staff at the target organisation emphasised that illiteracy was perceived as a vast problem amongst their beneficiaries. To avoid misinterpretations in regards to their involvement and most importantly to their unconditional provision of withdrawing from the dissertation, all information was provided verbally in their tribal language. All potential candidates were invited to a general brief prior to the interviewee selection. During this meeting information regarding involvement, the paramount objectives and ethical consideration of dissertation was discussed, together with the practical and personal consequences that could emerge by being involved.

The thirty women that attended the brief were handed two attachments; (i) general information about the thesis and (ii) an approval statement. The approval statement informed the potential interviewees that they were free to withdraw from the project at any given time, in which case all information given by an interviewee would be

eliminated with immediate effect. They were also given information on how the data would be handled and depersonalised, thus regarding the result in a reasonable matter.

Confidentiality deals with how to treat the participants and concerns how personal data is handled (Kvale 2002). Using a translator during interviewing, transcription and language vetting was a condition that was stated clearly to all potential candidates before picking the actual interviewees. Prior to all interviews this information was reiterated to the candidates. When working with the results' section, any information that revealed the subjects name, the area where they lived, or any other elements that clearly exposed their identity was eliminated. To guarantee confidentiality we kept all revealing information, including film, transcription and informed consent forms, inaccessible to others. Furthermore, this material was deleted after finalising and reviewing the result.

Consequence entails the evaluation made when describing the data given by the participants, which in turn can affect the participants. This does not only apply to the interviewees, but to the larger group that they represent (Kvale 2002). As mentioned under validity and reliability, it is important to have an open and non-judgemental attitude and to acknowledge the significant difference in western and Zambian culture. Codes of ethics are heterogeneous. Hence, when a Zambian views a situation as strengthening, a Norwegian might consider the same situation as weakening. A thorough examination of the significant data was necessary in order to properly care for and respect to the women's narratives. To explicitly portray the women's picture of a challenge and opportunity, we needed to vigorously review all comments in light of their true meaning, and not based on theoretical definitions. This was an important ethical consideration, as it is essential not to step on the participants' integrity.

Chapter Five: Empirical Data

The empirical data are comprised of in-depth interviews with four Zambian women who had participated in vocational training at the target organisation. Through these narratives the objective is to generate a better understanding of how the women perceive the subsequent long-term effects of attending vocational training. In respect to the scope of the dissertation the extent of the data collected must follow the problem statement. However, it is inevitable to consider the distress the interviewees were faced with prior to their involvement with the target organisation. The four women were asked to give short narratives of their life before being affiliated with the target organisation. Each description has been compared to names from "Zambian Traditional Names" (Tembo 2006) and linked up to a name that corresponds with their perception of their past.

Bayenkhu[2] moved to Livingstone as an adolescent with the intention of finding work. It turned out to be a hard fight and after months of struggle she was still faced with no job and no friends. Both before and after her decision to trade her body for money she felt unaccepted and unwelcome in the community to which she had moved. On several occasions she tried to change her situation, but every time she looked for other opportunities she felt as if people were undermining her and refusing to give her a chance.

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[2] Bayenkhu completed grade nine. She can read and write, but has limited skills.

Chakumanda was born in Livingstone to a family of three. Her mother had lost her husband and many children before Chakumanda. She recalls abundant destitution growing up, and as the only female child she was given considerable responsibility. She never went to lower secondary school[3], as money was scarce, so at a very young age she began making arrangements with men in the neighbourhood to earn money for her family. Her mother never wished this situation upon Chakumanda, but she didn't discard it because it generated enough funds for their small family to survive.

Chatyalani was born into a big family and grew up with many siblings. They had enough resources to pull through, but none were given the opportunity to go beyond lower secondary school[4]. Each and every one contributed to the family in their own way, including Chatyalani who would go to the farm area to buy vegetables. The path was long and desolate, and on numerous occasions she experience threats, maltreatment and assault. She never told her family, as she was afraid of how they would react. She continued her responsibility of buying vegetables for her family for many more years.

Kasiwa was brought up by her relatives since her parents died when she was very young. She said they looked after her, but as money was scarce she couldn't complete lower secondary school[5]. She stayed at home and helped her aunt maintain the household until a man from a different community asked for Kasiwa's hand in marriage. Before the age of 17 she was living in his house and had given birth to their first-born. Less than a year later her husband died during her second pregnancy. His family claimed ownership of his house and banned Kasiwa from the residence as they blamed her for his death. Without support and having to rent a different home, she decided that going to the bar was her only realistic option of making money.

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[3] It is uncertain when Chakumanda dropped out of school. She has a very limited ability to read and write.

[4] It is uncertain when Chatyalani dropped out of school. She has a very limited ability to read and write.

[5] It is uncertain when Kasiwa dropped out of school. Very limited ability to read and write.

PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

The following section presents the findings that correspond with the research questions. For the final result, data are noted as significant if they represent the four concepts under occupational justice. The phenomenological data work as a basis for the discussion where the vocational training programme and its long-term effect will be deliberated. It is worth noting that long-term effect is a comprehensive subject, and it is hard to compare directly to the programme's input. There are many objective and subjective aspects, which can affect the course of action in the aftermath of attending a programme. Accordingly, the nature of the findings portrays the interviewees' subjective understanding of their living conditions.

Meaning and Alienation

Chatyalani

Chatyalani has a passion for both manufacturing and designing, taking great pride in her new identity as a tailor. "Now my day has purpose. Tailoring is a good job and people around me admire my work." She works for an organisation and also manages her own tailoring business. She is interested in developing her business by involving other women; "I was empowered and I can also empower others." By elaborating how she can use her skillset to teach other women she indirectly tells us how meaningful the vocational training has been to her. However, even though she sees advantages to her new skillset and clearly explains how to grow her own business, there are challenges she would prefer to avoid. To be self-employed requires hard work and a lot of risk, and she prefers stability over self-employment. "If I could work the whole year at the organisation I would. Then I know how much money I would get and it would be easier to plan for me and my kids." For Chatyalani, money will always be the determinant aspect.

Bayenkhu

Bayenkhu has a number of remarks concerning meaningfulness. Being a tailor is useful to her, as it has granted her with knowledge that no one can take away. When discussing the positive attributes of her profession, her children are the interminable reference point. "They now live in a safe neighbourhood and all three attend school." Her children's happiness is what brings joy to Bayenkhu's life and their prospective profusion is what causes her to disclose the negative attributes concerning the organisation. "I don't trust them. They just told us to start up, but they never asked us what we wanted." She expresses that it was never in the organisation's interest to recommend her to any tailoring business and she felt pressured into self-employment. After receiving her diploma and sewing machine, she was left with credentials that had no bearing in the labour market. And even with her new skillset, working by herself led her to experience a number of setbacks. After grasping the realities of her new working life she has expressed a desire to grow her business; "Then I can earn more money," However, this decision did not arise because she had an intrinsic aspiration to build up her own business.

Kasiwa

Kasiwa associates the significance of being a tailor to her family. It is important that her job generates better conditions for her children, and she will do everything in her power to maintain their well-being. However, she does not see the same value, nor did she have any personal interest in starting up her own business. Kasiwa "would prefer to be employed," and to develop her tailoring skills further would only be of interest if "someone could sponsor me." She complains that her machine is frequently out of order and that repair services are quite expensive. Even though it is nice to have a new skillset, it is less so if she has to pay more than she earns to maintain it. Kasiwa remarks that she "could do more with more funds" and she would rather "earn money from doing other things so I can help my children."

Chakumanda

Chakumanda is prudent when she talks about the meaning of being a tailor. She enjoyed the development of knowledge and collective sharing that took place during the vocational training. Most of all she enjoyed being with other women that had been in the same situation as her. She seemed content with what the programme had to offer for the time being, but when discussing her successive working life the story changed. "I make no money from tailoring," and she explains how there is "no motivation to work when there is nothing to be made." With no money, her efforts to care for her children become feeble. "I have spent many months on this training and in the end I had no use for it." She explains how money and time are what matters and she knows that her daughter may face similar challenges when she becomes a young woman.

Summary with theory

The concept of meaning as a basis for occupational right is founded on the idea that every individual develops through purposeful occupation. In contrast, lack of positive and meaningful occupation can result in alienation and, at worst, lead to impediment of identity formation. There is an underlying notion that each individual values occupation differently, and what is purposeful to one person might be though of as meaningless to the next person (Townsend 2010).

A joint opinion among the women is that the programme has taught them useful skills. Being a tailor is something they all take pride in and it has been an important turning point in their lives. To consider the tailoring skills as purposeful is a condition that connects with the ability to provide for the family. Through their work they are able to pay the monthly housing instalment, put food on the table and provide their children with an education. Being a mother, supporting their children and creating a good living conditions are of higher meaning to the majority of the interviewees.

"I now know how to sew, and it is nice to have a skill. I will always be able to help my family now that I know how to tailor. It is important that my children live a good life and I will do everything in my power to keep it that way." – Chatyalani

The women found great pleasure in learning how to tailor, however the majority of the informants did not care for starting their own business. After the course, everyone was handed a sewing machine and they were told to set up tailoring shops. They felt disengaged by the goals and anticipation outlined by the organisation, which specifically encourages all participants to create self-employment. There is a general understanding among the women that they thought there would be other ways of making a living through tailoring apart from setting up individual businesses.

"They just told us to start up, but they never asked us what we wanted." – Kasiwa

Most of the women felt alienated because the organisation had a predetermined idea of what end result the course would produce. They also said that there was a discrepancy between what they had received of training and what they had been taught to do. None of the women received training on how to start up a business, neither were they joined with a network that could help them in their nascent phase. The general view of the interviewees was that working for or with someone else would be of greater value.

"I am not all that interested in starting up my own business, but would prefer to be employed." – Bayenkhu

Apart from Chatyalani, who was hired by the organisation there was an overall notion that the target organisation didn't show interest in how the women reached the goals the organisation had set for them. Thus, the positive feedback Chatyalani received helped her in forming her own business alongside working for the organisation.

Chatyalani portrayed a very different story of her vocational life. She described a clear strategy for how to grow her own business and she believed it was equally important

to invest in her entrepreneurial activities as in her private life. She saw many benefits from being self-employed and she said that her working life was very important to her.

Balance and Imbalance

Chatyalani

Chatyalani attended the vocational training in 2007 "and because they favoured me I was making their shirts after completing the programme." Until today, she has been part of the organisation's team of staff, "but we only work for small periods of time, when there are enough shirts we have to wait." The season can be as short as 2 months and the wait in between can be as long as 10 months. "They don't tell us when the next time will start and for now I have waited nine months." In the meantime, "I usually sew from home, but now my machine has a problem and this month I only sell fish." Chatyalani continues, "there are several parts that need to be changed and I know it will be expensive, so I wait." She explains how she will raise money to repair her machine: "In order to buy material I first have to buy fish for 50 Kwacha," and after sales she is left with a 50 Kwatcha profit. Out of the 100 Kwacha she spends 20 on material. After a month she will have enough material to make 10 gym dresses that will generate 650 Kwatcha. "When I have that material I can make a guarantee to the repairman. I will make the money, but it takes all my time."

Bayenkhu

Bayenkhu tells us that the biggest challenge of working as a tailor is "spending time with the machine, because it does not work too well." It breaks down frequently and when "you take it for repair you have to pay money again." She paints a negative picture of money being wasted and time being misspent. Thus, her goal of growing her business seems hard to reach. "Even though it's tiresome, I try by all means through the tailoring.". By which Bayenkhu enphasises how she tries to maintain the livelihood of her and children. To reciprocate for the time and money lost, the organisation

introduced Bayenkhu to an organisation offering micro-loans. However, "I have been waiting since 2010 for the capital that they had promised me." In the mean time, she tailors uniforms from home. She emphasizes that she spends "very long hours to cover house expenses." She is particularly concerned with low prices for manufacturing as "I charge 10 Kwatcha for labour, but that money goes towards soap, food and electricity."

Kasiwa

With regards to time, there is one attribute that strongly impedes the progress of Kasiwa's tailoring business. She immediately responds that "my machine always falls apart," and therefore "I have to use the money I make to repair the parts. At the end of the day I make very little and I have to work double." With this point of view in mind, Kasiwa finds tailoring very consuming. "On a good day, if the machine works very well I can make two uniforms. It takes time to satisfy the customers." When reflecting over the type of work to which she has been introduced, she links the temporal aspect to the organisation's anticipation.

"They expected us to do everything. Buy, then make and sell. It takes so much time. Sometimes I even have to deliver the uniforms and those people can live far away. You find yourself spending the whole day just walking."

Chakumanda

Chakumanda has a two-sided perception of time and balance. It is shown by her comments under meaning and alienation that "I make no money from tailoring." Her main frustration is related to the machine she was given. She told the coordinators that the machine would not work from her home and asked if she could swap it for a manual machine. "They told me "lets see," but even today I have not heard anything from that side." Chakumanda completed the programme two years ago and is still waiting for feedback. In the meantime, Chakumanda sells vegetables in town. "I live in the middle of many houses and my neighbours are not very kind. You know, I can

do better business from the city. At least I can make money form there." She continues to explains that she had tried to sell vegetables from home, but that nobody bought her, "again, wasting my days." When discussing work in town, Chakumanda said, "I walk with the plate on my head. I do this the whole day, but it is very challenging." All things considered, Chakumanda feels she spent the last two years trying out solutions that either kept her on hold or demanded all of her time.

Summary with theory

The concept "occupational balance" is based on the right to participate in a diverse number of activities. It is a temporal concept and concerns the allocation of time. Occupational balance implies that individuals participate in both productive-, leisure- and self-sustaining activities, and that the different areas are equally valued. Imbalance occurs when an individual is over or under occupied. Occupational imbalance is therefore a lack of time for occupations other than paid work, or conversely, the impediment of participation due to existential conditions such as survival, family and parenting responsibilities (Townsend 2010)

Concerning balance, the positive outcome after attending the vocational training has been that the women are working from home and can spend time with their family. However, there is a negative consensus regarding time spent on tailoring. After cleaning the house, making breakfast and sending their children to school the women devote the whole day, often until late in the evening, to tailoring. They usually work from eight in the morning till eight in the evening. The long working hours are due to the low profit margin made from tailoring.

Because of the cheap prices on tailored products the women have been trying to differentiate their service in other ways. They all find it important to create quality products and the average timeframe to tailor one garment is half a day. A different way of making sure people choose their services in favour to someone else is good

customer care. The majority of the interviewees are walking to people's homes both to advertise and to deliver the garment they have made.

A different element that has created negative occupational balance is the incorrect information provided by the organisation. Some of the women were told to wait for a loan that would help boost their tailoring business. One informant said she had waited for more than two years. The support they were promised never arrived. This factor kept the women waiting, and during that time the informants did not look for, nor were they told about, other types of micro finance opportunities.

"I was told I would receive a machine, material and capital that would sustain my business. But I was only given a machine and no capital." – Bayenkhu

The standard of the machines has also caused temporal problems. All the informants said that a great deal of time was spent on repairing their sewing machines. Some of the women live in communities several hours outside town, and the only place to get spare parts are in the city central of Livingstone. Due to the fact that they are trying to make money, rather then spending it, all the informants choose to walk. By the time they return from the city their children would be back from school and the women would have to prepare dinner.

Choice and Deprivation

Chatyalani

Chatyalani draws a clear line between freedom of choice and her current work situation. If she could choose, she would prefer to design and make her own Chitenge dresses. Decent chitenge dresses require proper material, which again require sufficient flow of capital. Chatyalani tries to grant her aspiration by running her two independent business operations: "Because fish moves fast I can make a plan. The 20

Kwatcha that I make on top I use to buy fabric. With that I can make two whole uniforms and charge more, bit by bit I can design my own dresses."

However, Chatyalani stresses that this is still just wishful thinking as:

"I would do much better with cotton chitengue. Today all the money goes towards expenses, and I can only afford material for uniforms. But if I had a lot of material I could save and improve more. Then I could make bags, skirts and dresses."

Bayenkhu

Bayenkhu speaks about the freedom to choose as an important attribute of work and links it to her situation at home. She states that being unable to provide basic products like soap and underwear for her children felt depriving, and that it was an actual consequence of insignificant income after attending the vocational training. She expresses that promises made by the organisation were never fulfilled and that it influenced her choices for her business and consequently for her family:

"The programme told us we would receive both a machine and capital for us to start our business. I only got the machine, and therefore I could only offer to repair, or if they came with material I could sew together. Only offering labour has been affecting me and my family."

However, she states that working as a tailor over time has given her the opportunity to choose better options for herself and her children: "I am now able to find something for my children. They are free to go to school and play with their friends. We even live in a better neighbourhood."

Kasiwa

Kasiwa clarifies that making school uniforms is a matter of stability, however by doing so the return on her products is consequently low: "If I could choose I would expand and make chitengue dresses. I would like to be creative. However, I only get

10 Kwatcha per uniform and I never have the resources to buy quality material." She continues by stating that even though chitengue dresses are more in line with her interests, and even though they yield a higher return, there is a more uncertainty related to selling the dresses. Since she needs to save up money to buy the material and she would be making a new product for a new group of people there are too many things that could go wrong "so I am stuck making uniforms for others."

Similar to the topic of meaningfulness, she relates her choices and what is realistic to her children's wellbeing. The significant attributes related to her options at work are "in order to have a choice for my children." It is a persistent measure for what she chooses to do, as:

"I can never manage to earn a thousand kwatcha, but when I make enough uniforms I manage to pay for my children, at least. It is very tiresome, but it is the only choice I have."

Thus, in order to create positive contingencies for her children Kasiwa feels obligated to maintain her current job situation.

Chakumanda

Chakumanda emphasizes that to be independent is a complicated matter with many influencing attributes. She recognises that the choices at work and choices at home are distinct, yet connected subjects. In relation to work she feels as if there are few realistic options left:

"I am scared for the future. There is no real option, now that I could never use my machine. I know others from the programme that went back to the bars. I am afraid I have no other alternative and have to do the same."

She says that choosing to sell vegetables from a plate was in many ways as involuntary as going to the bars, as there is no business in her neighbourhood. It generates money,

as opposed to tailoring. However, she feels she deprives her children from future opportunities, as "I am barely able to send my children to school."

Summary with theory

Occupational choice involves exertion of autonomy. Impediment to choose between occupations can evoke a sense of deprivation, which again creates a feeling of not being in control. It is caused by external factors, such as governmental regulations and structures that isolate individuals from participation. Structures that create occupational deprivation are often upheld because society tolerates or ignores the situations (Townsend 2010).

There was a consensus amongst the interviewees that the vocational programme has yielded greater freedom and control in their lives. The skillset they have achieved gave them the opportunity to choose a working life that they themselves could feel proud of. Even so, the women's responses also illustrated that there are many factors that prohibit free occupational choice.

The women speak about a tailoring industry where they have little influence over their own vocation. The influx of capital is so low that when a sale is made they need to purchase domestic utilities for the family instead of investing in their own business. For some of the women this means not being able to buy fabric, which again restricts them from many working opportunities. In general, the women would prefer to make bags and dresses, but since the chitenge-fabric exceeds the price of daily running costs they feel restricted from this choice.

"If I was able to buy quality material and good equipment there would be a big change. Today all the money goes towards expenses and I am never given the chance to save." – Bayenkhu

However, Chatyalani has a different take on the situation. She also talks about the low profits made from tailoring, but she has found a way to mount her tailoring business.

She runs her tailoring shop at the same time as selling fish. The bucket of fish costs more than one day worth of expenses for the entire family. However, since it is considered a popular snack food and since it is fairly cheap, most people in the community purchase the fish. In one day she can earn the cost of the dried fish. The extra job works as a wildcard because it is possible for her to tailor at the same time. The bucket of fish simply sits next to her sewing machine while she works on the dresses.

Participation and Marginalisation

Chatyalani

When Chatyalani gives account for how the community has included her, she chooses to talk about other vulnerable women and how she could change their situation. In order to signify her current position as a fellow woman she states:

"I compare my past to other women in that same situation. It makes me realise how lucky I am to have received these skills. I have the opportunity to do so many things. You know, the same way these people have put me in a better position I can do the same. If I can train those girls I know they will get a better life".

Chatyalani speaks openly about her profound tailoring skills and does not hide the fact that others talk about her talent. "Not only did the others at the course envy what I could do, I was also considered the best tailor and they offered me a job on the spot." The organisation has opened many doors for Chatyalani. However, she says that when she is not working for the organisation she works from home, as all the others on the course. The challenge is that the organisation had promised to support the start up of her business, but these were only empty words, and today she still struggles:

"I don't know of any place that I can borrow money. Therefore I can't start teaching others how to sew. Without support I can't afford machines, rent and all those other things to start up a training facility. I really want to help other women, but without support it is difficult."

Bayenkhu

Bayenkhu indicates that she has gained positive acknowledgment from the people in her community. She considers several of her neighbours as her friends and they help each other when in need. "My neighbours welcome my business, and recommend me to others." Bayenkhu even tells us that the way she is viewed by her neighbours works as a driving force.

"No one used to tell me I was doing good things, now they are. I am part of the community, and it has made me change. I now trust myself, and I can do so much more."

It is evident that the people in her neighbourhood have a different attitude towards Bayenkhu by connecting her to other customers and speaking positively about her tailoring work. However, she expresses frustration towards the organisation as "they were telling us they would help us with support and money afterwards." This goes against their actions, as "there is nowhere to apply for a loan. And these people were just talking but never going through with it."

Kasiwa

Kasiwa clarifies that even though tailoring generates low profits it has made an unquestionable impact for her as a fellow being in the community and as a role model

for her children. She gives several examples of her self-perception as a respected person:

"The money I make from tailoring is not enough to pay for school fees in one go. So I went to the headmaster and asked if I could break down the amount and pay several instalments. I was surprised, because he told me he trusted I would manage to gather the funds all by myself."

She also talks about her neighbours and friends as positive attributes in shaping her business. The foundation of her marketing and sales channels are directly linked to the people she knows. For instance, "my friends that work at the school tell people about my work. From there the one mother talks to the other mother and then to the next mother." Kasiwa states that her friends understand the hard work of being a tailor. They are happy to help, and the more customers she can gather in the same area, the less time she needs to spend travelling to and from the different customers. "Sometimes they bring the uniforms to the mothers for me. Then allowing me to join when they meet for chatting in the evening." Thus, Kasiwa's neighbours are helping her as they want to include her in their social group.

Chakumanda

The recurring attribute described by Chakumanda is her sewing machine. In her opinion, the organisation was responsible "because I told them that where I live there is no power." She follows up by pointing out that she had reported her concern before graduation, as they were all practicing on electrically driven machines throughout the course. "I was worried they would give us that same machine, so I made them aware." But no one acted in accordance to Chakumanda's recommendation and on graduation day all participants were given identical machines. "At the end I was given an electrical driven machine, but they knew I had no power at home."

Chakumanda emphasizes that she "tried by all means" to make use of her machine. She even approached the people living in her area. "My neighbour had power, so I asked him if I could borrow. But he requested the money up front and wanted to much." When asking her how much, she said that he wanted 50% of the market value. She then stressed that "this way I would loose money. I tried to explain, but he would not listen."

Summary with theory

Occupational participation has reference to inclusion rights. Marginalisation therefore occurs when elderly, disabled or other marginalised groups are discriminated. Discrimination and participation often occur implicitly because it relates to people's expectations of which individuals in society are natural members of a certain occupation. The classification of occupation as highly valued or less valued is therefore decided by society.

On a personal level, all the women mention their community in a positive way. In conformity with greater meaning, balance and choice in every day life, the vocational programme has also made the women feel more at home in their respective communities. The women protrayed a general feeling of happiness because the community acknowledges them as equal members of society.

"I feel like I belong and that I am a part of my community. This was not the case before. Now I am recognised as a tailor, and I am no longer judged for being a sex worker." Kasiwa

Neighbours and friends are described as important contributors to the women's success, and through support and word of mouth they help the women infiltrate the market. All the interviewees make uniforms for school children, and three of the women explain that their marked share is secured through mothers and teachers

promoting their product. The community is a distinct supportive factor, and Chatyalani has recognized that she can also play a key role in helping other vulnerable girls out of marginalization. The groups she is involved in and the contacts she has established render many possibilities and she expresses a sense of freedom as an entrepreneur.

The vocational training is meant as an incentive to increase self-employment amongst former sex-workers. Chatylani was given a job, introduced to supportive networks and familiarized with high-end customers (western volunteers and ex-pats) subsequent to the tailoring course. Meanwhile, the story of the three remaining women is of a different calibre.

Even though the organisation has given them tailoring skills, the feedback is that the target organisation has left them with little guidance on how to start up a business and few options to compete in the market. All women were handed a sewing machine on completion date, but the interviewees all claimed that the machines they received were in poor condition. They would break or might even be missing spare parts. The crucial point is that the women had trouble getting a hold of the people responsible for the machine-handouts; they even felt as if the organisation was ignoring them when they reported about the machines' condition. On top of this, the organisation never went out to the respective participants' homes to evaluate conditions for business start up. Chakumanda expresses this as a fundamental problem, as she was given an electrically driven machine even though the organisation knew her home had no power source.

Although the interviewees all have criticisms, they still show a general gratification. They see how the tailoring skill has changed their role in the community, however the majority were not prepared for the challenges of starting their own business. They felt estranged from the goals the organisation had forced upon them, and they were left with the impression of being taken for granted.

Chapter Six: Discussion

The purpose of the following section is to tie together the different subjects and juxtapose the theory to the result. Essentially, this dissertation seeks to demonstrate the actual outcomes of a TVET programme and evaluate to what degree they bring about "better work, life and lifelong learning" (UNESCO 2012) for their beneficiaries. The discourse outlines the interviewee's sense of meaning, balance, choice and participation in light of former research and through the framework of occupational justice. Put together, this section displays the opportunities and challenges faced by the interviewees and emphasises how the target organisation can bring about a better training programme.

Apprenticeship Training

Haan (2006) explicitly states that a well-constructed enterprise-based training will yield positive conditions for the development of technical know-how and business skills. On the other hand, narrowing down the programme to achieve specified human capital could affect the likelihood of successful self-employment in any given culture (UNEVOC 2013). As stated in by ILO (2004), female entrepreneurs in Zambia had work experience within the formal sector and the acquired abilities to do business. The notion of obtaining adequate abilities for starting up in the IME sector is displayed through Chatyalani's narration of the meaningfulness of work, as she describes a two-sided relationship of tailoring and employment.

Chatyalani has an aspiration to be employed by someone other than herself, which is in conformity with the other interviewees. Conversely, Chatyalani describes self-employment and business concepts in a way that stands out from the others. This may be due to her inherent talent for tailoring. However, it is appropriate to also view her attachment to the TVET programme, as she was the only participant that carried out her apprenticeship at the target organisation. Chatyalani's situation is compared to the

quote presented in the introduction chapter; as this participant was positioned to mop the floors for six months and was not able obtain employment within tailoring following the apprenticeship period.

"I was granted a position at a dressmaker shop. But my employer would not let me work with the sewing machine, even though I was a certificated seamstress. Instead I was placed as a cleaner and had to mop the floors. (…)". – Anonymous

This comparison indicates that the enterprise-based training works as an important agent to obtain self-employment if the apprenticeship is carried out in a suitable manner. Hasselkus (2011) emphasises that even though meaning is a subjective perception, it is influenced by the social context. The place of attachment consequently acts as a powerful instrument and affects the women's perception of valued activity, sense of identity and future hopes by either creating a meaningful or alienating working environment (Wilcock 2006).

There is a call for the target organisation to take a closer look at the apprenticeship programme situated at their own facilities, as one can assume that their workshop holds a good standard and has potential to build and sustain meaningful occupation. By developing a standard for all trainee placements, maintaining a good dialogue with the workshops and implementing a follow-up procedure, it is possible to secure better conditions and good educational settings for all beneficiaries.

Consistency And Expectation

The World Bank (2004a) argue that, "training alone is not an effective means to combat unemployment." This statement seems imperative, as Zambians "cannot afford to be unemployed" (World Bank 2013). Furthermore, if unemployment is not the true challenge of the Zambian work force (ibid), one might question why the target organisation train women for a feminised trade that is already faced with unnaturally

low profit margins (UNICEF 2008). The expected outcomes of attending the course are compared to the interviewees narration of their day-to-day work, as it is conceivable that the target organisation has created a presence of triviality and oppression (ibid) for its beneficiaries.

The general belief amongst the interviewees was that the target organisation had made promises of carrying out a suitable training programme, allocating well-functioning machines and handing out funding for start-up. Furthermore, the target organisation projected that all beneficiaries would meet the requirements of setting up self-employment in the informal sector. In fact, the women were surprised by this requirement, as the general aspiration was to be employed by someone other than themselves. However auspicious, the guarantees that were made did not match the actual outputs and outcomes. Feedback from the interviewees emphasises that the programme never handed out incentives and that machine-repair know-how was not part of the training programme. These implications led to long-winded working days to make ends meet or pursuing other ways of gathering resources to repair and maintain their machines. Collectively, this lead to a constant state of imbalance represented by either overwork or underwork.

Balance is perceived to be an "individualised experience" (Townsend and Christiansen 2010) and in the past the interviewees felt obligated to prioritise against longstanding values in order to break out of a complex state of imbalance (ibid). One would assume that the target organisation would have an adequate understanding of the injustices that forced their beneficiaries into sex work in the first place. Furthermore, one can expect that the general conditions within the informal sector have contributed to the past temporal conflict experienced by the interviewees. Women have a challenge because they often experience lack of applicable skillsets, connections to supportive structures, access to finance and suitable knowledge about markets (World Bank 2013 / ILO 2004 / Haan 2006 / UNESCO 2008).

The subject of violating an agreement appears imperative to address, as women's economic struggle in the informal sector is founded on the lack of human, physical and financial capital. One should be very prudent when promising recourses that might be difficult to obtain. This is especially true when the interviewees recognise that the ability to allocate time for occupations outside of work is dependent on the functioning ability of the sewing machine and the ability to purchase fabric. Most importantly, the target organisation is in charge of providing a training programme that meets the requirement of helping all their beneficiaries to set up a self-contained IME. The programme must respond to the factors that caused the barriers of expensive machine-repairs and low rate for labour charge. This illustrates how important it is for the target organisation to embody an educational programme that will provide sufficient technical, managerial and business know-how, especially since these subjects address the conditions that impede potential for growth and ability to diversity one's self-employment in the IME sector.

Collaboration with former participants

Haan (2006) emphasises that male dominated IMEs in principle yield higher return than feminised trades. This is based on the assumption that men, more so than women, create high reward, rapid growth-manufacturing enterprises. Moreover the ILO (2004) states that women typically approach growth by instigating a number of sole enterprises. In general, this strategy is viewed as overstretching one's capacity, time and recourses (ibid). Even so, one of the positive findings in this dissertation describes how a horizontal approach to growth brought about a higher return and enhanced occupational choice for one of the interviewees.

As Chatyalani shows that her tailoring shop and small grocery can run simultaneously without interfering or decelerating one another, she demonstrates that she has the potential to grow and reach her goal of designing chitenge clothes. Furthermore, her ability to enhance and diversify the business also shows that she has the potential to reach the high-end IME.

Chatyalani contradicts the ILOs (2004) view of a typical self-employed individual, as her work is "less diverse, more rudimentary and vulnerable to external factors." It could be in the organisation's interest to use best-case stories from the field in order to prepare and prevent future participants from setting up identical establishments. This would also counteract the likelihood of the participants facing the same scarcities and fighting over the same market segments (ILO 2004). The ability "to think for oneself; having choice, control and participation in society" (Creek 2008) is amongst other governed by society's ability to share knowledge. With this in mind, former participants like Chatyalani could play a central role in reinforcing and improving the TVET programme. By taking part in future training programmes she could share her self-employment narratives, coach the women when setting up their enterprise and in general, act as a good role model.

Community

It has been said that the environmental condition, social context and cultural setting are important factors to consider when implementing vocational training for the informal sector. Furthermore, being part of a network is fundamental for the existence of any given enterprise (Haan 2006). To adequately comprehend this context, one must be aware of the cultural values within African based societies, as it has created a condition where women "have less voice, less autonomy, fewer opportunities and lower self-esteem" (UNICEF 2008). As both social and structural conditions direct the course for survival in the informal sector, it seems that the forecast for self-employed women ought to generate diminutive prosperity. Women are perceived to have less power and influence over economic and managerial conditions (World Bank 2004) and have been denied access to important networks in the formal sector because of their gender (ILO 2004).

The picture described by the interviewees allows for a different understanding of the social environment. They all felt rejected and undermined whilst working as sex

workers. However, by holding a tailoring certificate, and with their own sewing machine to prove their skillset, the community met the interviewees with a different attitude. Surprisingly, neighbours and friends appeared to be more than mere customers of their tailoring IME, as they actively promoted the product to their friends and colleagues. Subsequently, the interviewees were able to access new markets, distribute products and collect payments through the goodwill of the community. This works as a strong marketing and distribution tool, and opposes the findings made by ILO (2004) in the formal market.

In response to the interviewees, the supportive structure that exists within the informal sector is made up of the community members themselves. However, this was not the case for Chakumanda, as her close neighbours turned out to act as direct barriers. Without any form of support or network, an oppressed situation is formed and one single individual is in charge of all operations of the business. From this context it appears that the target organisation could play an important role in securing supportive structures for their beneficiaries. Furthermore, Chakumanda mentioned that the social environment at the TVET programme was perceived as positive, therefore acknowledging that women in the same situation who meet and work together create supportive structures within the group. In such, one can propose that the social networks that are naturally created during the programme could create a positive ripple effect when entering the IME sector. Could it be that instead of promoting the set-up of individual self-employment, the ability of securing "better work, life and lifelong learning" (UNESCO 2012) would render better results if supporting their beneficiaries to set up together? As the beneficiaries train to become tailors, new behaviours and interests are formed within the group. Over time, the women within this group perceive each other as competent seamstresses and they allow one and another to develop the foundation, skillset and attitude required by the IME sector. Thus, it would seem that the beneficiaries have the ability to grow stronger if they continue to work together.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion

This dissertation has compared the quality and content of vocational training with the structure of the informal sector. It has been argued that this holds the power to support or impede the likelihood of Zambian women to viably run a trade specific self-employment. The result was based on narratives from four women with their stories portraying the barriers and opportunities that persist in they're everyday lives. With emphasis on tailoring skills and self-employment their present situation is viewed through the framework of occupational justice. By exploring the women's perception of occupational meaning, balance, choice and participation, the outcome of attending a TVET programme was reviewed. The four concepts of occupational rights draw up a clear context for the barriers expressed by the women and are presented in what follows.

Within occupational meaning it was argued that lack of sufficient skillset, the organizations predetermination and the beneficiaries' disinterest of self-employment created occupational alienation. This is because the women expressed their estrangement from the meaning of being a tailor. A working life persisting of occupational imbalance was demonstrated by the perpetual lack of resources, insufficient machine repair skills and misinformation generated by the organization. This condition also interfered with the women's sense of occupational choice as they had little influence and control over their own vocation. Essentially, these points illustrate the presence of occupational marginalization as the organization disregarded feedback from their beneficiaries and tolerated the repeated malfunction and even non-function of the sewing machines.

Within this list of occupational injustices, the women also portrayed conditions that accommodated their needs, capabilities and potential. These invariabilities were compared to the negative tendencies and formed the basis for the discussion. The set

of propositions that were conceptualized contained both structural and operational recommendations and could have the potential to promote positive outcomes for future vocational training programmes. With the same logic as the result, each proposed component referred to a different occupational right. Occupational meaning regarded the content of the apprenticeship programme by proposing to recondition the requirements to and follow-up with all trainee placements. This would subsequently secure adequate skill practice in a supportive environment. To restore the occupational balance would involve advancing the consistency between the organizations objective and actual operations forming realistic expectations and outcomes for their beneficiaries. By creating collaborations with female tailors the organization could ensure enhanced occupational choice as their beneficiaries would obtain useful information about the trade and informal sector. To increase occupational participation the organization could be advised to change their current focus on self-employment. By recommending and supporting the beneficiaries to team up with one and another they could set up collective dressmakers shops and work together as a community.

The barriers and propositions described can easily paint a black and white picture. It is worth emphasizing that the programme has created a sense of belonging amongst the women, as they now perceive themselves as respected members of society. They are proud of their skillset. However, the objective is how to utilize this know-how to create a viable working life. As such, this dissertation does not propose that the elimination of one barrier or implementation of a different proposition will bring about occupational justice. Rather, it would be feasible to connect the findings and form a strategy for future vocational training where the emphasis rest on the women's individual prerequisites, circumstances and strengths.

In regards to future studies, it would be interesting to examine the structures that have created barriers of setting up viable self-employment. By reviewing both the institutional and social environment one can obtain a better understanding of how the community can act as supportive element for vocational training.

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Outline of interview guide, before specified and translated

About the informant (general information)
- When did you stop being a sex worker?
- Do you have any other professional experience apart from the work training you have received
  - What and how did you make use of that training (experience)?

Significance and meaningfulness of the organisations involvement and the training programme
- Which significance did the organisation have in your life after you stopped as a sex worker?
- What do you like about the organisation?
- What do you dislike?
- What has the organisation told you about the work training?
  - Information
  - Expectations
- Can you tell me a little bit about the programme you have been a part of?
- Which criterion needs to be granted in order to receive this work training?
- How do you think this training should be carried through?
  - Are there any lacks in the way they deliver their courses?
- Who should give the courses and should they have any other form of subjects?

Current work situation
- How have you made use of the training you have recieved?
- What is the organisations focus? How do they expect you to make use of the training?
- What relationship does the organisation have to your work (attempt of work?)?

      o   Do they help you in any way?

- Is there a relationship between what you do for work today and the training?
- Is the work training sufficient, or are there any other area you whish they would have focused more on?

Your view of the opportunities and challenges you face

- How do you find comstumers?
- What do they buy? (demand)
- What do they think about what you make? (reputation)
- How do you market and sell you products? (roles)
- Is the organisation involved in helping you in making and selling products? (network)
  - How?
  - Others?

- Where else can people buy what you make?
- Are there many tailors in you area?
- How do you compare your level of skill to other tailors in your area?
- What dose people think about other products sold by competitors?
- Do you know what makes them good sales(wo)men?

Appendix 2

Information regarding participation

I study Entrepreneurship and Innovation at Norwegian University of Life Sciences, and my master thesis focuses on women entrepreneurship in a developmental setting. The purpose is to have a closer look at the job- and small business opportunities arising as a consequence of accomplishing vocational training.

On the basis of the training programmes they offer I have targeted Kwenuha. I have narrowed the search down to the tailoring programmes, and after todays information meeting we will choose participants for the qualitative interviews.

The interviews will be recorded on film in order to subsequently detect any misconceptions and biased views. Doreen and myself will be present during the interview and will do the following transcription of all data collected. We are obliged to client confidentiality and all information will be treated with discretion. We will depersonalize all data, and information will be kept inaccessible to persons who it dose not concern. Sensitive data will be erased on completion date.

Participation is voluntarily and on any given point in time you are free to withdraw from the thesis. In consequence of reconsideration all information will be erased.

We hope you will be interested and if you have any question feel free to talk to Doreen and me. There will also be a list where you can leave you name and phone number.

…

If you wish to participate we kindly ask you fill out the consent statement on the back.

Kind Regards

Iris Helen Nikolaisen

Appendix 3

Consent was translated to local language and explained verbally

Participant consent: women entrepreneurship, a developmental programme

I am familiarized with the objective and content of this project. I give my consent that the information given by me can be used for research purposes. It is my assumption that the information will be used in a reasonable fashion and I hereby give my assent to attend the programme.

Participation is voluntarily and on any given point in time you are free to withdraw from the thesis. In consequence of reconsideration all information will be erased. If I choose to do so there will be no consequences on my behalf. In this case all data I have given will be erased.

Livingstone (Zambia), the ………………

…………………………………………………………..
(sign)