While Salome alludes to some form of 'right to reciprocity,' other housegirls explained different motives for introducing their relatives to employers, as illustrated in the third case, **Figure 3,** which displays a complex kin and friendship recruitment network.

When asked why she preferred to introduce her friends and relatives to prospective employers, Maricella said,

"It saves me a trip home now and then. With the two us (referring to the sister) working here only one of us needs to go home to visit or send remittances. Besides I would expect her to do the same."

ME: Did your employer know that the girl in the neighbor's house was your sister?

Maricella: Not at first. When we first came to Dar es Salaam we lived with our aunt in Temeke. So when I got a job here (Sinza) she was still living there. When Mama Baraka asked me if I knew anyone who needed a job, I went to get her."

ME: Why didn't you tell them that you are sisters?

Maricella: You never know, some of these employers don't like to have relatives work close together lest they plan to sabotage their families or steal from them.

ME: Have you ever been accused of stealing?

Maricella: No, but sometimes *dada* (her employer) thinks we spend too much time talking instead of working (Laughingly)

Anxiety over what related housegirls can do abounds and partly explains the tendency to recruit among relatives of the employer. More reasons are explained in the session below.

3.2 The Appeal for Kinship Recruitment

Kinship recruitment has conventionally been associated with altruism, reciprocity and redistribution within an extended family, manifested in the exchange of crops from rural areas and education opportunities for rural women recruited to work in the urban households (Creighton and Omari, 2000). One important change in this practice is that such exchange is now associated with money or cash, that is, the reciprocal exchange of labor and rural goods is now mediated by money or wages. This means that when a kin-based housegirl is recruited, the rural family is more prone to expect monetary compensation than any other form of compensation. There is no doubt therefore that the necessity in employing kin stems from the change in the economic environment of the rural and urban households which has had adverse effects on the subsistence ethic at the core of kinship networks.

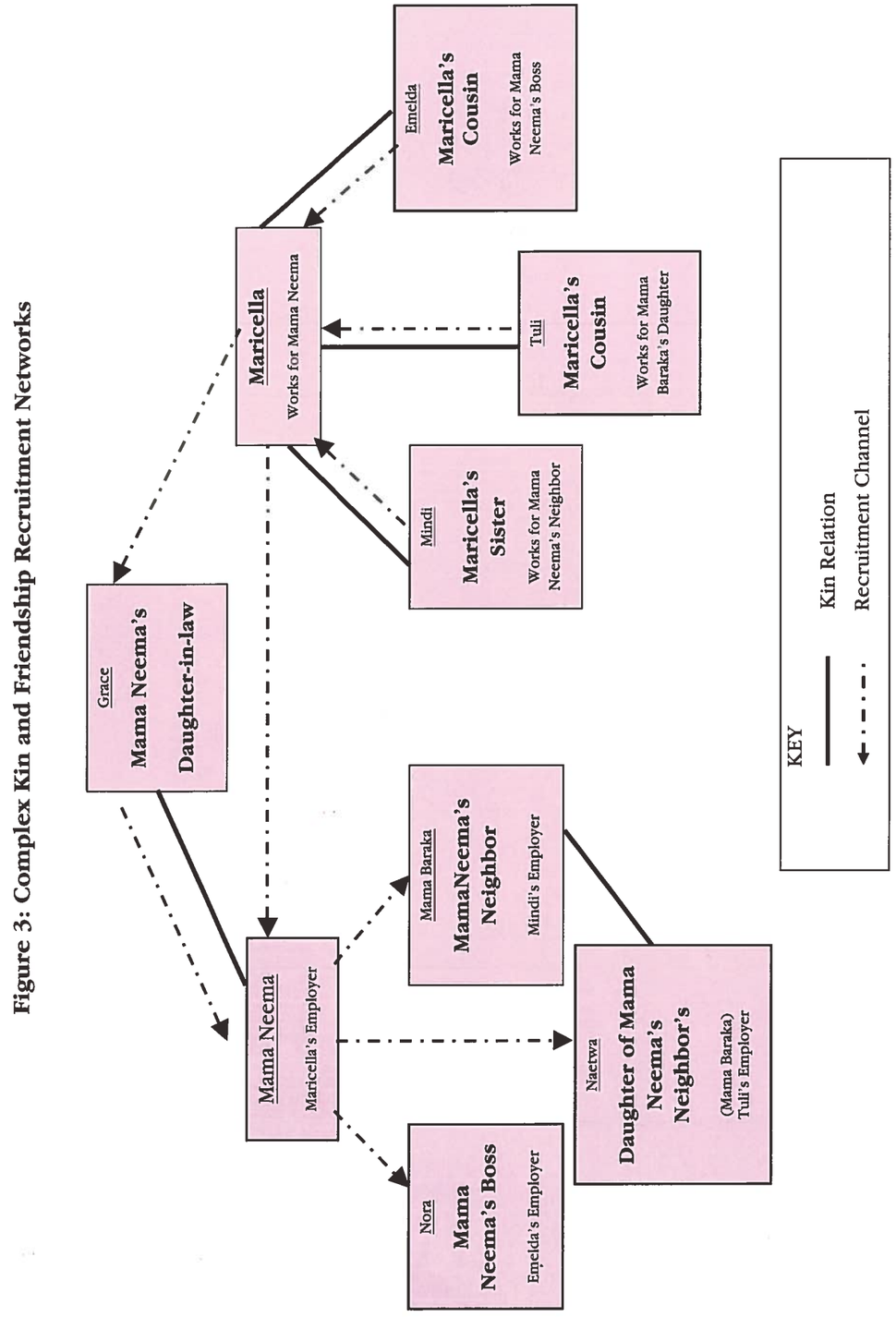


Figure 3: Complex Kin and Friendship Recruitment Networks

While some employers felt that they "owe it to our relatives in the rural areas who somehow helped us to be here," many were inclined to 'help' their rural relatives through employment as housegirls because "these poor girls have nowhere else to go." Often employers (and employees) evoked notions of *Undugu* to reaffirm the self-evidence of the moral obligations that connect rural and urban household members. In general, most accounts of using *Undugu* through kinship networks tended to draw on some combination of two broad groups of reasons, socio-cultural reasons and socio-economic reasons.

Under socio-cultural reasons, I group those who mentioned different aspects of social reproduction of the urban middle-class household. Examples include the extent to which the housegirl can cook tribal or ethnic foods. One respondent, in talking about how her brother recruited a housegirl for the household and later dismissed her, put it this way,

> "[Many housegirls] did not know what is supposed to be done in a household. So he thought, if he can get someone who can cook *ndizi*, a *Chaga* meal, he knew that if he told her to cook this and that she would know. I think it (kin-based employment) is mostly in cooking and I think because the other girl was Gogo *[another tribe]*, she was not clean. That is how the tribe is perceived, I know it is a stereotype but that is how they are perceived and it is used a lot in selecting house-girls."
>
> Emma, aged 30, Dar es Salaam, July 5, 2003

There is also an underlying assumption that a kin-based housegirl is needed to maintain the same level of socialization at home as was before the working woman started working outside the home. Presumably, a kin-based housegirl has been socialized in the same manner that the male or the female head of the household had, and so the kids are sure to go through the same rituals. This assumption manifested itself in the occasional "a girl from home would have understood" sentiments that respondents alluded to.

Also under socio-cultural, I group what urban middle-class women called security in the household. There are two sides to this. On one hand, the employers need someone they can trust. Here trust includes, if anything happens like theft or murder, there should be a way of tracing the whereabouts of the employee, his relatives, etc. In such cases, a kin is very secure. Also, there is belief that a kin will not let you down totally, because the chances you will meet again are many. Actually, one interviewee reminded me of a saying in Swahili that says, *jini likujualo halikuli likakwisha*, which translates to 'a ghost that knows you will not destroy you completely.' On the other hand, the kin based house-girl has job security in the sense that the employer you know will not subjugate you, and probably not dismiss you.

Most of the reasons for invoking *Undugu* fell under socio-economic reasons. Under this category, we find motives like the desire to meet the relative's needs and in the process fulfilling one's moral obligations towards relatives.

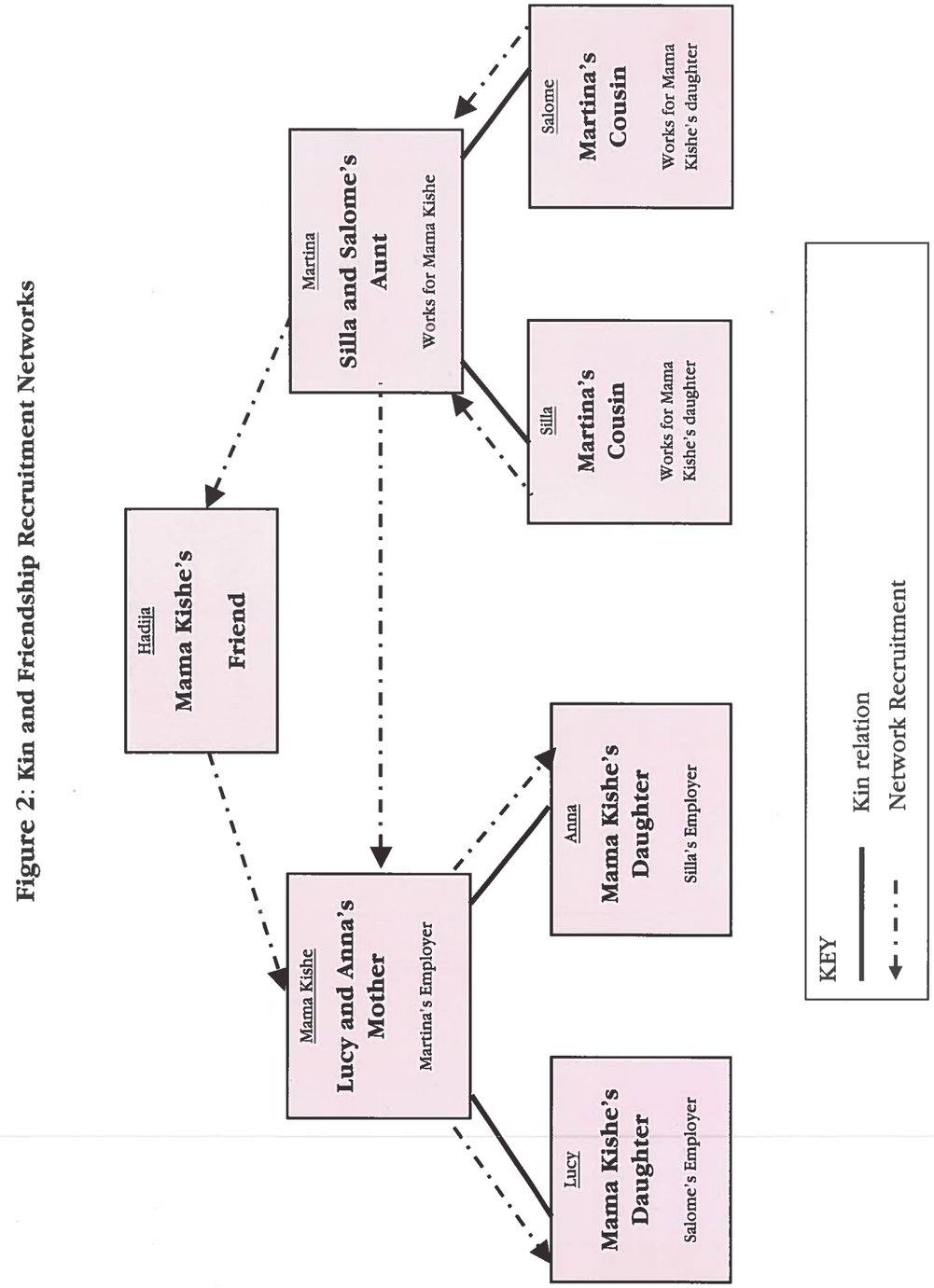


Figure 2: Kin and Friend

Unlike in Figure 1, recruitment in **Figure 2** displays a complex kin recruitment network consisting of two sets of relatives. In one set of relatives, we have Mama Kishe and her two daughters while the other set consists of Martina, who is Mama Kishe's housegirl, and her cousins. In explaining how these networks merged, Mama Kishe (aged 45) explained,

> "She (Martina) was working for a friend who was moving away. Hadija (the friend) was really concerned about leaving her without a job and started asking us about the possibility of taking her. At that time I had a housegirl who was good but not as reliable as she used to be so I asked her to leave and took Martina. It is seven years now and I have never regretted the decision."
>
> Personal Conversation, Dar es Salaam, October 4, 2004

Taking advantage of pre-existing social ties is a common practice and its significance is magnified by the lack of institutionalized forms of referrals. However, such practices serve other purposes especially that of surveillance and control. For example, when Mama Kishe's daughter, Anna, wanted a housegirl immediately after her marriage, Mama Kishe provided the bus fare for Martina to go to her home village and bring someone she can vouch for.

> "Martina knew that her job will also be on the line. With a cousin, she is easy to control because she will feel obliged to listen to her relative. Anna needed someone we could rely on because she was going to have a baby. In fact, in the first few days Martina also moved to Anna's house to help Silla adjust to her new surroundings and orient her to the standards of the job she will be doing."

Relatives," Mama Kishe continued to explain, "are good because they discipline each other. Whenever Anna complained about Silla's work ethics I had Martina talk to her. That way we didn't have to shout at anyone or create unnecessary animosity with the housegirls."

From the perspective of employers, one of the benefits of recruiting among a network of related housegirls is surveillance and control. But is this the way the housegirls perceive it? According to Salome, the only housegirl among three relatives I managed to interview, she always knew that when her time comes she will be working with one of Mama Kishe's family members.

> "When Martina first returned home she kept telling us about her great employer who will soon be leaving. She was anxious about finding another one. And then she came to get Silla. I was then in fifth grade and I knew she will find me a job too. Silla is my sister."
>
> *ME: But had she promised you that?*
>
> SALOME: Why? What else would I be doing in the village? Besides, Silla always wanted to take care of us. And Aunt Martina never had children of her own. They could not get anybody else."

> "With the unemployment that surrounds us, why would anyone employ someone they do not know instead of an unemployed relative? You see, if you don't employ them, you still have to feed them, clothe them, you know send them money everyday…I think it makes sense to have them earn their living."
>
> Mama Tunu, aged 48, Dar es Salaam, June 01, 2003

To this woman, if the urban household can afford to pay for an employee, then it is their obligation to recruit first and foremost among the unemployed within the family. For other employers, the desire to help rural relatives stemmed from a perceived lack of alternative means of survival for their rural relatives. From this perspective of *Undugu,* since extended family members still look out for each other, it is only right that the urban home bears the burden, at least some of it, of the rural area one. Hence recruiting one girl after another among kin becomes a helping strategy through remittances that go back to the rural home. One respondent put it this way,

> "Every Christmas when we go home to visit we find these young girls and boys, just finished Grade seven doing nothing. I mean they have absolutely nothing to do other than help out a little bit at home. What can they do with a Standard Seven certificate these days? It is easier to take some of them with you than to send money every time. That way, when you have no money, they too can still survive like the rest of your family."
>
> Kiondo, aged 28, Dar es Salaam, February 13, 2005

In a way, this implies that it is the rural household that stands to gain exclusively from this type of kin-networking.

In addition to such altruistic motives as described above, there is an overall sense of reciprocity among the accounts of employer's practices. Most employers implied the need to 'pay back' their families. These are the employers who admitted the role their rural families played towards their current privileged position. Often employers would imply that they "owe" their current status to the sacrifices born by their relatives who remained in the rural areas. To other employers however, employing a kin-based housegirl was a way to solicit feelings of reciprocal obligations on the part of the rural relatives.

Perhaps the most important socio-economic reasons for kin-based employment is, as Ezekiel puts it

> "*Kusahaulika* – being unforgettable. Some people go to town for so long they are forgotten. In time, relatives divide their property and when they return nobody goes out of their way to help them adjust to village life again. And you know, village life has its politics. If you want to return and live well you need to be in good standing."
>
> Ezekiel, Aged 64, Iringa, February 11, 2005

Ezekiel was retired prematurely about 8 years ago and moved back "home" to Iringa five years ago. In explaining village politics, Ezekiel went on to explain that had it not been for the little contributions he used to make over the years, including employing three of his relatives and later finding them civil servant positions, his adjustment would have been more difficult. "It is a little gesture for long-term benefits" he adds.

It is this last sentence that indicates the social capital nature of some of these transactions. Like sending remittances, kinship employment becomes a way to enable town dwellers to "maintain rights to village land and membership, meet traditional obligations to support parents, pay towards support of children who are being cared for in the countryside, invest savings and prepare for retirement" (Creighton and Omari 2000: 90).[7]

Like myself, scholars who have previously examined explanations offered for the use of notions of *Undugu* in employment of housegirls (see for example Creighton & Omari, 2000:70), have been skeptical about the essentialism of elements of mutual support and cooperation at the expense of investigation of power, conflict, and contradictions of the ways in which kinship ideologies are manipulated by individuals and groups to serve their own particular interests; of interweaving of kinship with processes of social differentiation. After all, whether employed through *Undugu* or otherwise, the employer is always keen to maintain the difference between her and the housegirl, regardless of the intimacy that often characterizes domestic work. That however is a discussion for another paper.

7 In analyzing variations on kinship links between urban and rural areas, the factors which seem to be of most significance are position in the life course and urban career cycle, employment status, access to land and region of origin (Creighton and Omari 2000: 97).

> "By *arobaini* (the fortieth day) everyone had known that my second son and I were HIV positive (the earlier stages of the Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS)). The question was whether we should continue to live in Tabora in which case when any of us died the family had to transport the bodies' home, or we should go to our home village and live there. I had stopped working when my husband got very sick so there was also a question of how I can sustain my family. My mother offered to take my children with her to the village as I work out a solution to my problem. My husband and I came from the same village so no one objected to that because they could still have influence on how the kids are taken care of. That is when Mama Barongo offered to take me in."
>
> Bupe, aged 35, Dar es Salaam, October 4, 2004

Unlike most housegirls, Bupe is Mama Barongo's daughter-in-law and housegirl. She ended up being the housegirl, in the literal meaning of the word, because as she puts it, "there is nobody else and I have nothing else to do."

Such networks of kin abound. However, it is only in the rare cases like Bupe's that such relatives identify themselves as housegirls. In fact, it is interesting to note that more male rather than female employers tended to identify their housegirls as their relatives who are here to 'help out' for a brief period. In one occasion, as I was talking to an employer who had mentioned having only one housegirl, he called out to the kitchen for tea. A young boy, who I assumed to be his son, came out to say that *dada* (the housegirl) was not around. He went on to ask, "That should not be a problem. Where is *her* colleague *(mwenzie)*?" To which the boy answered that they went out together. "*Ma-hauzigeli bwana!"* he remarked (Man, these housegirls!) The fact that he used a plural (the prefix 'ma') in speaking about the two girls, one of whom he considered the housegirl and the other a relative, means that she actually was working in the house as a housegirl although she is related to him.

A small caveat is important. Let me mention here that the tendency to conflate relatives and housegirls has proven to be the biggest challenge in the understanding of domestic labor in Tanzania. While such distinctions may not be instrumental to the working of the individual households, without them, interventions in domestic labor cannot take place. The then chairperson of CHODAWU (Conservation, Hotel, Domestic and Allied Workers Union), Vicky Kanyoka explained,

> "When these young girls are called relatives, there is nothing you can do beyond listing the number of people in the household. What has helped in the past is the girls identifying themselves as housegirls, or identified by their neighbors, and only later to be identified as such by the employers after constant probing. But that is really invading people's privacy. It is just very difficult."
>
> Personal Conversation, Dar es Salaam, June 23, 2003

they use in identifying house-girls. Relatives are instrumental in bringing people from the villages they visit, and house-girls have their own networks too. Usually a friend of a current employer would visit and upon mentioning the need of a house-girl, the first person to be asked is the current house-girl. The housegirl is bound to mention the availability of a relative, a neighbor, a friend hence starting a whole network of people. Sometimes such networks expand to include neighbors.

It is important to draw a distinction among the relatives who influenced individual recruitment of housegirls because of the implications such connections have for the working conditions of the housegirl in a particular households. This will be discussed in detail in the next section. Suffice it to note here that female heads of household are the most influential. In 2005, twenty five percent of housegirls stated they had been recruited by the female head of the households and her network while that number was raised to 63 percent in 2011. In 2005, eighteen percent and in 2011, 23 percent of housegirls were recruited by relatives of the male head of the household and relatives of other members of the family like the daughter, son, or cousin not currently living in the same premises, respectively. These are often relations by marriage. Lastly, a small percent of the housegirls (9% in 2005 and 14 % in 2011) had their own network of friends or relatives working in the neighborhood who facilitated their current employment.

Figure 1 Kin Recruitment Network

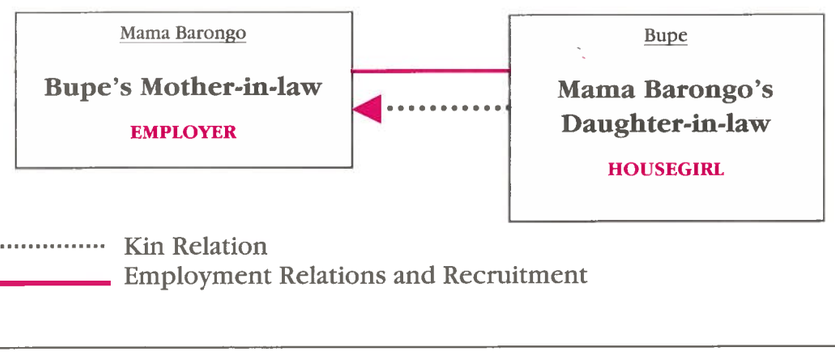


Figure 1 represents the most basic network involving kin relations between the housegirl and the male or female employer. In this simple network, we find Mama Barongo as the employer and Bupe as the housegirl. Mama Barongo is also Bupe's mother-in-law. Bupe was married to Mama Barongo's cousin, her sister's son. Bupe and her family, husband and two sons used to live in the Tabora region until the husband died more than four years prior to our encounter. Forty days after the funeral of her husband, as the family gathered to 'honor the dead,' as is the custom in their tribe, the question of how best to help Bupe and the kids was discussed. This is how Bupe recalls the events of that day,

Part 4: Why *Undugu* a Conundrum

From Merriam Webster Dictionary

co·nun·drum/kəˈnəndrəm/
Noun: 1. A confusing and difficult problem or question.
2. A question asked for amusement, typically one with a pun in its answer; a riddle.

How can a culturally imbedded practice be a conundrum in domestic work? This occasional paper suggests three perspectives within which the use of *Undugu* in domestic work turns a culturally imbedded practice into a conundrum. These are a socio-economic perspective, a gender-class perspective and lastly a decent work perspective.

4.1 A Socio-economic Perspective

Underlying their perspectives is the call among Africanists to consider African individuals as "'composite' – the site of a plurality of relationships – rather than autonomous and individual" (Piot 1999:7). This is also implied by Hunn (1984) who wrote that "the key measure of a man's wealth (in Africa) was the number of dependents in his household. The association of wealth with persons rather than with material goods is explained by the conditions of production. Unlike many other world areas, labor – not land – was the scarce factor of production in Africa. A man's ability to expand his control over land and his production of food and livestock depended crucially on the number of dependent men in his household and on the number of women farmers whose agricultural and domestic labor he could mobilize."

As an example, let us consider the fact that although employers may want to recruit among kin in adherence to their perception of moral obligations, the reality is that not all relatives are equal; therefore individuals may not resort to just any relative for any occasion or offer service to any relative for any purpose. Instead, choices will have to be made on which of the relatives to employ; choices that are most likely underlined by the plurality of factors.

First, we find that the employment of rural kin can be seen as implicated in the reconstruction of the meaning of the rural. Discourses of 'backwardness' of the rural area represents laborers from the rural area as needy, desperate for work and grateful to be able to work in urban areas (see for example Kanyoka 2003). Such discourses are in fact a reflection of structures of social, political and economic inequality which have consistently subordinated rural producers within the national political economy. Here, rurality and the associated second-class citizenry are constituted in agriculture's inability to retain rural labor and wipe out the adverse poverty among the rural populations in the country. And if class is understood to be defined by place within the relations of production, then what we are witnessing is a geography of class relations in Tanzania. That means while the urban middle-class employer is in a position of power, the rural laborer lacks bargaining power. Employers drawing on such discourses to recruit kin, or non-kin housegirls for that matter, engage in an economic strategy that allows them to reduce

the cost of labor.

Another factor that influences the employment of rural housegirls is to avoid the urban housegirls; who, by their virtue of moving to the urban area are perceived to have accrued a 'cultural capital' – in Bourdieu's sense of information and knowledge – that influence their work habits in ways that may affect their level of submission to her employer's rules and regulations. This may include information about salaries, the behavior of different employers, and types of tasks that are acceptable in this line of work.

Yet another way of looking at rural recruitment and employment of kin domestic labor is for employers to accrue 'symbolic' capital, e.g. prestige and social value in rural households. Symbolic capital, according to Bourdieu, is in essence, economic capital disguised as 'not economic' through a display of lack of interest in economic gain. As he puts it,

> "In an economy which is defined by the refusal to recognize the 'objective' truth of 'economic' practices, that is, the law of 'naked self-interest' and egoistic calculation, even 'economic' capital cannot act unless it succeeds in being recognized through a conversion that can render unrecognizable the true principle of its efficacy. Symbolic capital is this denied capital, recognized as legitimate, that is misrecognized as capital (recognition, acknowledgement in the sense of gratitude aroused by benefits can be one of the foundations of this recognition) which, along with religious capital (see Bourdieu 1971), is perhaps the only possible form of accumulation when economic capital is not recognized" (Bourdieu 1990: 118).

By denying the pursuit of economic gain, symbolic capital then remains an economy of 'good faith' in which agents 'are forced to devote almost as much ingenuity and energy to disguising the truth of the economic acts as it expends in performing them' (Bourdieu 1990:113). The danger that lies beneath such good faith is that it may blind the rural household and the recruited housegirl to the nature of their oppression, hence becoming a mechanism for maintaining inequality. For example, earlier studies of domestic labor in Tanzania have found that "making a living in Dar es Salaam has often depended upon exploiting rural links and situational invoking of 'kinship' for individual (and family) advantage in urban markets (Van Donge 1992 quoted in Creighton and Omari 1995:225).

This follows existing evidence that where no genealogical relationships exist (what Bourdieu calls practical kinship[8]), employers tend to use 'fictive' kinship in the day to day practices of domestic labor (Creighton and Omari 2000), equivalent to what Bourdieu calls practical relationships. I therefore use fictive kinship here to mean practical relationships defined as kin

8 Bourdieu distinguishes between *practical kinship* and *practical relationships*. He defines *practical kinship* as a set of genealogical relationships, and *practical relationships* as non-genealogical relationships that can be mobilized for the ordinary needs of existence. Agents therefore constantly work on maintaining a privileged network of such practical relationships based on the proximity of relations – closeness between individuals - and the social influence of the relatives (Bourdieu 1990: 168). The aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of such practical relationships or networks of relationships is what Bourdieu calls social capital (Bourdieu 1986:248).

Part 3: *Undugu* and Domestic Work in Tanzania A Simplist Scenario

To understand the workings of *Undugu* in the domestic work context, it is important to demonstrate with a simplistic scenario. The scenario depicts *Undugu* in the form of kinship networks in the recruitment of housegirls in urban middle-class households and identifies the types of relationships that exist between the housegirls and the employers. Kinship relations described in this occasional paper can be said to be both horizontal and vertical, slightly modifying the true meanings of these terms in the anthropological understanding of kinship. In anthropology, "vertical kinship relationships are based on lines of descent; vertical lines of descent are relationships between ancestors and descendants. You are related to your mother and father in a vertical kinship relationship—they are your ancestor and you are their descendant. These vertical kinship relationships are the most important and are the basis on which all kinship societies organize themselves" (Hooker 1996). In this paper, vertical kinship represents relations between the employer and the housegirl that are based on their common descent, for example, a housegirl working for her aunt or uncle, or her sister or brother.

On the other hand, horizontal kinship relationships, that is, your relationship to other members of the community who are not your ancestors or descendants, get their values from the vertical kinship relations. For instance, the relationship between a brother and a sister is a horizontal kinship relationship—this relationship gets its values ("brother" and "sister") because the two individuals share the same immediate parents. In this paper, horizontal kinship is used not to illustrate the sharing of the same parents but familiarity with a common set of people be it friends or relatives. This includes such relations as one housegirl working for a friend of her former employer or the son or daughter of her former employer.

The scenario used to illustrate the working of *Undugu* in domestic labour in Tanzania is based on a field research I conducted in 2005. In a follow-up field research conducted in 2011 involving a sample of 50 domestic workers, the patterns seem to persist. This scenario shows both simple and complex networks of kinship and why they were preferred. In the previous field research a total of 44 housegirls were interviewed. The study showed that 30 percent, which is the largest single category of housegirls, was recruited through friends of the particular family in which they were currently employed. More importantly, the recruitment through kinship networks made up 70 percent. In 2011, 50 housegirls were interviewed and all of them were recruited through kinship networks. These networks were defined by relatives of the male head of the household, the female head of the household, or friends of the family.

3.1 Types of Kinship Recruitment Networks

There are a number of complex networks encountered in domestic work in Tanzania. For example, the employers have their own networks of friends, relatives and work colleagues who

Obviously, the increasing use of *Undugu* seems to reflect not only adherence to rights, duties and moral obligations, but also the lack of alternatives in access to resources, especially labor, outside the circle of kin (Creighton 2000:78). As institutional sources of support outside the household have dwindled with the adoption of market economics, households have tended to increasingly depend on their immediate circles of kin. Lack of accessible and affordable child care, for example, is the number one cited reason for the employment of housegirls in Tanzania (Creighton and Omari, 1995, 2000) and a study by this author in 2004/5 also revealed that urban middle-class women draw on *Undugu* as a cultural means to make claims on the surplus labor of housegirls. In recruiting housegirls from rural areas, the urban middle-class simultaneously fulfils its moral obligation to rural relatives and cements such practices as constitutive of *Undugu*. The use of kin networks, but also relations with neighbors and other contacts, in the wake of dwindling socio-economic support systems, vividly illustrates how economic practices like the employment of labor are embedded in a cultural universe.

relationships based not on blood or marriage but rather on close friendship ties that replicates many of the rights and obligation usually associated with family ties (Ebaugh and Curry 2000:189). Once used, fictive kinship then subjects the employer and the employee into the relations of good faith and obligation in which questions of oppression are obscured. Rendering a contractual relationship into a kin relationship allows employers to 'dishonor' claims of exploitation by housegirls. The kin-based helper may be coerced and terrorized into drudgery and, sometimes, dangerous working conditions for fear of losing her social security – the family. The impact of this disguised employment relationship will become apparent in discussing the decent work perspective.

4.2 An Intra-Gender-Class Perspective

At the outset, there is no denying that domestic work continues to be performed largely by women. Pit this against the unemployment situation in Tanzania where the ratio of employment of young people is about 4 to 1 against young girls, one will be excused for arguing that the fact that domestic work is very much 'open' to more women than men is a blessing in disguise. Kiaga and Kanyoka (2011) observe that "although some may argue that its significance is ambivalent, the fact that social practices continue to prescribe domestic work as essentially women's work, has worked to the advantage of young women." The ambivalence follows the fact that like most jobs that women have increasingly been absorbed into, domestic work remains to be the most undervalued with largely indecent working conditions. This therefore forms part of the conundrum.

The most part of the intra-gendered conundrum is perhaps entailed in the gender division of labor. This paper has established elsewhere that women's unprecedented increase in the labor force has gone hand in hand with an increase in social and economic inequality, on one hand, and greater demand for child care, on the other (Tronto, 2002). Ideally, women's participation in the labor force should have witnessed an increase in men's share of unpaid domestic work. This is because historically the division of labor that defined unpaid domestic labor as 'women's work' was taking advantage of women's inability (variously defined) to participate in wage labor. But men's share of unpaid domestic labor has not materialized, or at least not yet (Blossfeld and Drobnic 2001; Gershuny 2000). Instead, female domestic workers are increasingly employed to fill in the gap left by middle-class urban women in their households. The presence of a female domestic worker in urban households, however, contradicts the notion of empowerment of *women* by illuminating the parallel between the autonomy granted to certain types of women and the experiences of subordination it encodes in the 'Other'. Tronto (2002), borrowing Walzer (1983)'s term, calls it a domestic tyranny. If women are to be liberated from domestic labor then why replace one woman with the Other?

When we zero in on female employers we can speculate that the use of kin networks may have more value than the economic and symbolic capital that is accrued. Kin networks have become a significant way of resisting patriarchal practices in the urban middle-class households. Let me elaborate. We saw in earlier sections that although they have recognized the oppression

associated with the gendered division of labor, most urban middle-class women have strategically left the division unchallenged and instead have manipulated available material and symbolic resources to advance their interest of removing themselves from the clutches of patriarchy. Or, as Bujra (2000:180) has observed, "rather than confronting husbands to share the work (which might lead to divorce or domestic violence) they (urban middle-class women) off-load the dirtier, heavier and more tedious aspects of it (housework) onto servants (housegirls)."

The conundrum manifests itself in the ability of the urban middle-class women to offload "the dirtier, heavier and more tedious aspects of housework" onto rural housegirls which is symptomatic of the autonomy granted by the women's empowerment agenda through labor force participation to *certain types* of women, and the experiences of subordination it produces in others. Tronto (2002), borrowing Walzer's term, calls it a domestic tyranny. The tyranny, in this case, is in the fact that the transformation of labor processes in urban middle-class households via the increase in formally employed urban middle-class women not only reinforces the gender division of labor in urban households, but also deepens class polarization and inequality across women nationally.

The implication here must be clear: "what may have started out as a way of organizing [household] labor takes on a normative significance so that values become embodied in the *tasks* and *who does them*" (Kabeer 1994:59; all emphasis is my own). In other words, with rural working women replacing urban middle-class women in domestic labor not only is the routine assignment of women and men to specific tasks (the gender division of labor) intimately bound up with what it means to be a 'man' and a 'woman' in the specific context of the household (Whitehead 1981), but also becomes a defining element in the unequal social position of women in a value chain of labor, where rural women are integrated at the bottom of the chain. As in the socio-economic perspective, *Undugu* becomes implicated here because it prevents or limits the bargaining power between the two women involved.

4.3 A Decent Work Perspective

Unlike the last two perspectives which are based on the 'status' (both social and economic) of the relationship between the employer and the employee, the decent work perspective is based on the human-rights approach. Apart from access to work, it emphasizes the conditions under which work should be done, and hence the Decent Work Agenda. This culminated into the Domestic Workers Convention which integrates both civil rights like access to justice and privacy as well as social and labour rights in the form of working time, minimum wage and the like.

What was once ILO's framework for organizing its priorities, the Decent Work Agenda has currently gained recognition globally as evidenced by the 2009 G20 Leaders statement, which reiterated, among other things, the need to implement policies consistent with ILO fundamental principles and rights at work.[9] In essence, the Decent Work Agenda is anchored in the premise that work is central to people's well-being. As described by ILO, in addition to providing income, work can pave the way for broader social and economic advancement, strengthening individuals,

9 Source: http://www.pittsburghsummit.gov/mediacenter/129639.htm [March 21, 2012]

and Arens, 1978).[4] This means various scholars, especially anthropologists working in Tanzania, have documented various day-to-day practices as sites of a plurality of relationships rather than actions of autonomous individuals (Piot 1999:7). As a socio-cultural norm and practice, however, it can be traced back to pre-colonial times when custom held that individuals had to sacrifice for the benefit of many in the community, and during the years immediately after independence when *Ujamaa*[5] was propagated as the national ideal.

As an economic practice, *Undugu* can be compared to an "economy of affection," defined by Goran Hyden (1983:21) as "networks of support, communications, and interaction among structurally defined groups connected by blood, kin, community, or other affinities such as religion."[6] According to Swantz and Tripp (1996:12) it emphasizes "community survival rather than simply individual survival, the reliance on and support of kin and clan at times of hardship; dipping into one's business savings to pay for medical treatment of a sick son or daughter rather than single-mindedly pursuing a profit motive; charging customers for services according to their ability to pay rather than having a fixed rate; hiring an extended family member in a business to help them out even at the cost of economic efficiency."

Undugu can also be considered a form of "moral economy" (after James C. Scott, although Scott's specific usage concerns patron-client relations), in the sense that it embraces the sense of mutual economic dependence between those who employ the concept. During the field research in 2005, I encountered a renowned academician who revealed an instance where a distant cousin arrived at his door step, uninvited, with a letter stating that he should do everything to help the cousin. Although the letter had no mention of employment, the cousin ended up working for him. Even without recruitment, his rural relatives banked on his "moral" obligations to the extended family to support the cousin.

Based on the observations above one can rightly conclude that *Undugu* is far from being a single undifferentiated ideology. In 2005, for example, Shivji (2005) described the term *Undugu* as originally used by trade unionists to express class (social) solidarity. Accordingly, the term later became prominent in party and political vocabulary, in particular after the adoption of the policy of socialism and self-reliance. At that point, *Undugu* was used to express nationalism and the policy of *Ujamaa*. In both cases, therefore, '*undugu*' was explicitly an expression of ideology. There are others who dispute this association of *undugu* with an ideological stance in Tanzania. In one of his final speeches as the third president of Tanzania, Mkapa asserted that '*undugu*' is not an ideological term but 'is embedded in our African culture' (Mkapa, 2005).

4 The authors use the concept of *jamaa*, which means the same as *Ndugu* in Swahili. They define such form of kinship as a personal network loosely tied together by various kinds of structural principles and in this instance expressing a generalized kinship ideology. While I agree with their definition, I disagree with their interpretation that such a collectivity has no corporate functions except the expression of emotional solidarity at ritual events such as marriage or funeral ceremonies. In fact this study attests the significance of such a collectivity beyond these functions.

5 *Ujamaa* was an ideological project of socialist social reproduction aimed at instilling ideas about social equality and nationhood that dominated the first three decades of Tanzania's independence.

6 Hyden himself argues that the majority of urban residents, at all income levels, are well integrated into the 'economy' of affection (1980:161-3).

Part 2: Understanding *Undugu*

In discussing the social reproduction of the middle class households in urban Tanzania, the term social reproduction is used in the strict sense of the its day to day reproduction that includes the making and maintaining of people, through paid and unpaid labor inside and outside the household which, as Katz 2001 put it, manifests itself in the acquisition and distribution of the means of existence including food, shelter and clothing.

Defining the middle-class in Tanzania is not as easy and strict. It is therefore not surprising that scholars have not attempted this feat in the recent years. For the purpose of this discussion, the definition of the middle class used is borrowed from sociological scholars, most of whom follow Max Weber's definition. Weber defines middle-class as consisting of professionals (also referred to as elites or quasi-elite), managers or business owners who share a comfortable standard of living and a level of relative security against social crisis, in the form of socially desired skill or wealth[2].

As regards to defining *Undugu*, we begin at the family level, although the notion of *Undugu* itself extends beyond the scale of the family into the scale of society as clearly stated in the quote below:

> "For when a society is so organized that it cares about individuals then provided he is willing to work, no individual within that society should worry about what will happen to him tomorrow if he does not hoard wealth today. Society itself should look after him, or his widow or his orphans. This is exactly what traditional African society was successful in doing. Both the "rich" and the 'poor" individual were completely secure in African society…that was socialism. This is socialism." (Nyerere, 1962/1975:512)

The notion of *Undugu* has its roots in the African concept of *Ubuntu,*[3] which says that individual existence (and knowledge) is contingent upon relationships with others. It is a Swahili term that represents an ideology of kinship, where that term is extended to include not only blood relations, as in the anthropological sense of kinship, but also those that share bonds of friendship, ethnicity and "tribal regions."

As an ideology, the exact origin of *Undugu* is not certain but the principle behind the values, attitudes, and practices expressed have been variously recorded (see for example Arens

2 Rephrased from Ritzer, George, ed. (1996). "Sociological Theory". *Max Weber* (fourth ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill. ISBN 0-07-114660-1.

3 *Ubuntu* is an African philosophy based on values of intense humanness, caring, respect, compassion and associated values ensuring a happy and qualitative human community life in a spirit of family (Broodry 2002). Notably, this philosophy is particularly associated with Bantu-speaking people (Ramose 2002:643).

their families and communities. Such progress, however, hinges on work that is decent. As such, ILO believes that decent work sums up the aspirations of people in their working lives. Such aspirations can be achieved through four inseparable, interrelated and mutually supportive strategic objectives which are job creation, guaranteeing rights at work, extending social protection and promoting social dialogue.

A key point through which the benefits of the above objectives can be enjoyed is the employment relationship. But in the previous sections we have witnessed how *Undugu* is implicated in the perpetuation of disguised employment. The ILO describes 'disguised employment' as an employment relationship that is lent an appearance that is other than the underlying reality. Disguised employment occurs when the employer treats a person who is an employee as other than an employee so as to hide his or her true legal status. You may recall an incident I described in Part 2 of this paper where an employer found himself referring to a girl he had previously identified as a relative as a housegirl. However, as the saying goes, the devil is in the detail. If a relative performs all the tasks for which you would employ a domestic worker, within an agreement that some form of compensation will be provided, shouldn't this relative be considered a worker?

Notably, the Employment and Labour Relations Act (ELRA), Tanzania's key labor legislation, also defines an employee as an individual who has (a) has entered into a contract of employment; (b) has entered into any other contract under which (i) the individual undertakes work individually for the other party to the contract and (ii) the other party is not a client or customer of any profession, business or undertaking carried on by the individual (Section 4).

By denying the wage relationship between them, the employer is denying the housegirl more than just wages but all other rights and entitlements which exist under laws, regulations and collective agreements and which are specific to or linked to workers who work within the scope of an employment relationship. Such entitlements include minimum wage, social security coverage, freedom of association and training. Furthermore, such denial is inimical to decent work because its leads to denial of labour protection to the worker.

From the previous sections we can deduce that *Undugu* is a source of both opportunities as well as risks. While it does provide, to a certain extent, the social protection that domestic workers need, it has also led to widespread non-compliance of labour laws by causing lack of clarity on the employment status of a large number of domestics and consequently leaving them outside the scope of protection. What remains to be discussed is whether or not doing away with *Undugu* would, by itself, ensure the improvement in terms and conditions of work for domestic workers.

Part 5: Moving beyond *Undugu* in Domestic Work in Tanzania

One of my academic mentors once told me that in order to be useful, a policy paper must do three things: present theory, show facts or evidence and outline policy implications. In the four preceding parts of this paper I have described the problem, presented the theories I have used to understand it and the evidence collected through a series of field observations. In this part of the paper, therefore, I want to describe the policy implications and conclude the paper by way of proposing a way forward.

A large part of this occasional paper has focused on the ways gendered and otherwise differentiated processes of labor and migration are interwoven with broad socio-spatial dynamics to allow urban middle-class women to fully participate in the paid labor force. The paper documents that rural housegirls are increasingly employed to fill in the gap left by urban middle-class women in domestic labor. This, I have suggested, signifies not only the persistence of the gendered division of labor in the urban middle-class households, but also illuminates the irony that the ability of certain types of women –urban, middle-class- to fully participate in the paid labor force hinges on the subordination of another type of woman –rural, working-class- women performing domestic labor.

What all this means is that it is not enough to study the use of *Undugu* in the form of kinship networks just for its own sake, but also as a harbinger of larger economic and social ills. A closer look reveals at least 3 policy implications, which are discussed below along with associated policy recommendations and indicating needs for future research.

Policy Implication 1 – Domestic Work is Not just a Labour Issue

The first argument put forth by this paper is that the use of *Undugu* in the form of kinship networks in the social reproduction of urban middle-class households in Tanzania is mutually embedded in economic and cultural practices and that this mutuality is implicated in the way actually-existing relations of gender inequality and difference are constructed, maintained, and reworked on a far larger scale than the household. This implies the need to pay attention to how the connections between the rural and the urban areas play a role in the remarkable persistence of the household gender division of labor, despite the new possibilities that women's formal employment creates.

Such an endeavor requires, on the one hand, the promotion of policies better balance between work and family responsibilities. This is at the heart of the Decent Work Agenda. The following diagram summarizes the diverse measures to promote work-family reconciliation established by ILO standards on workers with family responsibilities, which fall mainly with the direct means of actions of government, social partners and civil society actors.

In the domestic work sector, the understanding of the significance of an employment relationship must begin with understanding the recruitment of domestic workers. Studies on the recruitment of domestic workers in Tanzania have found, for example, that it is not any kind of domestic worker who is increasingly recruited, but rather young, rural girls related to their employer by kinship or other filial affinities popularly known as *Undugu* (Kiaga 2007: 3). What is significant about such recruitments is the impact it has on the employer-employee relationship for the domestic workers. First and foremost, it disguises the relationship leading it to be perceived as something other than a wage relation. In light of the newly adopted Domestic Workers Convention (No. 189), Tanzania must now seriously reexamine these trends because the definition of a domestic worker contained in the convention, which is any person performing domestic work in an employment relationship (Article 1), essentially excludes family members from the scope of the convention.

Secondly, the resultant relationship remains to be a verbal agreement between families. In a report of discussions by tripartite partners in East Africa (Kiaga and Kanyoka 2011: 12-13), a number of problems associated with verbal contracts are reported. First is the disadvantage it places on the domestic workers, especially when a problem arises and the employer and employee need to produce evidence. In such cases, it is the word of the domestic workers against his or her employer, and often the employer is more prepared to produce evidence to support his or her claims. The second problem is related to termination, in which case there is an overall assumption that verbal contracts are permanent. It was reported that many domestic workers have found themselves in semi-slavery situation because they are assumed to have agreed to work for their employer for as long as they are needed. The most problematic issue with verbal contracts was mentioned by all the trade unions who participated in the tripartite consultative workshops and that is the inability to access and protect the domestic workers under the verbal contracts.

So, what happens when we have a working-class embroiled in an economy of affection which constructs their 'work' as a personal and emotional task rather than a straight forward employment relationship? How does this condition affect its capacity for class action? Most importantly, taking into account the fact that all who work have rights at work whose realization is largely dependent on the existence of a formal employment relationship, what hope remains for domestic work in Tanzania? These are the key questions that this paper attempts to address.

Part 1: Introduction

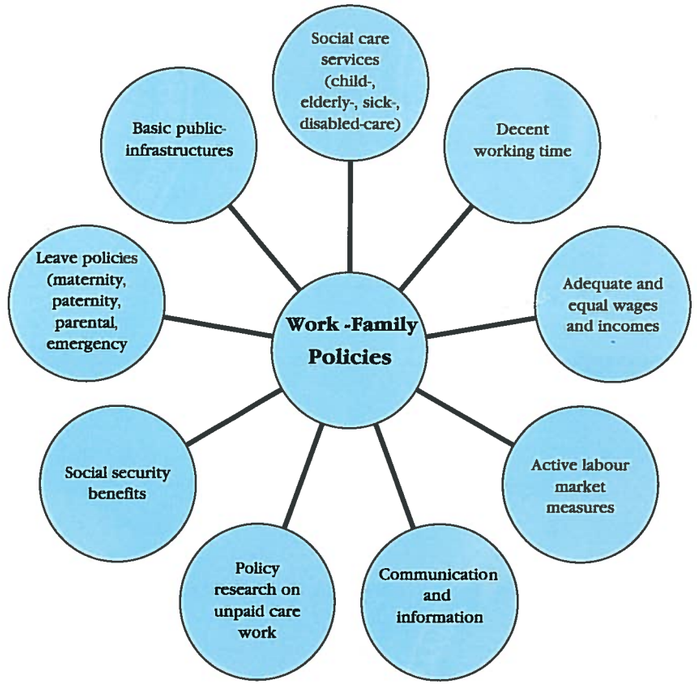
According to the ILO, an employment relationship exists between an employee and an employer for whom the employee performs work under certain conditions, in return to remuneration (Casale 2011:5). In an ideal labour market situation, such a relationship is formalized into a contract, either written or verbal, on the basis of which reciprocal rights and obligations are created between the employer and the employee. But ideal labour market situations are hard to find, particularly in Tanzania where more than 80 percent of people work in the informal sector. Rather than employment contracts, workers in the informal sector often maintain unclear employment relations with their employers, if at all employed by others, including not knowing who are their actual employers. Often, this result into, among other things, a lack of protection of their rights. Perhaps there is no better sector through which to demonstrate the significance of an employment relationship than domestic work.

At the core of domestic work anywhere in the world is the need for workers, both men and women, to strike a balance between work and family responsibilities. However, due to a relentless gendered division of labour in most societies, family responsibilities are largely left in the hands of women. With more and more women desiring to enter the paid labour market, balancing work and family responsibilities becomes the one challenge that consistently affects their level of participation in the workforce as well as their treatment at work. The ILO (2008) has observed that while in 2007, 1.2 billion women around the world worked, almost 200 million or 18.4 per cent more than ten years ago, they are often confined to work in the less productive and decent jobs, with poor access to adequate and fair pay, social protection, basic rights and voice at work. Women also continue to bear the main bulk of family responsibilities and the cost of adjusting to the increased load of both paid and unpaid work. Against this background, 'having' a domestic worker has increasingly become the coping strategy of choice, regardless of the ability to 'hire' one.

In a study conducted in 2004/5 in Tanzania, 90 percent of the women interviewed in Dar-es-Salaam admitted that without housegirls[1] they could not remain employed on a full-time basis, or would find it extremely difficult to balance their work and family responsibilities (Kiaga 2010:1). ILO's recent estimate indicates that at least 52.6 million persons globally (> 15 years of age) engage in domestic work as their principal job and 83 percent of them are women (ILO 2011:1). Despite the implicit significance of domestic work, it remains undervalued, mostly because it is performed in private homes and seemingly not requiring any particular skills. Other scholars have argued that such devaluation emanated from the fact that domestic work is often conflated with 'women's work' and considered the 'natural role' of women. One undeniable fact is that the conditions within which domestic workers perform their duties are dependent upon the existence of an employment relationship between the employer and the employee.

1 The term house-girl refers to paid female household workers in Tanzania. The word 'girl' does not necessarily signify age differences. Instead, it brings to the fore a critical issue of how women have been perceived historically in the country and how the male-dominated post-independence Tanzanian state chose to continue the demeaning way women were perceived during colonialism in order to advance its own agenda vis-a-vis women. Moreover, there is still a need to problematize the "worker" status of the house-girl.

Figure 7 Balancing Work and Family Responsibilities



To move beyond *Undugu*, therefore, Tanzania must begin by recognizing the contribution of domestic work – in sustaining the current workforce, raising the future human capital and taking care of the retired workforce - such that institutions that structure society takes into account this contribution in the distribution of resources, benefits and compensation derived from economic growth. It is on this basis that the policies and programmes proposed by ILO's Convention on Workers with Family Responsibilities Convention, 1981 (No. 156) and its accompanying Recommendation (No. 165) are built. The elevation of domestic work from a household concern to societal concern will ensure that there are formal mechanisms for meeting this need, such that the use of informal means like kinship networks in the form of *Undugu* becomes redundant.

The significance of such a phenomenal move goes way beyond issues of labour. It goes into the core of gender equality. First, it reminds us that family responsibilities are not solely women's responsibilities. Men and women must take equal share of such responsibilities and hence measures to balance work and family responsibilities, such as child care centres, target both men and women. Secondly, the development of integrated work/family policies must not be seen as supporting the welfare of individual workers and their families but the social and economic welfare of the whole society. In Tanzania, this means the Ministry of Labour and Employment (MOLE) needs to work hand in hand with the Ministry of Community Development, Gender and Children (MCGDC), Ministry of health and Social Welfare (MOHSW) and the Ministry of Finance

(MOF) to ensure that social and economic policies take into consideration the contribution of domestic work, but also that they do not jeopardize women and men's ability to participate in social and economic activities because of family responsibilities.

Policy Implication 2 - Professionalization of Domestic Work is a Multi-stakeholder Task

It is obvious that policies for better balance of work and family alone will not eliminate the need for domestic workers. As such there is a need for policies towards advancing decent work for domestic workers. Here such policies may include first and foremost policies for defining the employment relationship which will then undo the 'disguised' employment relations that results from recruitment through *Undugu*. ILO's Recommendation 198 proposes that states should introduce national policy which includes measures to combat disguised employment.

To move beyond *Undugu* in domestic labour in Tanzania would therefore require first and foremost the recognition that housegirls, regardless of their form of recruitment, are workers like any other. As such they have the right to protection and workers rights according to any other worker. Such recognition must come from at least 3 different levels. The first level is that of the worker. A worker, regardless of the form of recruitment, must recognize themselves as such and separate oneself from the 'one of the family' syndrome in order to be able to demand for one's rights. At its extreme, such recognition may demand the abolishment of live-in domestic work in order to allow the separation of 'home' and 'work.'

The second level is that of the employer. Any employer of domestic workers must consider themselves as such. This entails recognizing the fact that their private homes are in fact someone else's work place. As an employer, they must recognize that provisions of the labour laws that pertain to employers roles also applies to them and those that apply to work places, also applies to their private homes. Lastly, is the level of the law enforcement institutions like the ministries of labour and also trade unions and employers' organizations. At this level, it is important to show in action the recognition of domestic workers as any other workers by enforcing the provisions of the labour law including inspection of their places of work, facilitating their organization and ensuring that employers comply with the labour laws. Overall, such institutions must strive to improve the access of housegirls to collective representation and collective bargaining.

In order to ensure that such recognition is sustained, domestic work must changed from an activity that is performed by anyone, hence skilled or unskilled, to one that is professional. Various scholars have observed that one of the main reasons why employers have so far refused to pay their domestic workers adequate wages is due to their inadequate skills. More often than not employers find themselves having to train their housegirls for several months before working competence is deemed satisfactory. As such, training and possibly certification of skills and competence would boost professionalism of domestic work.

Professionalization of domestic work can take shape through formal training as well as through recognition of prior learning. Formal training may require a close collaboration with the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training (MOEVT) and the Vocational Education and Training

Aknowledgement

When I started writing the ideas contained in the paper back in 2005/6, I drew inspiration from my own experience as a young mother and employer of domestic workers, oblivious of the fact that, on the other side of the world, efforts to regulate terms and conditions of work for domestic workers were gaining momentum. As I write today, a an Domestic Workers Convention (No. 189) has been adopted since 2011. These are exciting times for scholars like me who have had the privilege of witnessing the maturity of a movement in which we are part. I therefore am much obliged to acknowledge the encouragement and support of Prof. Helga Leitner and Prof. Vinay Gidwani who supervised the doctoral research on which a large part of this paper is based.

Since then, a number of people have helped shape my ideas, provided comments on my work and made editorial inputs. Mr. Alexio Musindo, Director of ILO Country Office Dar es Salaam, Ms. Amelita King-Dejardin, Chief Technical Advisor of ILO's Global Programme on Domestic Workers, Ms. Hopolang Phororo, Deputy Director of ILO Country Office Dar es Salaam; Ms. Mwilla Chigaga, Senior Regional Gender Specialist, ILO's Regional Office for Africa; Ms. Anna Collins-Falk, UN Women's Country Programme Manager, Tanzania; Ms. Christina Mwanukuzi-Kwayu, UNFPA's Gender Programme Specialist, Ms. Vicky Kanyoka, International Domestic Workers Network (IDWN) Regional Coordinator for Africa, Mr. Magnus Minja, Information Officer and Mr. Albert William Okal, National Programme Coordinator on Skills Development both at ILO Country Office Dar es Salaam deserve a special mention for their unceasing support and guidance in finalizing this paper. Any errors or omissions found in this paper will remain to be my responsibility.

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Preface

Domestic work is as much about social reproduction of households as it is about the economic reproduction of a society. Yet very little of the value it brings to the functioning of the economy outside the household is, by design, recognized. This article focuses first and foremost, on the reproduction of the urban middle class households in Tanzania in general and Dar es Salaam in particular. In this discussion, the social and economic value of domestic work is interwoven with other values like the cultural dividends it helps accumulate.

This thought provoking paper calls for a fundamental overhaul of the recruitment systems of domestic workers in Tanzania, in particular the use of *Undugu*. The author argues that *Undugu*, which is currently the most common form of recruitment, diverts the attention of national labor politics away from determining appropriate ways of reproducing the urban household and in the process constraining efforts towards advancing decent work for domestic workers. She states that in order to ensure increased labour law compliance and protection of domestic workers in an employment relationship, a constitutional moment is required compared in importance to the labour law reform that preceded the formulation of the new labour laws in Tanzania in 2004.

The paper begins by asserting that the dependence on kin networks in the recruitment of housegirls is not only embedded in pre-existing cultural practices but is also symptomatic of continuing uneven development in Tanzanian society. It also suggests that middle-class urban households use social capital in the form of kinship networks not only to reproduce themselves but also to accumulate symbolic capital in the form of prestige accrued from their seeming adherence to the moral obligation to care for the extended family. As a result, an otherwise legally-binding relation is presumed to be paternalistic and disguised as just a kin relationship. In the process of disguising the employment relationship, these households perpetuate non-compliance to principles of protection for workers rights. This is not to deny the fact that the use of kin networks has a practical and economic utility for the domestic worker in her struggle for survival in the face of insecurity and poverty that pervades the rural areas.

This paper therefore calls for re-examination of the existing social and economic differences between the rural and the urban as a result of urban bias in development policy including the effects of agriculture's inability to retain rural labor, adverse poverty among the rural populations, HIV/AIDS, and other aspects of rural development that have worked hand in hand with gender and class differences to transform labor processes in rural and urban areas. The objective of such a re-examination must be to identify ways in which protection of certain categories of workers can be enhanced while acknowledging the specific character of their work and the context within which it takes place.

The author coordinates ILO outcomes under the United Nations Development Assistance Plan (UNDAP) and is based in Dar es Salaam. Despite the scope of her responsibilities, Ms. Annamarie Kiaga has maintained her passion for improving working conditions, in particular of domestic workers. The content of this working paper reflects only the views of the author.

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Authority (VETA) in developing competence-based modules that can be used to train domestic workers. VETA could also be instrumental in the recognition of prior learning in which housegirls, having worked for several years, may choose to register to be tested in specific competences. For example, having worked for an Asian employer, a housegirl may choose to be tested in cooking or preparing Asian cuisine and use such certification to move into a chef position in a restaurant. Professionalization of domestic work, however, should not be limited to just the portable skills but also issues of work ethics, knowledge of the labour laws and rights or workers as well as accountability at work. With such professional recognition, recruitment through *Undugu* would not be necessary because the bearer of a certificate will feel empowered to compete in the market like everyone else.

Policy Implication 3 - Formal Recruitment and the Role of Employment Agencies

We have seen in the last sections of this paper that recruitment of housegirls, to date has been very informal. However, for professionalization of domestic work to materialize one of the most facilitating elements would be a formal recruitment system that is a system that does not only ensure 'qualified' services but also protection of both the employer and the employee. One of the key results would be the reduced dependency on kin networks for this service. Towards that end, employment agencies may carry a greater potential for success. However, for these agencies to be reliable labour institutions must be able to work closely with them to ensure that labour standards are complied. Ghana provides one of examples of how such reliance on employment agencies has workers. According to D'Souza (2010), employment agencies in Ghana help to establish formal contracts between domestic workers and employers and to ensure that the contracts are respected. They also endeavor to place employees who meet minimum age requirements and to facilitate the payment of taxes. However, as many are not licensed under the Labour Code and some function more like individual agents and intermediaries than formal agencies, the risk of corrupt practices is significant.

Tanzania is beginning to have people, rather than agencies, that have specialized in recruitment and placement of domestic workers, but the information on the same remains anecdotal. At least one agency has introduced itself to the Country Office Dar es Salaam but the rest are just mentioned by employers. This indicates the need for the Ministry of Labour and Employment, for example, and in particular the Tanzania Employment Services Agency (TaESA), to get more involved in the recruitment of domestic workers, taking into account the potential of domestic work to help curb unemployment among young men and women. For Tanzania, the first step might as well be the ratification of Convention I81 on Private Employment Agencies. Convention No. 181 calls for, among other things, the enforcement of measures to prevent the abusive treatment of migrant workers by private employment agencies and the prohibition of agencies that engage in fraudulent practices and abuse.

Conclusion

Based on the arguments in this paper, a formal employment relationship between employers and domestic workers has a great potential for making this sector more productive and support its contribution to employment creation. The productivity alluded to here depends solely on the existence of decent working conditions, in practical sense and not only in legal documents, which can be ensured by linking labour institutions to the private household. For example, by law, all workplaces are liable to inspection as stipulated in ILO Conventions Nos. 81 on Labour Inspection and No. 129 on Labour Inspection in Agriculture, but with private households, the consent of the employer, the occupant or a judicial authority as the case may be, is generally required. Such consent will be increasingly possible once employers understand or rather are more willing to admit the value of domestic work and not consider themselves as doing their relatives a favor by employing them as housegirls.

Reaching this stage of employment relations will require even more in-depth research and analysis. For instance, although it is known that many of the housegirls in Tanzania come from the rural areas, there has not been an in-depth analysis of these labour migration trends, their impact on the rural development or urban development for that matter. It would also be interesting to know the levels at which the use of *Undugu* has penetrated other sectors of the economy. Although anecdotal evidence of nepotism exists, there has not been a strategic analysis of this practice and its impact of the overall economy.

The above observations leads me to suggest that the largest need for future research lies in collection of statistical data and undertaking research and periodic reviews of changes in the structure and patterns of domestic work. The objective of such research should be to update and clarify the law governing the employment relationship so as to facilitate recognition of the existence of an employment relationship, and deter attempts to disguise it through such practices as *Undugu*.

Lastly a better understanding of the working conditions that domestic workers face in their places of employment and existing opportunities to transit out of domestic work will be necessary.

Contents

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