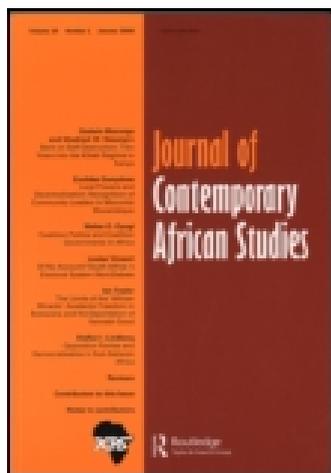


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Recruitment and female labour in Tanzanian hospitality companies: an exploration

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In spite of Tanzania's increasing female labour force participation (2000/2001 until 2006) and its government's efforts to promote gender balance, daily work and employment practices are still characterised by profound gender inequalities. This paper explores the hospitality industry and its gendered employment patterns, based on the case of Mwanza, Tanzania's second largest town. Data collected using questionnaires and qualitative interviews indicate that restaurants, hotels and bars provide low earnings and at the same time work with larger proportions of female staff. The results show that gender imbalances can be related to the preference for informal recruitment methods, to hiring authorities' gendered images of suitability and to processes of self-selection on the supply side of the labour market. Moreover, the significance of capitalist interests, patriarchal prescriptions and sexuality in determining the gender composition of organisations is confirmed. Further research needs to include the interplay between gender and age, and the complex and contradictory effects of sexuality at work.

Keywords: gender; labour; recruitment; Tanzania; hospitality industry

Introduction

When in the 1960s and 1970s more and more Tanzanian women migrated to urban centres (especially Dar es Salaam) and took up employment in various occupations, a public debate emerged about female formal labour, its respectability and wider implications (Ivaska 2007). This debate, including its ideology-laden gender struggles, still continues today, as will become clear from the results presented here. In respect of female labour force participation, the latest Integrated Labour Force Survey (The United Republic of Tanzania 2007) indicates a further increase, with women finding formal employment mainly in service-related industries. Among Tanzania's fastest growing service industries is tourism, in which job opportunities have multiplied since the country introduced a free market economy in the mid-1980s (Luvanga and Shitundu 2003, 17). Questions of gender and employment in the tourism and hospitality sector should therefore be of relevance for academic analysis, policy formulation and human resource management. Social scientists, however, have rarely investigated this sector, its employment conditions and labour market segmentation, the public discourses surrounding it, and the life and work experiences of men and women engaged in it.

A first study based on a survey and qualitative interviews has been conducted in Mwanza, Tanzania's second largest city. It focused on the role of gender in the

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recruitment practices of hospitality managers. The results reveal that hotels and restaurants are the only companies in the city with a larger proportion of female staff. Managers mention a variety of reasons for this gender composition, such as the labour market supply, physical traits of men or women, and capabilities presumed to be innate or acquired. The physical attractiveness of female workers is viewed as a marketing advantage as well as a potential threat to productivity. Trade union officials explain the preference for female staff as being due to the lower wages paid to them. These findings are not only important for theoretical discussions. They also give evidence of gender inequalities, which the Tanzanian government has set out to address through a variety of gender policies and its new labour law (The United Republic of Tanzania 2004). Although Tanzania has been praised for its efforts to promote gender balance, and thus development (Ellis et al. 2007, 1–3), the daily practice of work and employment is still characterised by unequal opportunities. Taking a broader perspective, continuing (and new) imbalances can in part be explained by neoliberal macroeconomic measures that favour for instance jobless growth and land grabbing, and run contrary to policies aiming at gender equality. For instance, large-scale land acquisitions by mining, agricultural and tourism enterprises threaten especially women's livelihoods, since female farmers constitute the backbone of agricultural production (Mbilinyi and Shechambo 2009). Where women move into formal employment they encounter tight labour market competition and restricted opportunities. Often assigned lower level jobs with irregular and meagre earnings, women have to resort to additional activities, mainly in the informal economy (Mascarenhas 2007, 31–33). The latest Integrated Labour Force Survey of 2006 confirms that the number of men and women in formal employment remains comparatively low. It indicates agriculture as accounting for 75.1% of the employed population (aged 15 years and above), followed by the informal sector with 10.1%, private formal employment with 8.6%, central/local government employment with 2.6% and employment in parastatals with 0.4% (The United Republic of Tanzania 2007, 16). In spite of this, a study of formal employment (especially in a growing sector such as tourism) seems timely, given the current government's pressure to expand formal businesses.

In the following section, I will briefly review theoretical discussions of gender and employment in the hospitality industry and evaluate the literature on Tanzania. Section three will consist of a description of the research methodology and sample chosen. Quantitative as well as qualitative data from the Mwanza study will be presented in section four. After a discussion of the findings, I will conclude by giving an outline of what could be addressed in further research.

Research context

Purcell (1996, 17) comments that the hospitality industry, with its substantial female workforce, constitutes a 'microcosm of women's employment' and is thus a suitable test case for the exploration of gender and work. She shows how three separate but mutually reinforcing elements contribute to a feminisation of hospitality jobs:

- (1) Labour cost: Employers – driven not so much by gendered preferences as by profit interests – take advantage of the fact that (on average) female workers are available for lower pay.

- (2) Sexuality: Sex appeal is regarded as an employment prerequisite for many service-related jobs. Female staff are meant to attract and entertain customers.
- (3) Patriarchal prescriptions: Hospitality jobs are seen as an extension of the domestic chores in which women are skilled – either ‘naturally’ or through socialisation. These prescriptions provide not only ‘an accessible but also a culturally-permitted form of employment for women’ (Purcell 1996, 20).

Purcell’s observations (1996) need re-discussion and elaboration. On the one hand, they are in line with general theories in the field of gender, work and tourism/hospitality. Capitalism and patriarchy (as separate or interrelated systems), combined with notions of sexuality, are seen as being responsible for the gendered division of labour (Sinclair 1997, 6–9). On the other hand, current debates invite us to take a fresh look at class, sexuality, race, ethnicity and gender. In recent years for instance, the service triangle has gained increasing attention in the sociology of work (see Lopez 2010 for an overview). It adds a third set of actors, the customers, to the classical concept of a binary workplace relationship of classes. Hospitality employees not only conform to or resist managers’ notions, but also customers’ expectations. Some researchers have called this ‘dual interpellation’ (McDowell, Batnitzky, and Dyer 2007, 3). Moreover, empirical studies remind us that sexuality plays a more sophisticated role than that outlined by Purcell (1996). It serves to include, as well as exclude, women in respect of hospitality jobs. As Chant (1997, 138) found when researching Mexican companies, female staff were not wanted in certain departments, as women’s sexuality was considered to lower the tone of the establishment or to cause conflicts with male co-workers (see also Otis 2008, 24). In addition to this objection, gender may interlock with other stratifying criteria to shape hotel workers’ identities and opportunities. Adib and Guerrier (2003) and McDowell, Batnitzky, and Dyer (2007) have given convincing evidence of this. An analysis which goes beyond class and gender and unravels the multiple threads (e.g. ethnicity, age) that go to make up individuals and groups at work (Grint 2005, 201) will allow for new theorising.

With respect to the positions and career chances of men as against women, the basic labour market process of screening is regarded as setting the course. Employers screen potential staff for suitability. Workers screen themselves and potential employers before they decide to apply for or accept a particular job (Fevre 1992). Through recruitment (and self-selection) ‘gender divisions in employment can either be challenged or perpetuated’ (Curran 1988, 335). Although there is evidence that recruiters prefer candidates who apply for ‘gender-congruent’ jobs, several factors may decrease the likelihood of gender discrimination. These are the applicants’ other demographic characteristics, their behaviour (e.g. assertiveness) and, for women, their physical attractiveness (Graves 1999). The last aspect again shows that sexuality may have contradictory features. It can serve to set up or transgress ‘gender boundaries’. Turning to the hospitality industry, inter-occupational as well as intra-occupational gender segregation has been depicted by several authors. In a study of restaurant recruitment in the US, male and female candidates were equipped with resumes of the same quality with which they formally applied as wait staff. The results indicate that high-price restaurants with better pay and generous tips favoured male applicants. Female candidates were more likely to receive job offers from

low-price restaurants with lower earnings. This hiring practice is partly explained by the fact that customers rate restaurants as more prestigious if they are served by male waitpersons (Neumark, Bank, and van Nort 1996) – a point which gives evidence of triadic workplace relationships. Levy and Lerch (1991), Chant (1997) and Gentry (2007) provide data from Barbados, Mexico, the Philippines and Belize. They describe gendered employment patterns in various departments of hospitality companies. Despite different cultural beliefs and expectations governing the allocation of jobs, female workers tend to be confined to disadvantaged positions in the labour market.

One hypothesis claims that a gendered access to work is linked to specific recruitment methods. Conventionally, the literature distinguishes between ‘formal’ recruitment methods, such as job advertisements in the media or through employment agencies, and ‘informal’ recruitment methods, such as walk-ins or referrals by friends, current employees or relatives (Rees 1966, 559). Formal methods produce a large pool of applicants, but only restricted information on individual candidates. Informal methods deliver in-depth information about a smaller, selected group of job-seekers (Rees and Shultz 1970).¹ In a US study by Kirnan, Farley, and Geisinger (1989), female (and black) applicants used newspaper advertisements more frequently than their male (and non-minority) counterparts. This is striking, as informal applications not only yielded more successful hires for all groups, but also produced longer-lasting employment. This can be explained by the screening processes involved: applicants to be referred are pre-screened by their referees, who possess information about the company and the vacant position. In addition, referees provide their candidates with more realistic job information than is given in advertisements. Applicants can thus go through a process of self-screening (including a self-screen for ‘gender suitability’). In male- or female-dominated areas of the labour market, referees will most likely select ‘gender-congruent’ candidates. Women’s use of formal recruitment methods could then be read as a lack of appropriate networks, or attempts to secure access to jobs regarded as male or gender-balanced. This last part of the explanation is only glossed over by Kirnan, Farley, and Geisinger (1989). Drentea (1998) examines it in detail and provides a good overview of the topic. She states that female networks are frequently shaped by greater family obligations and lower labour force participation than those of men. Women are therefore at a disadvantage when it comes to gathering job information and contacting those who have the authority to hire. The low quality of female networks contributes to gender discrimination. Drentea concludes (1998, 331; see also Campbell 1988; Hanson and Pratt 1991; Fernandez and Sosa 2005):

When women used informal methods, they found jobs with a high percentage of women in them... This reinforces the notion that when job matching is mediated through people, women are segregated. When women used formal methods they had less segregated jobs.

How this applies to hospitality jobs remains open. To my knowledge, there is no specific study of gender and formal-versus-informal recruitment methods in the hospitality industry.

Focusing on Tanzania, an increase in female labour force participation has been recorded by the latest Integrated Labour Force Survey (The United Republic of

Tanzania 2007). In the time between 2000/2001 and 2006 the rate for females rose from 73% to 79%, while the rate for males remained stagnant at 81% (The United Republic of Tanzania 2007, 13). This means that a growing number of women are either working or seeking work. The same survey indicates that private sector formal employment almost doubled from 4.4% in 2000/2001 to 8% in 2006 (The United Republic of Tanzania 2007, 4). In part this is due to a boost in employment opportunities in the service sector. In the given time span, the number of service workers doubled, with men and women in almost equal proportions. In other sectors – with the exception of elementary occupations – women tended to have lower employment rates (The United Republic of Tanzania 2007, 15). One conclusion can be drawn from this, namely that the threshold for female employment is lower in the service industry as compared to other sectors. Women's generally higher unemployment rates are often blamed on their poor formal education, which again is seen as resulting from cultural factors. After a statistical analysis, Mjema (1999, 87) writes that 'certain tribal customs confine the roles of women to household (and mostly domestic work). The task of searching for, and engaging in, wage employment falls on men'. However, women's high level of participation in informal economic activities (Mascarenhas 2007, 31–33) renders Mjema's (1999) explanation simplistic, if not disputable. On top of that, education does not guarantee gender equality in terms of income, as shown by the Integrated Labour Force Survey. It indicates that across all educational levels males tend to have a higher monthly income than their female counterparts (The United Republic of Tanzania 2007, 29). The above statistical data are supplemented by Ivaska (2002, 2007), Mukurasi (1991) and Bujra (2000), who offer a historical outline of female wage employment and the public discourses surrounding it, against shifting political and economic backdrops. In the first two decades after Tanzania's independence in 1961, as Ivaska (2007, 225) states, women's urban work, comportment and dressing style, as well as their growing financial autonomy, triggered a 'crisis of masculinity' and were met by various conflicting political campaigns related to the vision of a modern socialist country. Mukurasi's (1991) case takes us to the mid-1980s when Tanzania was already developing a capitalist economy. Mukurasi (1991, 10–12), a high-ranking female manager of a government-owned company, analyses the events culminating in her dismissal (and later reinstatement) and reads them as a convergence of capitalist and patriarchal interests in her company. Bujra (2000) researches women's movement into one labour market area, namely the feminisation of domestic service in Tanzania – domestic service being a domain colonialists had defined as male. Since the 1980s real wages have declined and prompted men to move out of this labour market area into better-paid jobs. The feminisation of domestic labour is likely to be followed by a feminisation of hospitality work (see Bujra 2000, 178). Apart from this statistical and historical information, gender and formal employment in Tanzania seem to be an unexplored field. The existing literature concentrates on gender relations in the urban household and in agricultural production (Campbell 1995; Mbilinyi 1994; Bryceson 1995), and on women's activities in the informal economy (Tripp 1989; Vuorela 1992). Empirical studies of gender issues in the hospitality industry are not readily available, at least not in easily accessible published form. This paper is intended as an exploration, giving first insights and raising questions for further research.

Research methodology and description of the sample

I employed two primary sources of data in my research: a survey with semi-standardised questionnaires and qualitative interviews. The survey was carried out in collaboration with two economists, Henrik Egbert and Sebastian Bredl, in the period between May 2008 and January 2009. Our intention was to investigate recruitment methods in Tanzanian private companies in Mwanza, a city which had approximately 700,000 inhabitants in 2009. The overall results (disregarding gender) were published in Egbert, Fischer, and Bredl (2009). The same database is used here to evaluate gender proportions within the companies under study.

The target group for the survey was managers who are responsible for recruitment. The sample consists of 81 companies, 86.4% of them in service-related industries such as education, transport, garages, trade, hotels and restaurants, and security. The rest (13.6%) belong to the manufacturing sector. All but two companies in the sample can be classified as small (7.5 to 50 employees) or medium (51 to 400 employees). On average, enterprises had 83.4 employees (median 38). Part-time employees were added to the number of full-time employees with the factor 0.5. Concerning the size of the companies, the selection criterion of the survey matched the one used by the Central Register of Establishments of 2007 (The United Republic of Tanzania 2008), as only companies employing five or more persons were considered. The comparatively large number of companies in the service sector (transport, garages, hotels and restaurants) reflects the fact that Mwanza is a transport hub in north-west Tanzania. A more detailed description of study set-up and sample is provided in Egbert, Fischer, and Bredl (2009). Of the 42 hospitality companies listed in the Central Register of Establishments, 16 formed part of the study. They had a staff size ranging from 10 to 90 employees. Only three of the hospitality companies indicated part-time employees. Small guesthouses and restaurants offering low-price food and accommodation were not included in the sample, as they often operate with fewer than five employees.

After having completed the survey, I revisited 10 out of 81 managers for additional qualitative semi-structured interviews on gender and recruitment. Four managers were from the manufacturing sector, and six from restaurants, hotels and bars. It will be interesting to contrast data from male-dominated manufacturing companies with data from the hospitality industry with its larger proportion of female workers. However, for reasons of space this comparison cannot be undertaken here. Furthermore, I conducted interviews with two regional trade unionists, both of them with long experience in representing workers; one of them was from the Union Federation, and the other from CHODAWU (Conservation, Hotels, Domestic and Allied Workers Union). This combination of quantitative and qualitative research was useful in several ways. The survey helped to identify general trends and questions, as well as to find respondents for a deeper and more open investigation. Qualitative data filled gaps and raised new topics, which the respondents had been unable or unwilling to reveal in the questionnaires. In the following presentation of the findings, I will first use survey data to describe the features of hospitality companies as compared to companies in other sectors of Mwanza's economy. Secondly, I will summarise the most important points discussed with hospitality managers and trade unionists in qualitative interviews.

Findings

Survey results

In the questionnaire, managers were asked to indicate the gender proportions in their companies in estimated percentages. This led to establishing three groups of companies, with predominantly male or predominantly female employees, or with equal proportions. Table 1 shows that more than three-quarters of all companies (76%) had more male than female staff.

In the evaluation, the companies were split into categories according to their activities. A comparison of gender proportions in different categories provides further insight into employment patterns. Transportation and garages, security services and manufacturing companies have the highest share of male employees (all of them over 80%). Trade (including ICT services), education and medical care occupy the middle ground (around 60%). The least male-dominated category consists of restaurants and accommodation, with approximately 40% male employees. Of the 12 companies with a majority of female workers (displayed in Table 1), nine are from the hospitality industry. However, the minimum and maximum share of male employees indicated by respondents (Table 2) show that hospitality companies with a larger proportion of male staff do exist.

After being asked to indicate gender proportions in their companies, managers were requested to explain how this composition came about. This was an open-ended question, which was coded later. Out of 81 managers 55 noted only one reason; others offered several reasons. The four most frequent explanations were labour market supply, the nature of the work, physical traits of the sexes, and the capabilities of men as against women. In several evaluations (frequency of multiple responses versus frequency of single responses; comparison of categories, etc.), the four above-mentioned explanations emerged as the most important. Other less frequent explanations were: adherence to gender policies (for companies with equal proportions), a lack of formal education (especially of female applicants in educational institutions), interference between work and domestic responsibilities (as a reason for the exclusion of female applicants), and gendered professional traditions. In what follows, I will elaborate on the four most common reasons and give examples from the hospitality industry where possible.

Many managers state that the gender composition of their workforce results from the fact that they receive more applications by either males or females. In manufacturing and transport and garages, men are described as seeking employment more actively, while women exhibit little interest in working in this environment. Hospitality companies have to deal with the reverse situation, i.e. more female

Table 1. Gender proportions of workforce according to self-indication.

Gender proportions	Number of companies	Percentage
Predominantly male employees	59	76
Predominantly female employees	12	15
Equal proportions	7	9
Total ($n = 78$)	78	100

Note: Three cases within the total sample of 81 gave no indication.
Source: Own survey data (2008–2009).

Table 2. Share of male employees according to category.

Category	Number of companies	Companies with no indication	Mean share male employees (%)	Minimum share male employees (%)	Maximum share male employees (%)
Education and medical care	13	3	61.08	25	95
Manufacturing and construction	13	–	80.38	65	100
Restaurants and accommodation	16	–	39.69	15	70
Security services	7	–	83.86	62	95
Trade and other services	10	–	65.10	40	91
Transportation and garages	19	–	87.53	70	100
Overall	78	3	69.60	15	100

Source: Own survey data (2008–2009).

candidates. A hotel manager states that: ‘Many females are more attracted to this type of job’. Another manager explains the low number of male applicants: ‘Most men do not like hotel work. They are regarded as inferior when seen or heard saying that they work in a hotel’. These accounts suggest processes of self-screening and self-selection based on a negotiated division of labour.

Another reason brought up by managers for their company’s gender composition is the ‘nature of the work’. Frequently this was the shortest (and maybe most convenient) reply. It is linked to the idea that specific types of work in themselves demand to be done by a man or a woman. Jobs are seen as having a gender character, which is assumed to be ‘natural’ (see Leidner 1991, 171). One manager of a hardware store reasons that: ‘Because of the nature of the job, so the job must be performed by males’. Similarly, the hiring authority of a bar explains that: ‘Due to the nature of the job, females are more needed than males’. Sometimes managers mention specific tasks which need to be performed by a man or a woman. For instance, driving, mechanical work or washing laundry in hotels are seen as tasks that call for male hands. Often the physical strength needed for a job defines its nature. The ‘nature of the work’ then appeared in combination with the following reason: the perceived physical traits of the sexes.

Managers perceive the bodies of men and women differently. Generally, men are seen as being physically stronger than women and thus more able to perform work in garages, transport, security services and manufacturing. ‘We do not need females in our garage because this work needs a lot of effort, tough bodies and a lot of experience’, explains the manager of a garage. A respondent from manufacturing says that: ‘We need young and energetic personnel. [...] Women are weaker than men for the jobs’. The young and male body is considered to be especially able to fulfil the requirements of particular tasks. The combination of a specific age and sex as a prerequisite for employment was equally encountered in the hospitality industry. The hiring authority of a bar (with 80% female staff) indicates that he predominantly employs women who are under 40 years old and adds that: ‘Our business needs employees who are energetic and attractive in appearance in order to get enough customers’. Another hospitality manager notes that: ‘Especially beautiful girls help

to attract customers'. Here the preference for certain physical traits is based on the (questionable) assumption that most customers are male. However, in the survey respondents were more reluctant to discuss female attractiveness than in the subsequent qualitative interviews.

Additionally, a preference for male or female workers is based on certain skills which the respondents observe and appreciate in them. The manager of a manufacturing company, for example, regards women as being more accurate in packing. Female pump attendants at a petrol station are described as being more responsible than their male counterparts. A hotel manager stresses the relationship between female domestic work and job requirements in the hospitality industry. He notes that: 'Most of our work needs caring just as domestic work at home'. But when it comes to the education and training of children, the directors of two schools claim that 'male teachers are more capable than female ones'. Across all industries, women tended to be praised for being more reliable and caring, men for having more authority and a stronger work ethic. The qualitative study later revealed that some managers view these capabilities as being inborn, whereas others stress their acquisition.

Before presenting the findings from qualitative interviews, I will briefly evaluate the recruitment methods of companies in different sectors. This seems important, not because the results are clear and may be generalised easily, but rather because they are ambiguous and open up areas for further research. In the questionnaire, respondents were asked to indicate the recruitment methods used when filling the latest high-ranking and low-ranking position in their company. A high-ranking position was described as a management position (such as that of a supervisor or accountant). Respondents had to choose from a variety of formal and informal recruitment methods and were allowed to give multiple responses. The overall results show that informal methods (such as all kinds of referrals and walk-ins) were in general more frequently employed than formal methods (such as advertisements). For low-ranking positions, informal methods were assigned highest priority (see Egbert, Fischer, and Bredl 2009).

When I split the results into categories (see Table 3), it became obvious that for high-ranking positions formal recruitment methods matter least for hospitality companies.² The result for low-ranking positions in the hospitality industry was equal to security services (90%) and was only surpassed by transportation and garages (94%). Overall, referrals and walk-ins emerged as the main methods used for both high- and low-ranking jobs in bars, restaurants and hotels. Given the higher proportion of women in this part of the labour market, it would be important to investigate whether informal recruitment bears a relationship to gender segregation and, if so, in what ways (see Drentea 1998, discussed above).

Results from qualitative interviews

Qualitative interviews with hospitality managers and trade unionists produced additional data. In this paper I will concentrate on information about wage levels and on the selection criteria employed by managers in screening potential employees. Both aspects contribute to an understanding of gender and employment patterns.

In the survey, none of the respondents established a connection between gender composition and wages. Several participants in the qualitative study explicitly raised this point and thus filled the gap. One of them, the only female hospitality manager

Table 3. Share of informal recruitment methods according to category for filling the latest low-ranking and high-ranking position.

Category	Number of companies	Share informal methods for low-ranking position (%)	Share informal methods for high-ranking position (%)
Education and medical care	16	86	77
Manufacturing and construction	13	83	50
Restaurants and accommodation	16	90	86
Security services	7	90	58
Trade and other services	10	81	71
Transportation and garages	19	94	79
Overall	81	87	70

Note: Managers could give multiple responses.
 Source: Own survey data (2008–2009).

in the sample, has worked her way up in a bar to the supervisory level. She is responsible for the waitresses (and a few waiters) who constitute the largest part of the company’s workforce. Her male subordinates receive half of the government-set minimum wage for the hospitality sector, she says. The waitresses’ wages are 20% lower than those of their male colleagues. She notes that this is a regulation by the boss which applies everywhere, as even in the kitchen men are paid more. She adds that the management does not respect waitresses. While they are supposed to be ‘smart’ in order to serve customers well, their wages are not considered important. Low wages and earning gaps are confirmed by both trade unionists. Independently of each other, they rank restaurants and accommodation as the sector with the lowest income in Mwanza’s formal economy. They note that some female workers are not paid at all and depend entirely on tips. Working hours are long (up to 16 hours per day). Days of rest or paid leave are not granted in all establishments. Few companies register their employees with the National Social Security Fund (NSSF), which provides employees with health insurance and pensions. NSSF authorities may be bribed when companies are found wanting during inspections. As the leader of the hotel workers’ union explains, there are two (sometimes mutually reinforcing) reasons why women agree to work under these conditions: their education is generally lower than that of men, and a large number of female hospitality workers head households and have sole responsibility for children. The pressure to earn money is therefore high and opportunities limited.

One of the trade unionists observes that hospitality work has a bad image in the general public: ‘This work is despised by people for its wages. Only in big hotels will you find men. They are respected. They are there’. To increase their income, some female hospitality workers engage in sexual relationships with customers. This fact is frequently generalised to all women in the sector and is met with moral condemnation. The leader of the hotel workers’ union comments that:

Workers themselves accept being despised. We tell them to be more self-confident. Consider yourself equal to a policewoman or a female judge. Your job is as respectable

as these jobs. But the customers in bars call them prostitutes: 'Prostitute, bring me a beer!' You would not dare use this word to call a policewoman or female judge.

Overall, respondents describe wages in the hospitality industry as being among the lowest in Mwanza's formal economy. Men prefer better-paid jobs in bigger establishments or at higher levels of a company's internal job hierarchy (e.g. supervisor, chef) – or shun the sector altogether. Employers take advantage of many women's poor educational background and their limited income opportunities in order to earn higher profits based on circumventing legal regulations and the female subordinates' willingness to accept poor working conditions.

Other findings from the qualitative interviews are related to the recruitment process. They provide further evidence of the importance of informal recruitment methods (which are assumed to promote gender segregation). Managers indicate that they rely on walk-ins and to a lesser degree on referrals. Only a few vacancies are officially advertised, in particular for managers, accountants or chefs. Here, formal qualifications matter as selection criteria. For front office or wait staff positions, some applicants need evidence of formal or informal training – the latter through experience. Others receive on-the-job training following their employment. Housekeeping positions are generally seen as not demanding any formal education. Women 'are good at housekeeping because they make good housewives', says one respondent, implying that experience of domestic labour is sufficient preparation for its performance in a professional setting. In this hierarchy of education, authority and pay, women are most likely to be found in the centre-field or at the lower end.

For work that involves customer contact, a clean physical appearance is taken as a precondition. 'We look at the physical appearance of women and men in the job interview. If someone does not have a good physical appearance, they can work in an area which is not public', says one manager. For most female applicants, cleanliness alone is not sufficient. 'Beauty has a great significance. Customers themselves – many visit restaurants and hotels for amusement. In part they are attracted by the beauty, the cheerfulness and the conversation of the women who are there', adds another respondent. Especially in bars, amusement includes the possibility of having a sexual affair with female staff. On this issue the hiring authority of a bar explains:

You have to understand the mindset of customers: many come to look for women. Maybe someone comes from Dar es Salaam and has left his family behind. He does not want to get a drink only. He starts to chat with the waitress. He maybe gives her his telephone number. This is how it starts.

However, not all managers agree with the practice of using female beauty as a marketing tool. One manager states that he is:

totally opposed to recruiting a woman because of her beauty when she cannot perform. [...] Young people like beauty. Maybe the beauty of a waitress will attract them. But those customers who have a more settled way of life will appreciate the respectable behaviour and good work of a waitress.

Other respondents depict the dangers of 'mixing two businesses': serving food and drinks and providing further (at times sexual) amusement. The speed of service delivery decreases when waitresses have to chat or sit with customers. Conflict-laden

sexual affairs lead to higher staff turnover or discourage guests from coming again. Physical attractiveness as a recruitment criterion may turn out to be a double-edged sword.

Another hurdle some female married employees have to negotiate in the recruitment process is the permission they need from their husbands to work. Although lacking any legal basis, employers frequently demand it. A hotel manager notes that they attach importance to it because there are jobs where employees finish late at night, and for some jobs employees have to stay overnight. This is why they ask women to talk to their husbands before they accept the position. Managers provide two reasons why the husband's permission is important to them: they want to ensure control over their female employees' working time, and they want to avoid marriage conflicts, which might result in labour turnover. At times husbands impose time restrictions on their spouses' employment (for instance allowing them to work in the mornings only), and some respondents indicate efforts to accommodate such restrictions. Where husbands do not give consent for their wives to work, employment is not offered to female candidates. All managers except for one respondent from a bar apply this recruitment criterion. Asked about the role a female applicant's husband plays, this bar manager states: 'We do not want to know. It does not concern us. These are home affairs'.

Discussion and conclusions

Survey data show that the hospitality industry is less male-dominated than other areas of Mwanza's formal economy. Restaurants, hotels and bars employ larger proportions of female staff. In spite of this fact, management positions are mainly occupied by men. Informal recruitment methods have great significance for filling low- as well as high-ranking positions. Looking at the literature, informal methods are often related to gender discrimination, whereas formal methods are seen as producing more gender balance (Drentea 1998; Kirnan, Farley, and Geisinger 1989). This could explain the gender segregation within Mwanza's hospitality industry, with women working predominantly at lower levels and men predominantly at higher levels of company hierarchies. However, this presumption needs further verification.

The majority of managers explain the gender composition of their workforce as being due to processes of self-selection that take place on the supply side of the market. Men and women assign themselves to 'gender-congruent' jobs. Although this can be assumed to carry some truth, the role of managers as screeners during recruitment should not be underestimated. Hiring authorities rely on gendered images of physical and social suitability when making employment decisions, as indicated by the information collected during interviews and questionnaires. In addition, an orientation towards customers' wishes was observed and confirms the concept of dual interpellation (McDowell, Batnitzky, and Dyer 2007). Managers (often wrongfully) suppose that customers are predominantly male, and thus shape their ideas of workers' appropriate appearance and behaviour according to perceived male expectations.

Turning to wages, no respondent in the survey established a link between gender composition and capitalist interests. Profit-maximisation seems to be an attitude managers hardly admit to (at least not in a questionnaire). In addition, few references were made to patriarchal prescriptions and sexuality – generally viewed as factors determining gender segregation (Purcell 1996; Sinclair 1997). However, the

qualitative interviews confirm the significance of these in the Tanzanian setting. Women's sexuality is used as a marketing tool in several establishments in the sample. Patriarchal prescriptions become visible when employers and female employees' husbands join hands to control women's time and work. Finally, low wages, and in some cases abominable working conditions, reveal women's exploitation in hospitality companies.

Although there is evidence that hospitality jobs are despised for their low wages and presumed association with prostitution, a detailed analysis of public discourses on work in this sector would require further data collection. Nevertheless, one assumption brought forward by Ivaska (2007, 228) can be supported, where he suggests that women's continued entry into formal employment would expand 'the boundaries of respectability', with 'bar-girls' being an exception as they are tied much more firmly to deep-rooted associations with sex work. It should also be noted that the aura of indecency surrounding female employees in bars (but also in hotels and restaurants) is increased by the fact that prostitution is legally prohibited. Women's employment in hospitality companies is therefore frequently read as a façade which opens up space for illegal activities.

In spite of these results, more studies are needed. The combination of quantitative and qualitative methods proved useful as it unearthed different aspects and perspectives. Apart from collecting deeper qualitative data for understanding, and more quantitative data for generalisation, a second stratifying criterion should be given more consideration. Not only gender, but also age contributes to labour market segmentation in the hospitality sector. Some managers indicate that a certain age and sex are prerequisites for employment. An examination of how these two stratifying criteria interlock – that is, how gender arrangements at work relate to the life course – could produce new insights. Another interesting point for further investigation can be found in the shifting coalitions and conflicts within the triangle of hospitality workers, managers and customers. For instance, how is sexuality negotiated between the three parties involved? Where are the boundaries between harassment and banter? In her study of restaurants, Lerum (2004) shows that sexual banter at work is indeed in many cases exploitative, but can also be used to build up cross-gender solidarity. Tanzanian managers' complaints about slow service delivery (since female employees have to sit and chat with customers) could then be read as being a protest against a customer–worker alliance which reduces managerial power. An inclusion of customers' and workers' voices in future research will pave the way for understanding the many and contradictory shades of sexuality within the Tanzanian hospitality triangle.

Notes

1. For a discussion about why walk-ins should be regarded as an informal recruitment method, see Drentea (1998) and Egbert, Fischer, and Bredl (2009).
2. Table 3 is based on information about 151 recruitment processes.

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