

# HRRRC

## HUMAN RESOURCES RESEARCH CENTRE

OCCASIONAL PAPER NUMBER 7

October 1994

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A NATIONAL LONGITUDINAL STUDY OF BLACK HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES IN ZIMBABWE, THE "CLASS OF 1971" PRELIMINARY RESULTS OF A FIFTEEN YEAR TRACER STUDY

## FOREWORD

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This dynamic longitudinal study by Professor Betty Jo Dorsey provides an informative contribution to our understanding of the impact of educational and occupational aspirations on subsequent academic and professional achievements of secondary school students. The findings of this study are important in the provision of career guidance services and for the vocationalisation of secondary education.

Publication of this Occasional Paper was made possible by the generous grant from the Webb Estate.

Levi M. Nyagura  
HRRC Director and Editor-in-Chief, ZJER  
October 1994

# **A National Longitudinal Study of Black High School Graduates in Zimbabwe, the "Class of 1971" Preliminary Results of a Fifteen Year Tracer Study**

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## **Acknowledgements**

This longitudinal study has been supported over the years by a number of different sponsors. The original baseline study in 1971-72 was funded by the Association of Round Tables of Central Africa and the World Council of Young Men's Service Clubs. The subsequent follow up studies of 1977 and 1987 were made possible by grants from the Research Board of the University of Zimbabwe. The author is also grateful to the Rockefeller Foundation for a grant which enabled the completion of the data analysis from the 15 year tracer study and the production of this report while I was a visiting scholar on sabbatical at Stanford University in 1990.

I would also like to thank my numerous research assistants over the years who assisted in the collection and processing of the immense volume of data accumulated from this study. I am particularly grateful to Wendy Roebuck who assisted with the fifteen year tracer study and who persisted in tracking down the respondents utilizing various techniques including that of social networks.

Lastly, I would like to thank the respondents in this longitudinal study who have continued over the years to fill in my long questionnaires, making possible this unique study of high school graduates in Zimbabwe.

## ABSTRACT

*This paper discusses the educational and occupational aspirations and subsequent achievement of the 1971 cohort of high school graduates in Zimbabwe. It considers the implications which their educational and occupational experiences may have for educational reform in the post-colonial era.*

*The first part of the paper discusses the methodology and difficulties encountered in carrying out a panel longitudinal study in a third world country, particularly during a critical political period of transition from colonialism to independence. The third tracer study carried out at a 15-year interval elicited 690 responses (27 percent). The response rate compares favourably with studies conducted in developed countries. The respondents are shown to be representative of the original population on nine important variables.*

*The second part of the paper discusses the original educational and occupational aspirations of the respondents and examines the extent to which they have been able to fulfill them.*

*The "Class of 1971" by and large had an academic type of secondary school education. They were a very selected group since education for blacks was restricted in those days and consequently had high educational and career aspirations mostly of a professional or semi-professional nature. The fifteen year tracer study revealed that they have been relatively successful with 77 percent of the males and 83 percent of the females continuing their education beyond high school and 95 percent having plans for further educational studies. The "diploma disease" (Dore, 1976) is still rampant in Zimbabwe and highly contagious.*

*Seeking additional educational qualifications is not without some justification for furthering one's career and obtaining a comfortable life-style. Slightly less than one-third of the respondents in the third tracer study were in high status occupations and two-thirds were in middle status occupations. None of the females and only 3 percent of the males were in low status occupations. There was also a strong relationship between educational qualifications and income, particularly for females. Higher qualifications and higher incomes enables nearly half the respondents in the third tracer study to live in the better residential suburbs in the urban areas.*

*The vast majority felt their academic education was relevant to their occupations.*

*The implications for educational reform to be drawn from the achievements and attitudes of respondents in this longitudinal study are not positive for curriculum changes towards greater emphasis on vocational and practical subjects in the curriculum. The unemployment rate of high school graduates today in a vastly expanded secondary education system may, however, be the major factor that influences educators, parents, and pupils to accept a more relevant curriculum.*

## **Introduction**

The primary purpose of this longitudinal study of black high school graduates in Zimbabwe is the observation of the educational and occupational aspirations, attitudes and subsequent achievement of young people after they leave high school. The study also investigates the relationship between this subsequent achievement and the prior educational experiences and personal characteristics of the members of the high school class of 1971. It is expected that ultimately the study will provide a better understanding of the complex factors associated with individual educational and career destinations. Such information is essential as a basis for effective planning, implementation and evaluation of government policies and programs designed to improve both education and employment.

The critical importance of education in the training of a country's manpower is widely recognised by educators and economists alike (Vaizey, 1962; Schultz, 1961; Curle, 1963; Psacharopoulos, 1988). At the time this study was initiated in 1971 the amount of data were minimal concerning the utilisation of individuals who had been or were being trained in various sectors of the educational systems in the developing countries of Africa. Research was particularly lacking at the post-secondary school level with the exception of studies by Foster (1965), Clignet and Foster (1966), McQueen (1968), Kinyanjui (1971) and Somerset (1970). What was particularly needed were studies which would provide concrete evidence regarding the articulation between the education system and the emerging occupational structure in developing countries.

Among the important elements in such studies are the attitudes and values of pupils and parents to a given educational and occupational situation. It is essential to investigate factors associated with variations in occupational preference. Recruitment into certain types of occupations, particularly agriculture, considered necessary for national development, requires that individuals see these jobs as offering advantages over other alternatives. Efforts to change and adapt the educational system to meet the needs of economic development have frequently been unsuccessful because of a lack of consideration of these factors.

The Zimbabwean base-line study in 1971 constituted an in-depth investigation of those factors influencing occupational choice and achievement of black high school graduates. The general research problem investigated the extent to which secondary school pupils' socio-economic, cultural and school environments influenced and helped to determine aspirations, expectations, academic and occupational achievement. (Dorsey, 1975:55)

## Methodology

A panel longitudinal study was selected as the most appropriate method for carrying out the investigation. This influenced both the size of the sample and the kinds of data collected. Because the black secondary school-leaving population was relatively small in 1971, it was decided to do an entire enumeration of the population, 2557 pupils in 67 schools. Since panel studies are known to have a high attrition rate over time it was hoped that a sufficient number of respondents would thus be retained to make a longitudinal investigation feasible.

One of the major problems encountered in panel tracer studies is the loss of respondents. This is particularly true if the subjects are studied over a long period of time. The subjects who remain may be different in some important respects from those who dropped out. Therefore it is important at the outset to develop techniques that will encourage subjects to remain in the study.

In Africa, school-leaver tracer studies have been particularly difficult to successfully implement for reasons which do not always pertain to the same degree in more developed countries (cf. Hallgren et al, 1985; Peng et al, 1972). Having completed high school the population becomes very mobile. Home addresses collected in the base-line study are soon out of

date. In any case in rural areas the address may be a very general one, usually the nearest school where post may be collected sporadically, if at all. Communication and transport systems are often inefficient or disrupted through social and political upheavals. Individual possession of telephones is less frequent, making it more difficult to trace subjects by using telephone directories. For cultural reasons individuals both male and female may change their names. Thus it is necessary to use a variety of techniques in order to retain and trace an adequate number of subjects. The techniques which were used in the longitudinal study of black high school graduates in Zimbabwe to trace the members of the "Class of 1971" will be discussed in the next section of this paper to illustrate some of the issues involved.

The survey consisted of a four-stage design which included: 1) the interviewing of pupils in their final year in high school; 2) the interviewing of pupils' parents in the home; 3) a one-year post-school follow-up study of pupils' occupational or further educational achievements and 4) further data collection periods at regular intervals.

Questionnaire instruments were constructed for each of the stages of the longitudinal survey. These instruments were pre-tested on 825 final year pupils in ten schools in a pilot study carried out in 1970, a year before the national survey. The interview schedule for parents was pre-tested on a parent sample of 230. The results of the pilot study enabled a further revision and refinement of the instruments to be used in the national survey. In its final form the questionnaire used in the schools in stage one was designed to elicit data concerning the pupils' socio-economic background, their occupational and educational aspirations and expectations, a self-rating of academic achievement, their attitudes with regard to the purpose of education, their perceptions of the occupational structure and their life goals and values.

The research instrument utilised a number of different techniques in assessing and measuring pupils' attitudes, including the method of direct questioning, ranked answers, and questions constructed on a five-point Likert-type scale. Pupils' perceptions of and attitudes toward various occupations were assessed through a paired comparisons test of job characteristics and an occupational prestige and preference test in which pupils were asked to rate the prestige of and personal preference for 35 different occupations on a five-point scale. Additional data on the actual academic achievement of pupils in the final external examinations was obtained from the headmasters of schools and the Ministry of Education.

## **Data Collection And Interviewing Techniques**

During the period June 28 to October 8, 1971, a total of 2557 pupils were interviewed in class groups using the aspiration-attitude questionnaire instrument described above. Of this number 2384 were in Form IV and 173 in the Upper Sixth Form.

In order to carry out the survey on a nation-wide basis it was necessary to obtain the approval of the Ministry of Education. Ministry officials were consulted on three occasions. They made a number of useful suggestions and pointed out the most accessible routes to the more remote high schools in rural areas. Headmasters and provincial education officers were officially informed that the project had the approval of the Ministry and this helped to ensure the co-operation of all schools.

The interviewing timetable was finalised through personal communication by letter with headmasters, the majority of whom were very co-operative. Only one headmaster demanded to see the questionnaire before he would set a date for the interviewing. However, a few schools did not want to give up prime class time since pupils had only a few months before writing final examinations. In those schools pupils were interviewed on Saturday morning or in the afternoon. Due to individual differences the time necessary to complete the questionnaire varied between one and three hours. The mean time required was two hours. It was noted that pupils in urban schools tended to take less time than pupils in rural schools.

## **Techniques for Improving the Response Rate**

One of the most important problems encountered in surveys is bias due to non-response. In a study of senior secondary school pupils in Kenya, Anderson, Bowman and Olsen (1969) had a comparatively high non-response rate particularly on certain questions and, in addition, five out of twenty-five schools failed to return any questionnaires. The method they used was to mail the questionnaires to headmasters rather than conducting interviews with trained research staff. This may reduce the cost but increases the non-response rate unacceptably. Because of the longitudinal nature of the Zimbabwean study it was particularly important to minimise the non-response rate and to motivate pupils to participate in the study. Therefore, the interviews were conducted by the author and two trained graduate research assistants. The author interviewed pupils



in 52 schools and the research assistants in the remaining 15 schools. This entailed travelling thousands of kilometres often over very rough roads to reach the more remote rural schools.

In order to further motivate pupils to respond a conscious effort was made to establish the social utility of the survey in terms of the value system of the pupils and to emphasise the special role of each respondent in making possible the attainment of the optimal success of the survey. This was done both orally when introducing the questionnaire to pupils and in a written introduction to the questionnaire instruments. In addition it was considered important to establish a good rapport with the respondents and this we endeavoured to do through informal discussions with them before and after administering the questionnaire. The establishment of good rapport was especially important because of the social and political setting in which the survey was conducted.

Two political events in particular affected pupils in the survey. The first was that during this period the government was negotiating with Britain for a settlement regarding recognition of its unilateral declaration of independence. An agreement was reached between the two governments subject to the approval of the majority of the people. Subsequent findings showed that the majority did not approve the terms of the settlement. The second event during this period which caused concern among secondary school pupils was the introduction of new salary scales for teachers which in effect discriminated against teachers in the then segregated high schools for black pupils. Demonstrations took place at ten secondary schools during the month of July. Various disciplinary measures ensued; pupils involved were arrested, caned, sent home temporarily and some were expelled. The schools most affected were those in or near urban centres but pupils in rural high schools were also very aware of the issues involved. Our visit to one school had to be postponed because of the unrest but otherwise we were able to maintain our interviewing schedule. In addition to these disturbances, we discovered that six pupils in two schools were awaiting trial on charges of receiving guerilla training in Zambia.

The prevailing political situation contributed to a strong feeling among pupils of being racially discriminated against by those in the dominant power group in society. Pupils expressed these attitudes in informal discussions and through specific questions in the research instrument. However, despite the unsettled political atmosphere we were able to establish an effective rapport with the pupils and they were adequately motivated to participate in the study. A 100 percent response rate from

pupils who were present at the time of the interviews was obtained. A few pupils asked if they were "compelled" to fill in the questionnaire and when we said they were not, they nevertheless chose to do so. A high response rate was obtained on specific questions as well, unlike the Kenyan study, and this can be attributed both to adequate motivation and to the fact that a trained research team was present to answer queries and to check for inadvertent omissions on questionnaires.

Another indication that interviewer-pupil rapport was good was shown by the fact that a large number of pupils (over 200) wrote personal letters following the school visits. Many of the letters in addition to seeking advice and help also stated that the pupil had "enjoyed" filling in the questionnaire. For continuing to maintain a good rapport with respondents in a longitudinal study it is important that unsolicited letters like these be answered.

The second stage of the initial survey, the parental study, had to be abandoned after 50 interviews due to political unrest in the country from January to April 1972. Besides being caught in the middle of a riot in one of the urban townships, one of the research assistants was arrested in a rural area on the grounds of asking "suspicious" questions. Parental data were then based on the 230 interviews conducted during the pilot study and on specific questions contained in the pupils' questionnaires.

In longitudinal studies the importance of timing needs to be taken into account when planning stages in the research. If this study had not been done in 1971, for example, it could not have been carried out for the ensuing ten years because in late 1972 a civil war broke out which seriously disrupted schools in the rural areas. A number of the high schools in this survey were closed and only re-opened after independence in 1980. An interesting facet of this study is the contextual change it spans from colonialism to independence.

### **The First Post-School Tracer Study 1972**

The first post-school tracer study on these same pupils was carried out during the year following the completion of their O and A level studies. The tracer study had two aims: 1) to see to what extent pupils' expressed aspirations had been realised in either job attainment or through further education; 2) to examine the relationship between the secondary school system and the occupational opportunity structure for black high school

graduates in order to ascertain the extent to which the system was effectively integrated with the economic and industrial needs of the country. Within the context of the post-school experience other intervening variables were examined over which pupils had very little, if any, control but which might influence job attainment or further education.

The pupils were interviewed through a mailed questionnaire. An 88 percent response rate was achieved, extremely high for an exercise of this kind. The high response rate is attributable to a number of factors. Among them are the rapport established with the pupils during the interviews at the schools, the interest aroused in the project, the serious problems many had in the post school experience in trying to find jobs and the method of persistent reminders sent to those who for one reason or another were slow in replying. Of those who responded 12 percent were employed, 26 percent were continuing their education and 50 percent were unemployed. Of the 12 percent who were employed, less than half had jobs which actually required a high school leaving certificate. These figures indicated an under-utilisation of the products of the educational system in the pre-independence era. This goals-means discrepancy contributed to frustrated aspirations of black youth and was a significant factor leading to the civil war which erupted in 1972, particularly, since as a result of their education they represented an educational elite in the country, being the top two percent of their grade one cohort (Dorsey, 1981: 215).

## **The Second Tracer Study 1977**

The second tracer study conducted five years later took place during the height of the guerilla war. Not only had many schools been closed in rural areas, but the transport and communication systems had been disrupted as well. Many of the letters containing the questionnaires were returned because the post was no longer being delivered to given rural areas. Nevertheless, in even these adverse circumstances there was an overall response rate of 47 percent. A number of letters received were from parents who said they did not know where their children were because they had gone to join the armed struggle. Others were from parents who said their children had been killed. Of the respondents who replied, the vast majority were employed but there was a considerable amount of dissatisfaction with their jobs because they were not in occupations to which they had originally aspired.

### The Third Tracer Study 1986-87

The third tracer study was carried out at a fifteen-year interval and six years after independence. The respondents at this stage were between the ages of 32 and 37 and relatively established in their careers. It was decided to try to trace all of the original 2557 pupils in the original study (except for the known deceased) because of the disruption of the civil war which might have prevented some from responding to the second tracer study of 1977. The initial response rate to the third study was low with only 325 responding. The author then appealed to the national press who ran a very good article on the study in *The Sunday Mail* (circulated nation-wide) entitled "Is There Life After School in Zimbabwe?" Despite the publicity, this elicited only 20 more completed questionnaires. It was then decided to place a paid advertisement in *The Sunday Mail* inviting those members of the "Class of 1971" to respond who had not done so. The advertisement included a brief pro-forma to be filled in in order to receive the full questionnaire. The response to this advertisement was also disappointing. In fact it was answered by a number of individuals (hoping to find jobs) who had *not* been members of the "Class of 1971". We then resorted to the telephone directory and were able to trace 75 individuals from the original study in this way. Then we decided to try the technique of using social networks. We sent to the 400 who had by now responded a list of their classmates whom we were trying to trace and asked them if they knew where their classmates were. This tracer technique was successful and accounts for over a third of the respondents whom we have been able to interview in the third tracer study. Frequently the respondents to whom we sent this list would indicate where several of the missing individuals were working and then they would go on to say "but so-and-so knows where x and y are". We thus moved to a second-order investigation and in this way we were able finally to trace a total of 690 of the original sample of 2557 or 27.0 percent. This third tracer study is comparable to and in some respects exceeds the response rate of panel studies conducted under more congenial circumstances in developed countries. For example Wise (1977 in Borg and Gall, 1983) followed a national sample of high school graduates in the United States into adulthood and his response rates were as follows: 1) one-year follow-up 61.9 percent; 2) five-year follow-up 37.9 percent; 3) eleven-year follow-up 27.9 percent. The Zimbabwean study had a considerably higher response rate in the one- and five-year tracer studies and only a 0.9 percent lower response rate at a third tracer study which also had a longer interval, 15 versus 11 years.

## Retention Rates of Third Tracer Study

The following, Table 1, shows the retention rates in the fifteen year tracer study by high school level Form IV (ordinary level) and Form VI (advanced level) and by gender. A higher percentage of males responded in 1987 from both high school levels and a higher percentage of both males and females who had been in Form VI (advanced level) responded.

**Table 1**  
**Retention Rates In A Fifteen Year Longitudinal Study Of**  
**High School Graduates In Zimbabwe By Form Level And**  
**Gender 1971 - 1987**

Form and Gender	Original Population 1971	Tracer Study 1972	Response Rate 1972 %	Tracer Study 1987	Response Rate 1987 %
<u>Form IV</u>					
Males	1793	1571	88.0	503	28.0
Females	591	525	89.0	119	20.0
Total	2384	2096	88.0	622	26.0
<u>Form VI</u>					
Males	154	126	82.0	61	40.0
Females	19	13	68.0	7	37.0
Total	173	139	80.0	68	39.3
<u>All Respondents</u>					
Males	1947	1697	87.0	564	29.0
Females	610	538	88.0	126	21.0
Total	2557	2235	87.4	690	27.0

## **Representativeness of Respondents in the Third Tracer Study (1987) Compared with the Base-Line Study of 1971**

In order to ascertain how representative the 690 respondents in the third tracer study are compared to respondents in the original base-line study of 1971, three dependent variables and six independent variables considered to be important to the basic investigations of the study have been selected for comparison. The dependent variables include educational aspirations, occupational aspirations and academic achievement. The independent variables selected include:

- 1) school environment factors
  - a) type of school attended
  - b) sex composition of school attended;
- 2) socio-economic and cultural factors
  - a) parents' education and occupation
  - b) ethnic (tribal) group
  - c) family type and
  - d) place of residence.

### **Educational, Occupational Aspirations and Academic Achievement Variables**

The respondents in the third tracer study are essentially representative of the base-line study respondents on all three of the dependent variables. (See Tables 2, 3, 4 and 4 [a].) There is some variation with females (but not males) with regard to the variable of "educational aspirations." A slightly higher percentage of females with relatively lower aspirations (Form IV only) responded, as well as a slightly higher percentage of those with high aspirations (University). Those with middle level aspirations (Form IV and Training) are slightly under-represented. There is no significant variation on the dependent variable of "occupational aspirations" by either males or females.

With regard to the dependent variable of "academic achievement" which was based on respondents' results in their Cambridge "O" (Form IV) level final examinations, the third tracer study is reasonably representative of respondents across the academic spectrum from those who did very well with a Division I pass to those who did not do well, Division III and below.

It should provide an interesting comparison of what has happened to the high academic achievers versus the low academic achievers in what is essentially a study of an academic elite group of high school graduates in a third world country, since they represented 2.0 percent of their Grade One co-hort. (Dorsey, 1981:215) At "A" Level (Form VI) the study is over-represented by those who passed versus those who failed. The numbers are, however, small.

**Table 2**  
**Educational Aspirations of Original Population**  
**Compared with Tracer Study Respondents, 1987**

Educational Aspirations	1971		1987	
	Males (N=1947) %	Females (N=610) %	Males (N=564) %	Females (N=126) %
Form IV	2.2	4.9	2.0	7.3
Form IV and Training	18.0	50.2	19.0	39.5
Form VI and Training	11.1	14.7	11.8	16.9
University	67.6	29.3	67.3	36.4
N.R	1.0	0.8	0.8	0.2

**Table 3**  
**Level of Occupational Aspirations of Original Population**  
**Compared with Tracer Study Respondents, 1987**

Educational Aspirations Level	1971		1987	
	Males (N = 1947) %	Females (N = 610) %	Males (N = 564) %	Females (N = 126) %
High	84.6	92.7	85.3	91.3
Middle	14.2	6.8	13.7	7.9
Low	0.5	---	0.4	---
N.R	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.8

**Table 4**  
**High School O-Level Examination Results of Original**  
**Population Compared with Tracer Study Respondents**

Examination Results	1971		1987	
	Males (N = 1793) %	Females (N = 591) %	Males (N = 564) %	Females (N = 126) %
Division 1 Pass	37.9	35.9	33.7	38.7
Division 2 Pass	39.2	42.8	42.0	38.7
Division 3 Pass	18.6	18.1	19.2	18.5
Division 4 Pass	2.8	2.5	2.6	4.2
Fail	1.5	0.7	2.5	---



**Table 4 (a)**  
**High School A-Level Examination Results**

Examination Results	1971		1987	
	Males (N = 154) %	Females (N = 19) %	Males (N = 56) %	Females (N = 7) %
Passed	75.3	68.4	87.5	85.7
Failed	24.7	31.6	12.5	14.3

### **School Environment Variables**

There were 67 senior high schools in the base-line study of 1971 which constituted a total enumeration of senior high schools for black pupils at that time. There are respondents in the third tracer study from each of these schools. Some schools are better represented than others. For purposes of comparison two variables have been selected: type of school and the sex composition of the school. Tables 5 and 6 show that respondents in the third tracer study do not differ significantly on the basis of the type of school attended or whether it was a single-sex or co-educational school.

**Table 5**  
**Tracer Study Respondents Compared with Original**  
**Population by Type of High School Attended in 1971**

Type of School	<u>Males</u>		<u>Females</u>	
	1971 (N = 2384) %	1987 (N = 564) %	1971 N = 610 %	1987 N = 126) %
Mission Boarding	69.9	69.1	84.6	85.7
Government Boarding	10.0	10.3	6.1	7.9
Urban Day	17.6	16.7	8.9	5.6
Small Town Day	2.6	3.9	0.3	0.8

**Table 6**  
**Tracer Study Respondents Compared with Original**  
**Population by Kind of School**

Kind of School	<u>Males</u>		<u>Females</u>	
	1971 (N = 2384) %	1987 (N = 564) %	1971 N = 610 %	1987 N = 126) %
Single-sex	31.6	27.0	45.5	46.0
Co-educational	68.4	73.0	54.5	54.0

## Socio-economic and Cultural Variables

The base-line study in 1971 included a number of socio-cultural variables which were thought possibly to influence aspirations and achievement of high school pupils. (Dorsey, 1975) The following have been selected for comparison with characteristics of respondents in the third tracer study: parents' education and occupation; family structure; place of residence and ethnic (tribal) group. Tables 7-12 show that there is no significant difference between any of these variables in the 1971 base-line study and the 1987 third tracer study. Therefore from these comparisons we can be reasonably confident that the respondents in the third tracer are representative of the population in the base-line study.

**Table 7**  
**Father's Education in Original Population Compared**  
**with Tracer Study Respondents, 1987**

Father's Education	1971		1987	
	Males (N=1947) %	Females (N=610) %	Males (N=564) %	Females (N=126) %
None	9.5	3.4	12.5	1.6
Some primary	45.8	31.1	46.7	31.2
Completed primary	17.7	21.8	17.1	20.8
Some secondary	16.4	25.7	17.5	28.8
Form IV	5.8	10.7	3.0	8.0
Form VI	2.4	4.3	1.4	7.2
Beyond Secondary	0.8	1.5	0.9	1.6
N.R.	1.7	1.5	0.9	0.8

**Table 8**  
**Mother's Education in Original Population Compared**  
**with Tracer Study Respondents, 1987**

Mother's Education	1971		1987	
	Males (N = 1947) %	Females (N = 610) %	Males (N = 564) %	Females (N = 126) %
None	14.9	4.8	16.2	4.0
Some primary	60.0	53.8	64.2	59.2
Completed primary	10.9	16.6	7.5	13.6
Some secondary	9.6	19.7	9.1	16.8
Form IV	2.7	3.6	2.1	16.8
Form VI	0.5	0.3	0.5	4.8
Beyond Secondary	0.2	0.3	--	0.8
N.R	1.3	1.0	0.4	0.8

**Table 9**  
**Occupational Status of Fathers in Original Population**  
**Compared with Tracer Study Respondents, 1987**

Father's Occupational Status	1971		1987	
	Males (N = 1947) %	Females (N = 610) %	Males (N = 564) %	Females (N = 126) %
High	2.6	3.9	1.4	5.6
Middle	29.9	44.6	29.3	42.9
Low	63.9	47.2	67.0	49.2
N.R./O.K.	3.6	4.3	2.3	2.4

**Table 10**  
**Family Structure**

Family Structure	1971		1987	
	Males (N = 1947) %	Females (N = 610) %	Males (N = 564) %	Females (N = 126) %
Monogamous	79.8	86.2	78.9	87.3
Polyfynous	18.3	12.3	19.3	11.1
No response	1.9	1.5	1.7	1.6

**Table 11**  
**Urban-Rural Classification of Original Population**  
**Compared with Tracer Study Respondents, 1987**

Family Structure	1971		1987	
	Males (N = 1947) %	Females (N = 610) %	Males (N = 564) %	Females (N = 126) %
Urban	28.8	36.7	27.1	39.7
Rural	69.5	62.0	70.2	58.7
N.R.	1.7	1.3	2.7	1.6

N.B. Pupils were classified as urban if they had lived 8 or more years in town

**Table 12**  
**Comparison by Tribal Group Between the Original**  
**Population and Tracer Study Respondents, 1987**

Tribal Group	1971 (N = 2557)	1987 (N + 690)
Zezuru	28.4	28.6
Karanga	20.9	21.9
Manyika	17.7	19.9
Ndebele	10.6	9.0
Ndau	5.6	5.5
Korekore	4.3	4.9
Kalanga	2.1	1.3
Sotho	1.7	1.5
Rozwi	1.7	2.0
Chewa	1.5	1.5
Ngoni	1.1	1.5

Pedi	0.6	0.4
Xhosa	0.6	0.1
Luyana	0.5	0.3
Others	2.1	1.7
N.R	0.7	0.1

---

N.B. Groups forming fewer than 10 pupils in the original survey were combined in the category "Others". It includes the Tonga, Bemba, Tswana, Yao, Lozi, Henga, Luapula, Ndembu, Mambwe, Kinga, Herero, and the Zambezi type groups.

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The information presented in this paper is based largely on data from the third tracer study and therefore generally refers to 1987. Some statistics, however, have been analysed in relation to the base-line study in 1971 and therefore make use of the longitudinal aspects of the survey. The significance of these findings and others not discussed in this paper will be enhanced when they are analysed in more detail and in relation to the base-line data as well. In-depth analysis of this kind will be presented in a subsequent report.

### **Educational Aspirations and Educational Attainment of the "Class of 1971"**

It is not surprising that the "Class of 1971" had high educational aspirations and goals. (See Table 2) They already represented an educational elite in a society where secondary education for blacks was greatly restricted. The relative absence of other mobility mechanisms in the society outside formal schooling caused pupils and parents of all socio-economic groups to value education highly as a means to occupational and status achievement.

Despite the restricted nature of the educational system, the increase in school outputs had led to a rise in the amount of education employers could require for most jobs and particularly for the relatively well paid and scarce prestigious jobs. This educational change in occupational recruitment patterns had filtered down through all levels of society. In a survey of 230 parents of pupils, over 50 percent thought that in order to obtain a good job their child needed to go to University. (Dorsey, 1975:114) To a large extent pupils' educational ambitions reflected their

evaluation of occupational opportunities. As Table 2 shows, 67.6 percent of the males and 29.3 percent of the females aspired to go to University. Only 2.2 percent of the males and 4.9 percent of the females considered secondary school as the terminal point of their full-time education.

### **How Realistic Were Their Educational Aspirations?**

The high educational aspirations which pupils had in 1971 reflect the value and prestige which society attached to higher education and therefore pupils' perceptions of educational attainment as a structural requirement for mobility was realistic while the probability of fulfilling their aspirations was not as positive.

**Table 13**

#### **Educational Aspirations and Attainment of the Third Tracer Study Respondents of the Class of 1971**

Educational Level	Males (N = 564)		Females (N = 126)	
	<u>Aspirations</u>	<u>Attainment</u>	<u>Aspirations</u>	<u>Attainment</u>
	1971 %	1987 %	1971 %	1987 %
High School	2.0	17.2	7.3	11.1
High School and Training Course	30.8	51.2	56.4	62.7
University	67.3	25.5	36.4	20.6
N.R.	0.8	6.0	0.2	5.5

N.B. For a complete table showing type of post-school training courses see Appendix A, Tables 1 and 2.



Nevertheless, as Table 13 shows, by 1987 77 percent of the males and 83 percent of the females had continued their education beyond high school. The majority of these took various training courses after high school. Aspirations for a University degree were less realistic. There is a significant gender difference with the aspirations of females being more realistic than those of males. In the base-line study female aspirations were lower but have proved to be more attainable. While 67 percent of the males aspired to a University degree only 25.5 percent achieved this. For females, 20.6 percent out of 36 percent attained a degree. A high school certificate was also the terminal point of education for more males than females in the survey, 17 percent versus 11 percent.

### Future Educational Aspirations

The "Class of 1971" still retain high educational aspirations. Asked if they had plans for further education, 95 percent of both males and females answered affirmatively. (See Table 14) A high proportion (46 percent) still aspired to acquire a University or post-graduate degree.

**Table 14**  
**Aspirations of Respondents for Further**  
**Education, 1987**

Further Education	<u>Males</u> (N = 562)	<u>Females</u> (N = 125)	<u>Total</u> (N = 687)
Yes	95.0	95.2	95.1
No	5.0	4.8	4.9
N.R. = 3    Chi Sq = 0.00                      df = 1                      p = 1.0			

**Table 15**  
**Type of Further Education Plans, 1987**

Type of Further Education	males (N = 523)	Females (N = 120)	Total (N = 643)
High School O-Level	0.4	3.3	0.9
+ High School A-Level	4.2	5.0	4.4
Post O-Level Teaching Certificate	3.4	5.0	4.4
Post O-Level Technical Diploma	3.4	4.2	3.6
Post O-Level Business Diploma	6.3	4.2	5.9
Post O-Level Registered Nurse	-	2.5	0.5
Post O-Level RN (Specialty)	-	2.5	0.5
Post A-Level RN (Specialty)	-	3.3	0.6
Post A-Level Teaching Certificate	1.7	0.3	
Post A-Level Technical Diploma	0.2	-	-
Post A-Level Business Diploma	0.8	-	-
University Degree (B.A., B.Sc.)	1.1	-	-
Post-graduate Teaching Certificate	0.2	1.7	0.5
Post-graduate Diploma	1.0	-	0.8
Master of Arts/ Science Degree	14.0	11.7	13.5
Medical Doctor	-	0.8	0.2
Doctor of Philosophy	3.4	3.3	3.4
Other	34.6	21.7	34.0

## Occupational Aspirations and Occupational Attainment of the "Class of 1971"

### Employment Status

Ninety-five percent of the third tracer study respondents of the "Class of 1971" were in paid employment in 1987. There was no significant difference in the employment status of males and females, although a slightly higher percentage of females were unemployed, 2.4 versus 1.6 percent for males. A slightly higher percentage of females were also full-time students, 4.0 versus 2.9 percent. An interesting point to note on Table 16 is that none of the females were full-time housewives. One conclusion that could be drawn from this is that girls who acquire a secondary education do so in order to be employed just as much as their males counterparts do.

**Table 16**  
**Employment Status of 1987 Respondents**

Employment Status	<u>Males</u> (N = 560) %	<u>Females</u> (n = 126) %	<u>Total</u> (686) %
Employed	95.5	93.7	95.1
Unemployed	1.6	2.4	1.7
Full Time Housewife	-	-	-
Student	2.9	4.0	3.1

N.R = 4

Chi Sq = 0.94

df = 3

N.S.

p < .05

## Occupational Status -- Aspirations And Attainment

Since the class of 1971 had high educational aspirations it is to be expected that these would be paralleled by equally high career aspirations. It was not the purpose of the base-line study to obtain fantasy occupational aspirations and pupils were asked what they would most like to do as a career throughout their lives. It could be argued that pupils of this age and experience might not have seriously thought about their permanent careers or that these could be expected to change. With regard to the first argument, our data suggest that pupils had indeed considered this question -- only 1.0 percent of male pupils and 0.7 percent of female pupils said they did not know which career they preferred or failed to respond to the question. It is of course accepted that career choices may change for a number of reasons both voluntary and involuntary on the part of the individual. In this section we show to what extent respondents were able to fulfill their career ambitions.

**Table 17**  
**Occupational Aspiration Level 1971 Compared With**  
**Status Of Present Occupation 1987**

	<u>Males</u>		<u>Females</u>	
	Occupational Aspiration Level 1971 (N = 564) %	Occupational Status Level 1987 (N = 564) %	Occupational Aspiration Level 1971 (N = 126) %	Occupational Status Level 1987 (N = 126) %
High	85.3	29.6	91.3	31.2
Middle	13.7	64.3	7.9	64.8
Low	0.4	2.9	-	-
Other	0.7	3.2	0.8	4.0

N.B.

Other includes no response, student and unemployed.

High = Occupations requiring a University or near equivalent education.

Middle = Occupations requiring a high school certificate or some additional training post high school.

Low = Occupations requiring less than a high school certificate.

For a complete table on occupations see Appendix B, Table B-1.

**Table 17 (a)**  
**General Classification of Occupation of Third**  
**Tracer Study Respondents 1987**

Occupational Category	Males (N = 564) %	Females (N = 126) %	Total (N = 690) %
Professional/Higher Technical	49.6	78.0	54.3
Clerical/Executive	24.6	9.6	22.4
Sales	3.3	-	2.5
Agriculture	5.6	3.2	5.0
Mining	1.0	-	0.8
Transport/Communication	2.8	0.8	2.3
Trades/Production	6.8	1.6	5.6
Services	2.3	2.4	2.1
Labourers/N.C./N.R.	4.4	4.0	4.1

N.B. Occupations were coded using ILO categories. For complete breakdown within categories see Appendix B, Table B-1.

In the base-line study in 1971, pupils had a marked preference for highly ranked occupations of a professional or semi-professional type. A high correlation also was found between pupils' prestige ranking of occupations and their occupational aspirations. (Dorsey 1975:127) As the above tables (17 and 17[a]) show, those career aspirations were unrealistically high for both males and females. Nearly two-thirds of the respondents are employed in middle level status occupations which

require a high school certificate or additional training post-high school. Less than one-third of the respondents have achieved high status jobs requiring a University or near equivalent education (see Table 18).

**Table 18**  
**Educational Qualifications Required by Employer for Present Job, 1987**

Educational Qualifications Required	Males (N = 516) %	Females (N = 120) %	Total (N = 636) %
High School Training Course	42.3	37.5	41.3
Post High School Training Course	21.5	38.5	24.9
University Degree	16.5	11.7	15.6
Post-Graduate Certificate	3.9	5.0	4.1
Master of Arts/Science Degree	0.6	0.8	0.6
Medical Doctor	1.2	1.7	1.3
Doctor of Philosophy	0.2	0.8	0.3
Other	13.4	4.2	11.6

N.R. = 54

### **Career Aspirations Fulfillment**

Few research studies of youth aspirations have included a follow-up of the same respondents over a period of time. Thus on the whole there is a lack of evidence of the nature and extent of the relationship between career aspirations and subsequent occupational attainment. However, Kuvlesky and Bealer (1967:290) in a study of 1001 rural young people in Pennsylvania found over a ten-year period that "a weak positive relationship existed between aspirations and attainment, and the

magnitude of the relationship varied markedly by level of aspiration and type of job attainment." They concluded that adolescent aspirations are not good predictors of long-run attainment but they have a directional role. (See also Bender, Hobbs, and Golden, 1967.)

In this third tracer study 18.7 percent of respondents were in the same careers to which they had aspired as high school pupils. The relationship varied by gender and level of aspiration. A higher percentage of females than males fulfilled their career aspirations or entered occupations of a higher status than those to which they had aspired. This was not, however, statistically significant.

**Table 19**  
**Present Occupational Status of Tracer Study**  
**Respondents Compared with Status of Original**  
**Occupational Aspiration**

Present Occupational Status/Original Aspiration	Males (N = 564) %	Females (N = 126) %	Total (N = 690) %
Occupation higher than aspiration	23.8	29.4	24.8
Occupation lower than aspiration	35.6	23.8	33.5
Occupation same as (high)	3.7	5.6	4.1
Occupation same as (middle)	13.5	16.7	14.1
Occupation same as (low)	0.2	0.8	0.3
No response/non-classifiable	23.2	23.8	23.3

Chi Sq = 8.57

df = 5

Not significant at  $p < .05$

## Job Satisfaction and Career Stability

The majority of respondents had been in their present jobs for over five years. Career satisfaction among respondents was high despite the fact that 80 percent were in jobs different from those to which they had aspired while in high school. Only 14 percent indicated that they were dissatisfied with their jobs. Nevertheless 64 percent said there were other jobs they preferred to the one they had but only a third indicated they intended to change jobs in the near future. None of these attitudes differed significantly by gender. (See Tables 20, 21, 22, and 23 below.)

**Table 20**  
**Tracer Study Respondents' Job Satisfaction, 1987**

Job Satisfaction	Males (N = 544)	Females (N = 121)	Total (N = 665)
Very Satisfied	12.5	12.4	12.5
Satisfied	73.9	69.4	73.1
Dissatisfied	10.9	14.0	11.3
Very Dissatisfied	2.8	4.1	3.0

N.R. = 25   Chi Sq = 2.12   df = 3   Not significant at  $p < .05$



**Table 21**  
**Job Preferred to Present Job**

Other Job Preferred	Males (N = 543) %	Females (N = 118) %	Total (N = 661) %
Yes	65.6	58.5	64.3
No	34.3	41.5	35.6

N.R. = 30 Chi Sq = 2.42 df = 1 Not significant at  $p < .05$

**Table 22**  
**Do You Intend To Change Jobs In The Near Future?**

	Males (N = 535) %	Females (N = 116) %	Total (N = 650) %
Yes	38.1	39.7	38.4
No	61.9	60.3	61.6

N.R. = 40 Chi Sq = 0.30 df = 1 Not significant at  $p < .05$

**Table 23**  
**Length of Employment in Present Occupation**

Years Employed in Present Occupation	<u>Males</u> (N = 507) %	<u>Females</u> (N = 110) %	<u>Total</u> (N = 617) %
Less than 1	4.2	1.8	3.4
1-5	42.7	41.9	42.4
6-10	33.4	41.9	35.0
11-15	19.7	14.5	18.8

N.R. = 73

### Employers of Third Tracer Study Respondents

In the base-line study over half of the pupils preferred to work for the government on completion of their education. The reasons given indicated that they were motivated by what they perceived to be well paid, secure jobs. It was also a logical assessment of the actual employment opportunities available for them since government was the largest employer of educated blacks largely in the teaching and medical fields. With independence and an expansion in the civil service since 1980, government continues to be the largest employer of the educated. Table 24 shows that while government is the single largest employer of both males and females in the study, the employer differences between the sexes are significant with a higher percentage of females than males employed by government and a higher percentage of males than females employed by large and small companies in the private sector of the economy.

**Table 24**  
**Present Employer of Respondents, 1987**

Present Employer	Males (N = 543) %	Females (N = 121) %	Total (N = 664) %
Government	46.4	71.9	51.1
Parastatal	15.1	9.1	14.0
Large Company	25.0	7.4	21.8
Small Company	3.3	1.7	3.0
Church Group	3.3	1.7	3.0
Self Employed	2.0	-	1.7
University	0.2	1.7	0.5
Other	4.6	6.6	5.0

N.R. = 26 Chi Sq = 39.0  
Cramer's V = 0.24

df = 7

p < .000

### Perceptions of Factors Affecting Occupational Success

The class of 1971 exhibited strong achievement orientation when responding to a question on how to succeed in a job when they were still in high school. They selected "efficiency and hard work" as the most important factor leading to success in a career, with "social skills and influence" coming second. In 1987 their perceptions had changed somewhat and were, if anything, more achievement oriented. "Social skills and influence" ranked third while "intelligence and education" moved up to second place (see Table 25).

**Table 25**  
**Comparison of Perception of Factors Affecting**  
**Occupational Success of High School Population 1971**  
**with Tracer Respondents, 1987**

	1971 (N = 2557) %	1987 (N = 660) %
Efficient and hard work	67.5	68.8
Education and intelligence	8.0	21.3
Social skills and influence	21.4	5.2
Seniority	1.9	1.2
No response	1.1	3.5

N.B. No significant difference in perception by gender was found.

### **Employment Experiences of the "Class of 1971"**

The first tracer study in 1972 showed a high unemployment rate among this graduating class, 50.2 percent. Of the 12 percent employed, 45 percent were in low level occupations that did not require a high school certificate. (Dorsey 1975:156) They had great difficulty finding jobs in 1972 and a high percentage (46 percent) utilised social networks of relatives and friends. Respondents were particularly discouraged by employers' requirements for someone "with experience." In the first tracer study respondents felt that the single most important factor which enabled them to get a job was "knowing influential people" and the single most important factor preventing them from getting a job was "racial discrimination." This was the perception which respondents had of the society in which they lived which was dominated by a white minority government.

Fifteen years later the society has changed with independence and majority rule in 1980. To what extent the occupational structure and employment opportunities have changed for the "Class of 1971" is examined in this section.

As has already been noted, 95 percent of the respondents in the third tracer study in 1987 are employed with nearly two-thirds of the males and three-fourths of the females saying it was easy or very easy for them to obtain their present job (Table 26).

**Table 26**  
**Difficulty in Obtaining Present Occupation, 1987**

	Males (N = 541) %	Females (N = 12) %	Total (N = 662) %
Very Difficult	9.1	7.4	8.8
Difficult	30.5	19.0	28.4
Easy	46.2	44.6	45.9
Very Easy	14.2	28.9	16.9

N.R = 28 Chi Sq = 17.56  
Cramer's V = 0.16

df = 3

p < .0005

The major avenues through which respondents acquired their present jobs has also changed. They no longer rely as heavily on social networks and influence. The vast majority got their jobs through responding to an advertisement, some through appointment, promotion and special training on the job.

**Table 27**  
**Avenues Utilised in Obtaining Jobs Tracer Study, 1987**

Avenues Utilised	Males (N = 530) %	Females (N = 119) %	Total (N = 649) %
Advertised/Applied	64.9	61.3	64.3
Appointed	7.5	11.8	8.3
Employment Bureau	3.0	2.5	2.9
Promotion	7.2	4.2	6.6
Through a Friend	3.8	3.4	3.7
Through a Relative	1.7	0.8	1.5
Special Training	8.3	16.0	9.7
Self-employed	0.9	-	0.8
Transfer	2.6	-	2.2

N.R = 41

Chi Sq = 14.30

df = 8

p &lt; .07

Cramer's V = 0.15

### **Perceptions of the Labour Market in 1987 Compared with 1972.**

Respondents were asked whether they thought it was easier or more difficult to find a job now than when they first completed their schooling. Only one-third thought it was easier now, over half the respondents thought jobs were more difficult to find and 15 percent thought it was just the same now as then. This latter comment generally implied it was difficult to find employment. An exception to this was those respondents in the medical profession who said it had not been difficult then or now to find a job (see Table 28).

**Table 28**  
**Perceptions of Job Availability in 1987 Compared with 1971**

Difficulty in Finding a Job	Males (N = 550) %	Females (N = 123) %	Total (N = 675) %
Easier Now	33.3	32.5	33.1
More Difficult Now	52.5	45.5	51.3
Just the Same	14.2	22.0	15.6
N.R = 17    Chi Sq = 4.87		df = 2	p < .08

Table 29 (a) shows that "more experience" and "good qualifications" are the major reasons given by those respondents who felt it is easier to obtain employment now than in 1971. Other reasons given were that there is now a "non-racial job market" and some felt that there are "more jobs available." Those respondents who felt it is more difficult now to find employment said that the job market is restricted due to economic recession and there are more highly qualified people and more high school graduates than previously. Only 1.5 percent mentioned an academic education as being a hindrance to finding employment (Tables 29 (b) and (c)).

**Table 29 (a)**  
**Reasons Why it is Easier to Find a Job Now Than in 1971**

Reason Why Easier Now	Males (N=181) %	Females (N=37) %	Total (N218) %
Non-racial job market	17.7	21.6	18.3
More jobs available	15.5	27.0	17.4
More experience now	32.0	21.6	30.3
Good qualifications	30.9	27.0	30.3
Life is stable	3.9	2.7	3.7

**Table 29 (b)**  
**Reasons Why it is More Difficult Now to Find a Job than in 1971**

Reason Why Easier Difficult Now	Males (N=267) %	Females (N=59) %	Total (N326) %
More highly qualified people	25.1	33.9	26.7
More high school graduates	22.5	15.3	21.2
Restricted job market	33.7	32.2	33.4
Economic recession	9.7	3.4	8.6
Corruption/nepotism	5.6	10.2	6.4
Academic education not relevant	1.5	1.7	1.5
Don't want to start at bottom	1.9	3.3	2.1



**Table 29(c)**  
**Reasons Why it is the Same Now to Find a Job as in 1971**

Reason Why the Same Now	Males (N=181) %	Females (N=37) %	Total (N218) %
Unemployment the same	22.2	13.6	20.0
Job opportunities the same	55.6	36.4	50.6
From racial discrimination to dependence on 'contacts'	11.1	13.6	11.8
Medical profession still required	11.1	36.4	17.6

N.R. - 61

The curriculum of the secondary schools in the base-line survey was almost entirely academically oriented. However, a few of the 67 schools in 1971 offered courses at O-Level in commercial studies (6 schools), accounts (6 schools), cookery (1 school), needlework (8 schools), woodwork (4 schools), metalwork (2 schools), and technical drawing (2 schools). (Dorsey 1975:77) The majority of schools offered a standard selection of eight to ten academic subjects with an emphasis on literature, religion, language, mathematics and science.

In a specific question asking how relevant the education they had received in high school was for the type of work they do, over 95 percent of the respondents said it was relevant, with 60 percent indicating it was "very relevant." Sixty-one percent said that academic subjects were "most relevant" while 29.5 percent indicated that both academic and technical subjects were relevant and 9.5 percent said that technical subjects were most relevant.

**Table 30**  
**Relevance of Secondary School Education for Type of Work You Do**

Relevance of Education	Males (H-557)	Females (H + 126)	Total (N = 683)
Very relevant	58.3	66.7	59.9
Moderately relevant	37.0	29.4	35.6
Not at all relevant	4.7	4.0	4.5

N.R = 7 Chi Sq = 2.97 df = 2 Not significant at  $p < .05$

**Table 31**  
**What Types Of Subjects Studied Were Most Relevant for Your Present Job?**

Subjects Most	Males (N = 549)	Females (N = 123)	Total (N = 672)
Academic subjects	60.7	62.6	61.0
Practical/technical subjects	9.8	8.1	9.5
Both	29.5	29.3	29.5

N.R = 18 Chi Sq = 0.37 df = 2 Not significant at  $p < .05$

## Education and Income.

Although females in the "Class of 1971" performed academically as well as their male counterparts in the final examinations, fewer went on to University and more opted for training courses after high school. There is also a significant gender differential with regard to income. As Table 32 shows, only 5.4 percent of females are in the top monthly income bracket for this group versus 23.6 percent for males.

**Table 32**  
**Monthly Income of Tracer Study Respondents, 1987**  
**(Zimbabwe Dollars)**

Monthly Income	<u>Males</u> (N = 518) %%	<u>Females</u> (N = 111) %	<u>Total</u> (N = 629) %
\$1500 +	23.6	5.4	20.3
\$1000 - 1499	27.2	16.2	25.2
\$500 - 999	39.2	67.6	44.2
\$000 - 499	10.0	10.8	10.2
N.R. = 61   Chi Sq = 36.00                      df = 3                      p < .000 Cramer's V = 0.24			

Educational qualification, however, does not completely explain the differential in income between the sexes because a higher percentage of females with the same educational qualifications as males are in lower income brackets. There are a few males without a University education in the top income bracket (\$1500+) but no females. In order for a female to be a top income earner a University education is essential.

Table 32 also shows that for both males and females there is a positive relationship between level of educational qualification and income.

## Marriage, Family And Residential Area

This part of the paper focuses on various aspects of marriage and family life including changes over time in marital status. It also includes child rearing, extended family responsibilities and attitudes toward traditional customs regarding marriage and family structure.

Fifteen years after completing high school 91 percent of the males but only 70 percent of the females of the "Class of 1971" are married. A higher percentage of females have divorced or separated from their husbands and a higher percentage have never been married (see Table 33).

**Table 33**  
**Marital Status of Tracer Study Respondents, 1987**

Marital Status	Males (N = 563) %	Females (N = 126) %	Total (N = 689) %
Married (once)	86.7	65.1	82.7
Re-married after divorce	3.4	2.4	3.2
Re-married after Spouse Died	0.4	---	0.3
Engaged to be Married	1.4	4.8	2.0
Divorced	1.4	5.6	2.2
Separated	1.1	7.9	2.3
Widowed	0.4	0.8	0.4
Never Married	5.3	11.9	6.5
Other	---	1.6	0.3

N.R = 1

Chi Sq = 57.45

df = 8

p < .0000

Cramer's U = 0.29

This pattern of greater marital instability and lower marital rates for educated African women is consistent with findings from other studies of educated women in Africa. (Dorsey, et al 1989:18)

### Childbearing, Family Size, and Extended Family Responsibilities.

By 1987, only 8.9 percent of males and 4.8 percent of females had not had any children. The average number of children for male respondents was slightly higher than for females, 2.5 versus 2.3. Since these respondents are still in their early to mid-thirties this does not mean that this is the ultimate size of their nuclear families. A further question asked what they thought an ideal number of children would be and when this response was compared with the actual number of children of the respondent, the majority thought an ideal number was greater than the number they had. This may indicate that the size of their families may grow in the next few years.

**Table 34**  
**Number of Children of Tracer Study Respondents, 1987**

Number of Children	Males (N = 559) %	Females (N = 124) %	Total (N = 683) %
1	12.3	18.5	13.5
2	28.6	25.0	28.0
3	27.7	39.5	29.9
4	14.3	12.1	13.9
5	4.5	---	3.7
6	3.4T---	2.8	
7	0.2	---	0.1
none	8.9	4.8	8.2
N = 7 mean	2.5	2.3	

Chi Sq = 20.5 df = 7  
Cramer's V = 0.17

p < .004

**Table 35**  
**Comparison of Opinion on Ideal Number of Children with**  
**Actual Number of Children of Respondent**

Comparison with Actual Number of Children	Males (N = 552) %	Females (N = 120) %	Total (N = 672) %
Same as	19.1	15.8	18.5
Less than	6.7	4.2	6.3
More than	74.2	79.9	75.2
N.R = 18 Chi Sq = 2.60    df = 2		Not significant at p < .05	

In addition to supporting their nuclear families, 92 percent of the male respondents and 89 percent of female respondents also support members of the extended family. The extent of this support is considerable with the majority supporting more than three extended family members.

**Table 36**  
**Number of Extended Family Members Supported**  
**(other than spouse and children)**

Number of Relatives Supported	Males (N = 547) %	Females (N = 123) %	Total (N = 670) %
1	9.0	8.9	9.0
2	21.9	18.7	21.3
3	16.8	10.6	15.7
4	18.1	22.0	18.8
5	7.9	4.1	7.2
6	8.4	10.0	8.8
7	2.6	1.6	2.4
8 +	7.7	12.2	8.5
none	7.7	11.4	8.4

N.R = 20    Chi Sq = 10.76                  df = 8    N.S. at  $p < .05$

### Attitudes Toward Traditional Marriage Customs.

Two traditional customs still practiced in Zimbabwe are the payment of a bride price (lobola) to the family of the bride by the family of the groom and polygamy. In modern society these have become controversial issues because it is thought they contribute to the subservient status of women in a strongly patriarchal society. It might be expected that western educated, modern youth would be opposed to both of these customs. The results from this survey show that over 80 percent of both males and females favour retaining the custom of lobola (bride price). The interesting fact is that a significantly higher percentage of females than males do not want to see the custom abolished. This may be due to a number of factors, one of which is the prestige attached to having a "high bride price" paid for one. Another consideration may be that in fact a woman has some protection and leverage in marital disputes because of the bride price. A slightly higher percentage of males were in favour of abolishing it, possibly because they are the ones who have to pay it



With regard to polygamy, the vast majority, 79 percent, thought it should be abolished. However, a significantly higher percentage of males than females were in favour of retaining the custom, 22.3 percent versus 9.1 percent.

**Table 37**  
**Should The Custom Of Lobola Be Abolished?**

Abolish Lobola	Males (N = 560) %	Females (N = 126) %	Total (N = 686) %
Yes	19.6	11.1	18.1
No	79.8	87.3	81.2
Other	0.5	1.6	0.7
N.R = 4 Chi Sq = 9.41 Cramer's V = 0.12		df = 2	p < .02

**Table 38**  
**Should Polygamy Be Abolished?**

Abolish Polygamy	Males (N = 551) %	Females (N = 121) %	Total (N = 672) %
Yes	76.8	90.9	79.3
No	22.3	9.1	19.9
Other	0.9	---	0.7

N.R = 18      Chi Sq = 12.31      df = 2      p < .002  
Cramer's V = 0.14

### **Education and Occupational Status of Spouse.**

In this survey females tended to have spouses with higher educational qualifications than spouses of male respondents. Thirty-seven percent of the females had husbands with a University degree while only 7.7 percent of the males had wives with University degrees. Male respondents were also more likely to marry women who had not completed high school. Forty-two percent of the wives of male respondents were in this category while only 9 percent of the female respondents had husbands with less than a high school education (see Table 39).

**Table 39**  
**Highest Educational Level of Spouse**

Educational Level of Spouse	Males (N = 505) %	Females (n = 88) %	Total (N = 594) %
Some primary	3.8	---	3.2
Completed primary	15.4	6.8	14.1
Some secondary	23.3	2.3	20.2
High School (O-Level)	36.0	38.6	36.4
High School (A-Level)	2.4	4.5	2.7
Post O-Level training course	8.5	5.6	8.0
Post A-Level training course	0.4	2.2	0.7
University graduate (B.A./B.Sc.)	7.5	26.1	10.3
Post graduate degree	0.2	11.3	1.9
Other	2.4	2.3	---

N.R = 97 (includes respondents who are not married)

As might be expected there is also a significant difference in the occupational status of spouses of males and females in the survey. Only 9.5 percent of the females had spouses who were not employed versus 45.5 percent of the males (Table C-3, Appendix). When the occupations of spouses were categorised into status levels, 48 percent of the females had spouses in the high occupational status level while only 13.6 percent of the male respondents had wives in this category (see Table 40).

**Table 40**  
**Occupational Status of Spouse**

Occupational Status of Spouse	Males (N = 381) %	Females (N = 81) %	Total (N = 462) %
High	13.6	48.1	19.7
Middle	61.2	45.7	58.4
Low	25.2	6.2	21.9

N.B. Includes only spouses in paid employment. Occupational ratings were based on education required for the job and type of job.

### Residential Area.

The "Class of 1971" has become largely "urbanised." Seventy-seven percent of the males and 85 percent of the females live in an urban area. In 1971 it was 30 versus 37 percent, respectively (see Table 41).

**Table 41**  
**Urban-Rural Classification of Original Population**  
**Compared with Tracer Study Respondents, 1987**

Residential Classification of pupils	1971		1987	
	Males (N = 1947) %	Females (N = 610) %	Males (N = 564) %	Females (N = 126) %
Urban	28.8	36.7	27.1	39.7
Rural	69.5	62.0	70.2	58.7
N.R.	1.7	1.3	2.7	1.6

N.B. Pupils were classified as urban if they had lived 8 or more years in town.

Since independence, residential areas formerly reserved for whites have become integrated. In urban areas these formerly white suburbs are called "low density suburbs." Houses are spacious and on plots of an acre or more. Areas formerly reserved for blacks are now designated as "high density suburbs" for obvious reasons. The houses are small and conditions often crowded. Nearly half of the "Class of 1971" have moved to the integrated "low density suburbs." A higher percentage of female respondents live in these middle to upper middle class suburbs, 57 percent versus 47 percent. While females in the study have lower personal incomes than males, they have tended to marry men of higher education and higher occupations and thus the total family income is greater than their male counterparts, which means that their standard of living may be slightly higher.

**Table 42**  
**Urban/Rural Residence of High School**  
**Graduates by Gender 1971 - 1987**

Place of Residence	<u>Males</u>		<u>Females</u>	
	1971 (N = 1947) %	1987 (N = 562) %	1971 (N = 610) %	1987 (N = 126) %
Urban	30.0	77.0	37.0	85.0
Rural	70.0	23.0	63.0	15.0

N.R = 2 (1987)

Chi Sq = 3.93

df = 1

p < .04 (1987)

**Table 43**  
**Type of Urban Suburb by Gender, 1987**

Type of Suburb	Males (N = 555) %	Females (N = 126) %	Total (N = 681) %
Low Density	46.7	57.1	48.6
High Density	31.0	27.8	30.4
Rural Area	22.3	15.1	21.0

N.R = 9

Chi Sq = 5.25

df = 2

p < .07

### Conclusions

There are no firm conclusions to be reached at this stage of the analysis of the data from the third tracer study. The significance of these findings will be discussed in a later report when the data have been analysed in more detail. However, a few general observations can be made with regard to some of the preliminary findings.

The "Class of 1971" by and large had an academic type of secondary school education. They were a very selected group, since education for blacks was restricted in those days and consequently had high educational and career aspirations mostly of a professional or semi-professional nature. The fifteen year tracer study revealed that they have been relatively successful with 77 percent of the males and 83 percent of the females continuing their education beyond high school and 95 percent having plans for further educational studies. The "diploma disease" (Dore 1976) is still rampant in Zimbabwe and highly contagious.

Seeking additional educational qualifications is not without some justification for furthering one's career and obtaining a comfortable life-style. Slightly less than one-third of the respondents in the third tracer study were in high status occupations and two-thirds were in middle status occupations. None of the females and only 3 percent of the males were in

low status occupations. There was also a strong relationship between educational qualifications and income, particularly for females. Higher qualifications and higher incomes enabled nearly half the respondents in the third tracer study to live in the better residential suburbs in the urban areas.

The vast majority felt their academic secondary education was relevant to their occupations.

The implications for educational reform to be drawn from the achievements and attitudes of respondents in this longitudinal study are not positive for curriculum change toward greater emphasis in vocational and practical subjects in the curriculum. The unemployment rate of high school graduates today in a vastly expanded secondary education system may, however, be the major factor that influences educators, parents, and pupils to accept a more relevant curriculum.

## APPENDIX A

### Educational Achievement

**Table A-1**  
**Highest Educational Achievement of Tracer Study**  
**Respondents, 1987**

Highest Educational Achievement	Males (N = 530) %	Females (N = 119) %	Total (N = 649) %
High School O-Level	14.2	10.1	13.4
High School A-Level	4.0	1.7	3.5
Post O-Level Registered Nurse	0.2	5.9	1.2
Post O-Level RN (Specialty)	---	10.9	2.0
Post O-Level Teaching Certificate	17.5	30.3	19.9
Post O-Level Technical Diploma	18.3	10.1	16.8
Post O-Level Business Diploma	9.6	5.0	8.8
Post A-Level Registered Nurse	---	1.7	0.3
Post A-Level RN (Specialty)	0.2	---	0.2
Post A-Level Teaching Certificate	1.3	1.7	1.4
Post A-Level Technical Diploma	2.8	0.8	2.5
Post A-Level Business Diploma	1.3	1.7	1.4
University Degree (B.A., B.Sc.)	9.2	10.1	9.4
Post-graduate Teaching Certificate	4.9	5.9	5.1
Post-graduate Diploma	5.8	---	4.8
Master of Arts/Science Degree	5.1	2.5	4.6
Medical Doctor	1.1	0.8	1.1
Doctor of Philosophy	1.1	0.8	1.1
Other	3.2	---	2.6

N.R = 41

Chi Sq = 126.41 df = 18

p &lt; .0000

Cramer's V = 0.44



**Table A-2**  
**Highest Educational Achievement of Tracer Study**  
**Respondents, 1987**

Highest Educational Achievement	Males (N = 530) %	Females (N = 119) %	Total (N = 649) %
High School (O/A Levels)	18.2	11.8	16.9
Post High School Training Course	54.4	66.4	56.8
University Degree	9.2	10.1	9.4
Post-Graduate Certificate/Diploma	10.7	5.9	9.9
Master of Arts/Science Degree	5.1	2.5	4.6
Medical Doctor	1.1	2.5	1.4
Doctor of Philosophy	1.1	0.8	1.1

N.R = 41

**Table A-3**  
**Financing Further Education**

Further Educational Financing	Males (N = 464) %	Females (N = 102) %	Total (N = 566) %
1. Self	34.5	34.3	34.5
2. Self + gov grant/loan	4.5	9.8	5.5
3. Gov grant/loan	11.6	17.6	12.7
4. Foreign scholarship	19.4	16.7	18.9
5. Local non-gov scholarship	5.0	2.9	4.6
6. Local non-gov scholarship + self	3.9	2.9	3.7
7. Local + foreign scholarship	1.5	2.0	1.6
8. Apprenticeship/on the job	3.2	5.9	3.7
9. Self + foreign scholarship	5.2	1.0	4.4
10. Self + gov + foreign	1.7	---	1.4
11. Gov + local non = gov	0.9	1.0	0.9
12. Gov + foreign	2.2	2.0	2.1
13. Self + gov + local non-gov	1.3	2.0	1.4
14. Company sponsored	3.7	---	3.0
15. Self + local non-gov apprenticeship	1.3	---	1.1
16. Gov scholarship + local + foreign	0.2	1.0	0.4
17. Self + job	---	1.0	0.2

N.R = 124

## APPENDIX B

### Occupational Achievement

**Table B-1**  
**Occupation of Third Tracer Study Respondents, 1987**

Occupation Category	Males (N = 564) %	Females (N = 126) %	Total (N = 690) %
<u>Professional/Technical</u>			
Accountant	3.9	---	3.0
Engineer	2.7	---	2.2
Laboratory Technician	3.6	1.6	3.2
Lawyer	0.4	0.8	0.4
Librarian	0.5	---	0.4
Medical Doctor	1.1	1.6	1.2
Nurse	1.6	17.5	4.5
Nursing Instructor	0.2	0.8	0.3
Health Inspector	0.7	0.8	0.7
Pastor	0.4	---	0.3
Pharmacist	---	0.8	0.1
Quantity Surveyor	0.9	---	0.7
Social Worker	0.9	2.4	1.2
Teacher	23.3	42.1	26.7
Headmaster/Mistress	3.9	1.6	3.5
Education Officer	1.1	---	0.9
Lecturer - College	2.1	3.2	2.3
University	0.5	3.2	1.0
Journalist	1.1	0.8	1.0
Veterinarian	0.2	---	0.1
Meteorologist	0.5	0.8	0.6
RSubtotal	49.6	78.0	54.3

Clerical/Executive

Bank Clerk	0.7	0.8	0.7
Bookkeeper	1.4	---	1.2
Businessman	0.5	---	0.4
Civil Servant	0.9	---	0.7
Clerk	5.7	2.4	5.1
Computer Operator	0.7	---	0.6
Executive Officer	1.2	0.8	1.2
Manager	5.0	0.8	4.2
Personnel Officer	2.3	---	1.9
Development Officer	0.9	0.8	0.9
Receptionist	0.2	---	0.1
Secretary	0.2	1.6	0.4
Supervisor	1.8	0.8	1.6
Administrator	3.6	2.4	3.3
Media Producer	0.2	---	0.1
Subtotal	24.6	9.6	22.4

---

Sales

Buyer	1.1	---	0.9
Insurance Salesman	0.2	---	0.1
Sales Manager	0.7	---	0.6
Sales Clerk	0.7	---	0.6
Shop Owner	0.2	---	0.1
Store Manager	0.2	---	0.1
Vendor	0.2	---	0.1
Subtotal	3.3	---	2.5

---

Agriculture

Agricultural Officer	2.7	3.2	2.8
Peasant Farmer	0.2	---	0.1
Small Farmer	0.2	---	0.1
Farm Supervisor	1.2	---	1.0
Research	1.1	---	0.9
Conservation Officer	0.2	---	0.1

Subtotal	5.6	3.2	5.0
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Mining

Miner	0.5	---	0.4
Mining Commissioner	0.5	---	0.4
Subtotal	1.0	---	0.8

---

Transport/Communication

Bus Driver	0.4	---	0.3
Railway Foreman	0.4	--	-0.3
Manager	0.9	---	0.7
Train Driver	0.4	--	-0.3
Postmaster	0.5	0.8	0.6
Telephone Technician	0.2	---	0.1
Subtotal	2.8	0.8	2.3

---

Trades/Craftsman/Production

Boiler Operator	0.4	---	0.3
Designer	0.2	---	0.1
Electrician	0.7	---	0.6
Factory Manager	0.4	---	0.3
Foreman	2.7	---	2.2
MechanicT1.1	1.6	1.2	
Photographer	0.2	---	0.1
Plant Operator	0.5	---	0.4
Printer	0.4	---	0.3
Welder	0.2	---	0.1
Subtotal	6.8	1.6	5.6

---

Services

Army Officer	0.5	---	0.4
Gardener	0.2	---	0.1
Hospital Aide	0.5	1.6	0.7
Hotel Worker	0.2	---	0.1
Police Officer	0.5	0.8	0.6
Security Officer	0.2	---	0.1
Waiter	0.2	---	0.1
Subtotal	2.3	2.4	2.1

Labourers

General Worker	0.2	---	0.1
Non-Classifiable	0.4	---	0.3
Unemployed/Student	3.1	4.0	3.0
Non-response	0.7	---	0.7
Subtotal	4.4	4.0	4.1

TOTAL	100.4	99.6	99.3
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**Table B-2****Present Occupation of Tracer Respondents Compared with Original Aspiration While a High School Student**

Present Occupation/ Original Aspiration	Males (N = 564) %	Females (N = 126) %	Total (N = 690) %
Same	17.7	23.0	18.7
Different	81.7	76.2	80.7
N.R.T0.6	0.8	0.5	

Chi Sq = 2.61      df = 2      Not significant at  $p < .05$

**Table B-3**  
**Prestige Status of Preferred Job**

Prestige Status of job	Males (N = 324) %	Females (N = 63) %	Total (N = 387) %
High	60.0	56.0	59.2
Middle	38.2	44.4	39.3
Low	1.8	---	1.5

**Table B-4**  
**Is Your Total Family Income Sufficient To  
 Maintain A Good Standard Of Living?**

Family Income Sufficient	Males (N = 528) %	Females (N = 110) %	Total (N = 638) %
Yes	34.3	31.8	33.9
No	65.7	68.2	66.1

N.R = 52    Chi Sq = 0.15    df = 1    Not significant. at  $p < .05$   
 NB - 303 respondents either did not prefer a different job or did not state the type of job.

## APPENDIX C

### Marriage and Family

**Table C-1**  
**Marital Status of Tracer Study Respondents, 1987**

Marital Status	Males (N = 563) %	Females (N = 126) %	Total (N = 689) %
Married	91.3	69.8	87.2
Single	8.7	30.2	12.6

N.R = 1      Chi Sq = 42.97      df = 1      p < .000  
Cramer's V = 0.25

**Table C-2**  
**Respondents' Opinions on Ideal of Children**

Ideal Number of Children	Males (N = 552) %	Females (N = 120) %	Total (N = 672) %
1	1.4	---	1.2
2	12.0	14.2	12.4
3	16.5	19.2	17.0
4	48.6	59.2	50.4
5	10.5	5.0	9.5
6	9.1	1.7	7.7
7	0.9	---	0.7
8	1.1	0.8	1.0

N.R = 18      Chi Sq = 15.99      df = 7      p < .02  
Cramer's U = .15



**Table C-3**  
**Employment of Spouse**

Spouse Employed	Males (N = 532) %	Females (N = 105) %	Total (N = 637) %
Yes	49.4	74.3	53.5
No	45.5	9.5	39.6
Not Married	5.1	16.2	6.9
N.R = 53 Cramer's U = 0.29		Chi Sq = 54.50	df = 2      p < .000

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