

## **Contribution of Education Policy Reforms Towards Gender Dynamics and the Formalization of Domestic-work Sector: A Case of Mafinga Town Council, Tanzania**

**Flora M. Kiwonde** (*Corresponding author*)  
fora.kiwonde@out.ac.tz  
*The Open University of Tanzania, Tanzania*

**Newton M. Kyando**  
*The Open University of Tanzania, Tanzania*

**Abstract:** *Currently, Tanzania is experiencing the policy of free education up to secondary school level. On the other hand, in Tanzania, domestic work is one of the sectors with the highest share of informal employment. However, after the introduction of free education policy up to form four, the availability of domestic workers has become somehow difficult whereas the formalization of the domestic sector has also gained pace. This background has been a bench-mark to this study that analysed the influence of the current educational policy towards the formalization of domestic sector in Mafinga Town. The study was qualitative in nature whereby the interview of 30 domestic workers, 10 employers and 5 individuals from workers' union was conducted. The study found out that the new education policy has contributed towards the increase of the age to domestic sector from 12 years to 17 years, the number of daily routine workers has increased as opposed to residential workers, domestic works involved both males and females, there was the increase of the middle men to facilitate the availability of domestic workers. Due to increased awareness, domestic workers were demanding their rights including the vacation from their employers and better salaries. In addition, there had been scarcity of domestic workers that has led to the mushrooming of day care centers. Needless to say, domestic workers faced unlimited number of challenges including overworking with low wages, delayed payments, harsh working climates as well as low social recognition. The study hereby recommended for the improvement in the education sector in favor of females. That would relieve domestic workers from the involvement in the informal sectors such as domestic sectors.*

**Keywords:** *Education, Policy reforms, Domestic work sector, Gender, and formalization of domestic workers sector.*

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **Background Information**

The International Labour Organization (ILO) has been in the forefront in the debate on formalization of the informal sector with one of the recommendations being the transition of workers from the informal to the formal economy (ILO, 2015). Domestic work is also a sector that is poised to grow. With the aging of the population, continually increasing rates of female labor

participation, and a preference for home-based care (Eurofound, 2013), families are increasingly turning to domestic workers to care for their homes, children, and ageing relatives. While an increasing share of domestic work is part of the formal economy, domestic work remains one of the sectors with the highest share of informal employment. In addition, domestic labor as a special category of workers received special attention during the last one or two decades, largely due to the rising prominence of the sector in terms of female employment (IHRC, 2013). Concurrently, there has been a growing body of literature on the domestic sector particularly in their personalized and informal service (John, 2010), social and economic devaluation of care and its gender, class, and caste characteristics. However, most of the studies are based on the form of regional studies (Nadasen, 2009; Neetha, 2008) whereas this paper deals with specific area of Mafinga town in Tanzania. On the other hand, the outcome of the transformations in the agrarian and industrial economy has resulted into an unprecedented mobility of labor including the domestic workers to urban areas (Neetha, 2004; Mehrotra, 2010 & John, 2010). The new ILO report calls for a combination of incentives and compliance to reduce high levels of informality in domestic work. Domestic work is characterized by a high incidence of informal arrangements and contributes significantly to informality, especially among women. The ILO estimates that there are 67 million domestic workers, aged 15 years and older, worldwide (ILO, 2015c). About 70% of people in Tanzania are estimated to be in informal employment (IMED, 2016) making it one of the sectors with the highest share of employment.

In Tanzania Conservation, Social Services and Consultancy Workers Union (CHODAWU) strongly advocacy for the review and amendment of the labor laws as herein provided, in order to secure equal treatment of domestic workers. To this end, CHODAWU further advocates for the ratification of the ILO Convention No. 189 regarding Decent Work for Domestic Workers (IDWN, 2013). However, Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP), stands at the forefront fight against women associated violence and discriminations; several female headed, Non-Government Organizations (NGOs) like Tanzania Media Women's Association (TAMWA), The Atrial Fibrillation NETwork (AFNET). Environmental, Human Rights Care and Gender Organisation (ENVIROCARE) and Legal and Human Rights Centre (LHRC) work hard in supporting the TGNP movements (TGNP, 2004). On the other hand, ILO organized a session on domestic work in June 2011 to discuss rights and legislations for domestic workers. The results of the discussion among others was to enhance decent work for domestic workers. One of the principal functions of the ILO is setting international labor standards through the adoption of conventions and recommendations. All adopted ILO conventions are considered international labor standards regardless of how many governments have ratified them. The coming into force of a convention results in a legal obligation on the part of countries that have ratified it to apply its provisions (ILO, 2011).

### **Problem Statement**

Literatures indicates that domestic workers' studies have mostly been conducted in India followed by the United States of America (Fraga, 2013). In India, the household work has always been considered as below someone's dignity and the duty of the woman (Rani, 2017). The domestic work sector therefore has optimized the scarcity of information and statistical justification of the study in context. In Europe, some countries like Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Spain, Italy, the Czech Republic, Holland, Norway, Portugal, Sweden and Switzerland have developed specific legislation while in some countries like Germany, Iceland and Switzerland there are also collective agreements among the parties. However, in other countries such as; Croatia, Cyprus, Estonia, Latvia, Luxembourg, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, Turkey and the United Kingdom, there is neither legislation nor any type of regulation (ETUC-CES, 2012). In Africa, domestic work is a significant source of employment, accounting for 2.2 per cent of labor force (ILO, 2011). Female domestic workers accounted for 74 per cent in Africa. Of all female paid employees in Africa, 13.6 % are domestic workers (ILO, 2013). Most African domestic workers, working in cities and towns are internal migrants—they are not from other countries, but come from rural, often less developed and poorer areas within their own African countries (ibid). Domestic sector has been less documented in Tanzania despite its prevalence.

This paper was guided by the following questions:

- i. What was the contribution of education policy reforms towards gender dynamism and the formalization of domestic sector?
- ii. What were the challenges of domestic workers at Mafinga Town Council? What are the challenges facing employers in a course of dealing with domestic workers? and
- iii. What were the potentials for future direction and formalization of domestic work sector?

### **Literature Review**

This section presents the conceptual elements as a theoretical underpinning of the paper. The three areas addressed are; definition of domestic worker as first part, followed by the empirical reviews which summarizes selected studies related to the theme and lastly is a part that cover the theoretical literature review. A domestic worker is a person who is entrusted with household staffs involving cleaning house, chopping vegetables, washing clothes and cooking. McClelland's (2011) argues that a level of development of domestic work sector is correlated with achievement motivation and social classes within the society.

## **Empirical Reviews**

### **Categories of Domestic Work**

Domestic work means work performed in or for a household or households. ILO (2011) states that a person who performs domestic work only occasionally or sporadically and not on an occupational basis is not a domestic worker. This is based on the ILO Convention 189 (Decent Work for Domestic Workers). Domestic work is generally defined in terms of types of work performed and the time spent at work to the employer's home. Live out and live in are two distinct categories of domestic work. According to John (2010), live-out work is primarily of two types: first, those who work in one house for the whole day and go back to their homes in the evening and secondly, those who work in different houses, moving from one to the other, performing one or more tasks in each household; the tasks involve cleaning the houses, chopping vegetables, cooking and washing clothes. However, the number of visits depends on the implied conversations between the two parties (Mehrotra, 2010). Another form of part-time live-out work is in terms of piece-rate which is often applied to washing clothes (John, 2010). Some women and girls migrate to the city to work as domestic workers, especially those who work as live-in workers (Neetha, 2003) in order to sustain their household expenses unable to be met within the wages of their husbands.

Women who work as live-out part-timers are primarily migrants who move to the city with their families or are female construction workers who enter domestic labor when no construction work is available and others are landless laborers who are displaced when rural areas are absorbed by cities (John, 2010). On moving to the city, they mainly reside in difficult conditions. They begin work at one or two houses and gradually take up more, depending on their individual capacities, the money needed and their specific stage of life cycle, for example, women with very young children prefer to work in fewer households than older women without children (Mehrotra, 2010). Besides learning work, domestic workers have to adapt to urban ways of living and a culture different from their own. According to Neetha (2009), mostly, domestic work is characterized as 'part-time' from the perspective of the employer that the employees may work in more than one household. Domestic workers also note that this form of work may be flexible but is also unstable as workers shift out of the sector, change employers, stop working for a few years due to marriage or childbirth and also have constant issues with their employers. Yet, in terms of time spent at work, it may be as much or more than a live-in worker. The fragmented nature of domestic work, the multitude of tasks, a multiplicity of employers and the instability of employment pose challenges in documenting them and in attempts to organize them (Neetha, 2008). The full-timers live with the employer's family (John, 2010). Several studies (Jagori, 2004; Neetha, 2004; Nadasen, 2009) have reported that they often have no specified work hours, some working for eighteen hours a day; further they do not get rest during the day while others may not be given proper food or living space. Non-payment of wages, no weekly leaves or holidays, verbal and sexual abuse are also reported. Domestic workers have no option to any form of assistance when

they face verbal, physical or sexual harassment. The fight for their remedies is upon their shoulders (Mehrotra, 2010). In developing countries such as Tanzania large number of full-time workers are hired through recruiting agents or specifically some lobbying agents who pick them from rural areas. The agents also collect their wages, often withholding a substantial part; the private work agents often recruit girls in villages and bring them to cities (Neetha, 2003). Some agents provide basic training for a couple of days and then send them to homes as domestic workers for those who seem to be employable as formal employees or they may send them untrained. There is no state mechanism to check these agents or their functioning. These agencies are difficult to trace as they frequently change their identities, location and phone numbers. They also charge a large amount from employers for providing domestic helpers (Jagori, 2004). Sexual exploitation by recruiting agents has also been reported. It is important to point out that most agencies are commercial in nature and do not focus on the welfare of workers. The condition of domestic workers has not improved with the growth of placement agencies (Neetha, 2004; 2009).

### **The Socio-Economic Significances of Domestic Workers**

Domestic work has been placed in the larger context of patriarchy and suppression of women; the patriarchy contexts controls women's mobility, economic resources, productive and reproductive power to men; both biological and social reproduction are carried out by women in most societies (Pendame, 2006). According to Jagori, (2004), Social reproduction refers to all the caring and nurturing activities necessary to ensure human survival and maintenance such as cooking, feeding, washing, cleaning, nursing and other household activities. Although these are necessary for human survival, they are neither considered work nor economic in nature and hence are invisible, unrecognized and unpaid. TGNP (2004) argues that usually it is women and girls who perform socially reproductive work all across the world although the endless and repetitive labor provided by them is not acknowledged as valuable work. Domestic work includes mental, manual and emotional aspects, including care work that is necessary to maintain people and communities (Anderson, 2000). Domestic work is thus viewed as reproductive work that creates not only labor units but also people and social relations. It is important to note in this context that domestic works reflects the relation between genders, race and class. Apart from being the 'wife' or the 'mother', it is often paid domestic workers who reproduce social relationships and social beings. Yet, the status of the domestic worker is lower than the woman employer who can be considered as her manager. Social reproductions are not recognized as work hence domestic workers receive no recognition and also, they are being paid low wages (TGNP, 2004).

### **The Employer- Employee Relationship in Domestic Work**

Home is also the site of the interplay of intimate human relations. The domestic worker, especially a nanny or caregiver, may begin employment as a stranger, an outsider, but rapidly enters into an intimate relationship with the family that employs her/him (Nadasen, 2009). Domestic worker spends long stretches of time in someone else's private space, tending to emotional and physical needs. Further, domestic worker may be privy to the increasing frailty and confusion of an elder with dementia or to the anguish of a troubled child. Also, domestic worker may hold secrets with

which s/he never wanted to be burdened. This intimacy can become an emotional entanglement that confuses employers and disarms workers, potentially undermining their already structurally limited ability to negotiate terms of employment (Mehrotra, 2010). Nadasen (2009), provided that the employer-employee relationship is a complex one and is viewed as one of domination, dependency and inequality. Domestic work sector is an area of work where the employer and the employee are mostly females. As a home is the site of work, relations between employer and employee are often not limited to work but spill over as larger support systems. In a capitalist world the domestic sector confuses and complicates the conceptual clarity between family and work, custom and contract, affection and duty because the hierarchical arrangements and emotional registers of home must coexist with those of workplace. Mehrotra (2010) in the study of domestic workers, conditions, rights and responsibilities portrayed that women who work as domestic workers over long time period have little or no savings for their old age. They are not entitled to any old-age pensions, gratuity or bonus. They have no medical insurance and or any other means for illness; hospitalization of self and family are borne by the worker. Neither do they have any coverage for childbirth, injury at work place or loans to build houses or other social responsibilities. Such loans or grants, as all other benefits, depend on their relation with the employer and the employer's goodwill.

### **Challenges Connected to Working Conditions of Domestic Workers**

The tasks performed by categories of domestic workers may include but not limited to cleaning sweeping, swabbing and dusting, washing clothes and dishes, or even putting machine-washed clothes on the clothesline or/and folding them. Others include; cooking, or preparation for cooking such as chopping vegetables and making dough, or cooking a part of meal, ironing, housekeeping and extensions of these works outside the home such as shopping (ILO, 2013). Domestic work may also include childcare or care of the aged. There are no standard norms that decide working conditions. Wages depend on the bargaining power of the domestic workers and their employers although to a large extent employers decide about the wages of their workers (Mehrotra, 2010). Other factors that influence decisions about wages include the type of tasks performed and the neighborhood. Rates vary according to the task, for example, cooking attracts more wages than cleaning. Wages also depend on the socio-economic profile of employers (Pendame, 2006). There is no guarantee of employment as employers can ask workers to leave with no prior notice or financial compensation (Jagori, 2004; Neetha, 2008). Studies (Pendame, 2006; Mehrotra, 2010) also note that only few workers get a weekly off; paid leave is often the result of difficult negotiations with the employers. Getting sick leave also depends on the good will of the employer. Instances of workers losing their jobs due to long leave taken at time of childbirth or ill health are often reported. Some also lose their jobs when they visit their villages (IHRC, 2013). Many domestic workers living in large cities also face constant threats of demolitions of their slums and relocation to newer areas on the fringes of the city or towns. This often leaves them both homeless and jobless. Most urban poor live in different types of slum settlements and work in the informal

sector (ILO, 2013). The relocation of the poor to resettlement colonies takes them far away from areas of economic activity in the city, thus making it impossible for them to even earn sustainable livelihood (Neetha, 2008). In this context, it has been well documented that the process of relocation and displacement has led to problems of sustained access to livelihood, education, basic services and healthcare where women suffer the most. Building a house in the resettlement area takes up a large part of the family's income. Even if these workers start work after relocation, living on the margins of the city implies that work will mostly be in areas that are far. Regulating directions become a major issue both in terms of cost and time (Pendame, 2006). In the resettlement areas (and in the slums), women spend a large part of their time accessing essential services such as water and toilets. The double burden that they face is compounded due to harsh living conditions. This has been documented for other areas of Delhi as well (Jagori 2004). Besides this, they have no access to any form of childcare services. They often leave their own children alone while they go to take care of others' children. Neetha (2009) has noted that domestic workers highlight their lack of access to institutional care facilities that provide quality care at affordable rates in their neighborhoods.

### **Theoretical Review**

The article had three theories which build a basis for its thesis, namely; social change theory, universality of human right theory and inter-sectionalists theory. The theories explain the real situation of domestic workers in Mafinga Town Council.

### **The Theory of Social Change**

Domestic workers are entrusted with all household stuffs; since they have to perform all the assigned domestic tasks which involve cleaning in one house, chopping vegetables in another and washing clothes in the third. Others may perform only one task, such as cooking. McClelland's (1961) on the theory of social change portrays that a level of development is correlated with achievement motivation. The classes within the societies are authored as the driver towards change. The theory of social change portrays that a level of development is correlated with achievement motivation. The classes within the societies are authored as the drivers towards change (McClelland's, 2011). Hagen (1962) attempted to explain why the achievement motivation varies between societies, their classes and strata. He argues that in traditional societies the status of individuals are fixed. The insecurity and frustration leads to changed behavior which has consequences on the family structure. In considering the economic strategy theories, Rosenstein-Rodan, (1970) argue that there must be devotion of resources for the success to be revealed. Therefore, it is worth noting that domestic workers have the primary purpose to contribute economically to their families and households. Thus, with reasonable wages other working conditions being constant, the domestic work will be contributing to the domestic workers' welfare and their household in general.

### **Universality of Human Rights Theory**

Nickel (2006) argues that human rights can be divided into seven families of rights which are:

- i. Security rights which deal with protecting against assault's on one person such as; torture, murder, and rape;
- ii. Due process rights which concern about protecting against legal abuses such as imprisonment without trial, secret trials, and excessive punishment;
- iii. Fundamental personal freedom rights which emphasize on protecting the freedom of belief, expression, individuals private life, association, assembly and movement;
- iv. Rights of political participation which aim to provide individuals a democratic political process;
- v. Equality rights which concern about equality in all aspects of life and emphasize to eliminate all forms of discrimination;
- vi. Social rights which ensure access to subsistence coupled with employment, healthcare, education; and
- vii. Minority combined with group rights which are addressing the problems of distinctive groups by different forms or specific protections that go beyond the protections already offered by other rights such as rights in practicing culture for minority group.

Therefore, this theory contemplates that the domestic workers have various rights such as security rights, protection from legal abuses, personal freedom rights, political participation rights and social rights.

### **Inter-Sectionalists Theory**

This theory is a useful analytical tool in tracing how certain people can be positioned as different and marginalized in a society. There are numerous concepts that are created by scholars in describing the idea of intersectionality. Ritzer (2007) explains that intersectionality is 'the view that women experience oppression in varying configurations and degrees of intensity'. The varying degrees and configurations of oppression which contain inherent power differences that domestic workers experience is socially constructed. These power differences are varied within every aspect of social life from identities and self-concepts, interpersonal interactions, operation of firms, organization of economic and legal systems. Meanwhile, Collins, (2000) argues that 'cultural patterns of oppression are not only interrelated, but are bound together and influenced by the intersectional system of society such as race, gender, class and ethnicity.' (pp 107-133). Ethnicity and race are a set of socially constructed boundaries in political, economic, cultural and social contexts in which it can become the basis for segregation, conflict, stereotyping, inequality, prejudice and social hierarchy. Gender is a category that is socially constructed through social interaction to maintain social hierarchy. It emphasizes the differences between men and women that transcend any biological/psychological differences. Moreover, the social construction of gender in the society contains inherent power differences. Zinn & Eitzen, (1990) describe that

external social forces or attributes (education, wealth, employment status and many more) of individuals or families in a society shape and construct a power and position in the society. It can be seen that discrimination and oppression on domestic workers are constructed by the various system of society such as race, ethnicity, gender and class. This theory is used to depict the relation between employers and domestic workers in Mafinga Town. In other words, this theory attempts to illuminate the intersection of class, gender, race and ethnicity in shaping the opportunities and experiences of domestic workers.

## **Methodology**

### **Research Approach and Methods**

The study used the qualitative research approach which is a type of scientific research that systematically uses a predefined set of procedures to answer the question, collects evidence, produces findings that were not determined in advance and produces findings that are applicable beyond the immediate boundaries of the study (Creswell, 2013). The researchers opted for the cross-section study design instead of the longitudinal study design, to which the researcher had to go once to the field within a short period of time. The researchers collected and obtained primary data through interviews and observation whereas the secondary data were obtained through reviews of various documents including the related education policies such as free education policy.

### **The Study Area, Population and Sample.**

Mafinga Town Council was selected as the area for this study, because it is a newly developed relatively middle- and upper-class residence area where many households have the economic capacity to hire domestic workers. Also, Mafinga had a readily available domestic workers, others travelling in numbers to the big towns such as; Dar es Salaam, Mwanza, Dodoma, Arusha and Morogoro. The district has 09 wards which are; Boma, Wambi, Upendo, Kinyanambo, Changarawe, Rungemba, Isalavanu, Ifwagi and Bumilayinga. The targeted population in this study included households in Mafinga Town Council with domestic workers. Kothari (2005) defines sampling as a process of selecting a number of individuals or objects from a population such that the selected group contains elements representative of the characteristics found in the entire group (Kombo, & Tromp, 2006). This study employed stratified sampling and simple random sampling. The reason of using stratified sampling was the existence of groups (strata) like employees employers and the household heads. The stratified sampling was used for different categories in the household. This categorized the sample from their position and experience of living with/close to the domestic workers. Simple random sampling was used because most of respondents of this study do relates in their occupation. Therefore, simple random sampling was used when a sample was taken from a single category, for example employees or employers. Based on the household

population, the study selected 45 samples whereby 30 were for domestic workers, 10 were employers of domestic workers and 5 were key respondents.

### **Data Analysis Methods**

Data analysis is the examination of what has been collected in a research and making deduction (Kothari 2005). It involves uncovering underlying structures; extracting important variables, detecting any anomalies and testing any underlying assumptions. Data analysis on the other hand involves scrutinizing the acquired information and making inferences. In this research content analysis was used, where themes were considered and the acquired information was summarized, coded and tabulated for data analysis.

### **Ethical Concerns**

This study was conscious of ethics relating to the conducts of the research. The ethics were observed to protect the rights of the research participants (Trochim, 2006). Thus, the principle of voluntary participation required that respondents do not get coerced in participating to this study, but to have the willing heartfelt in participating to the study. The information was protected with high degree of confidentiality and the anonymity was observed during the study to protect the participant's identities. On validity and reliability, the study observed measures to ensure quality tools are used and then quality information is gathered. The pilot study assisted to improve the clarity of the items in the instruments. Second, to ensure the validity and reliability of findings, multiple methods were used in data collection, analysis, and presentation of the study findings. The use of multiple methods was useful in enriching each other, thereby supplementing the drawbacks of one another (Babbie, 2010; Cohen, 2007).

## **Results Presentation and Discussion**

### **Introduction**

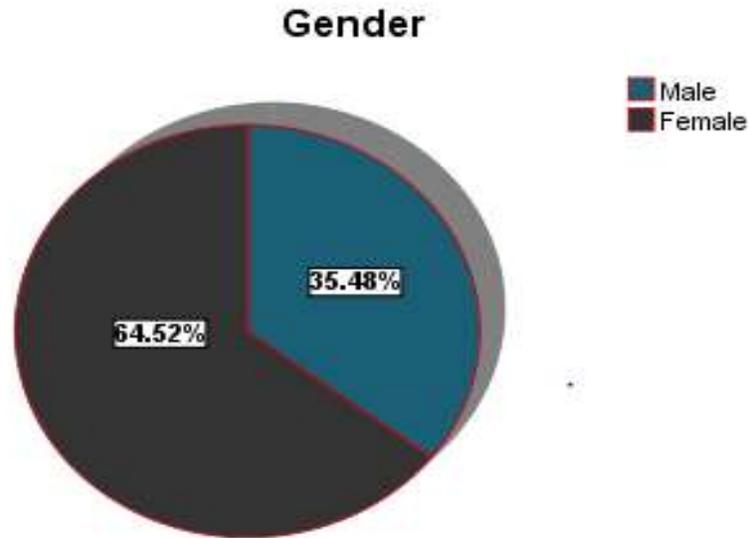
The presentation and discussion of the findings were based on the following areas namely; the contribution of education policy reforms towards gender dynamism and the formalization of domestic sector, challenges of domestic workers at Mafinga Town Council, challenges employers in a course of dealing with domestic workers and the potentials for future direction and formalization of domestic work sector.

### **General Respondent's Profiles**

#### **Distribution of Respondents by Gender**

The study involved 30 interviewees that were administered to domestic workers. The female respondents constituted 64.52% of the sample size whereas 35.48% were males as shown in figure 1. Therefore, the findings showed that more females were involved in the study which revealed that females were prone to the domestic sector as opposed to their male counterparts.

Pie chart below represents gender composition of participants by percentages



**Figure 1: Distribution of Respondents by Gender**

Source: Field Data (2019)

IHRC, (2013) argued that the household work is considered as typical women’s occupation, and not perceived as employment. In line with that, three quarters or more worldwide are female: ranging from 74 per cent in Belize to 94% in Israel (ILO, 2010). In addition, a far higher percentage of the female workforce than of the male workforce is engaged in domestic work. In Latin America, 12 per cent of the female urban workforce, compared to 0.5 per cent of the male urban workforce, is engaged in domestic work (Tokman, 2010). The implication was that many females were fit for domestic works, and they were the ones employed with high percentage in this sector, especially in homes, even though in today’s world domestic works are for both sexes.

#### **Distribution of Respondents by Marital Status of Domestic Workers**

The diversity of respondent’s demographics was observed and revealed in this study; here the questionnaires were set to track the disparities on marital status among domestic workers in the study sample. The findings are as shown in Table 1:

**Table 1: Marital Status of Domestic Workers**

<b>Marital status</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Single	25	83.3
Married	5	16.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Source:** Field Data (2019)

The findings showed that 83.3 % of domestic workers were single while 16.7% were married. This generally implied that most of employees in domestic work sector were single. For instance, on the case of Tanzania most of domestic workers range from the ages 12-20 years which is difficult for these ages to be involved in marriages. The findings were similar to the study conducted by ILO which revealed that most of the domestic workers were single (ILO, 2016). Therefore, domestic work sector was dominated by single workers as it was shown in the Table 1.

#### **Distribution of Domestic Workers by Age**

Table 2 showed that,29.0% were between the age of 14 – 19 years, 33.3% were between the age of 20 – 25 years, 19.4% were between the age of 26 – 30 years ,6.5% were between the age of 31 - 36 and the respondents who had the average age between 37 years and above scored 9.7%. Social Welfare division works under the guidelines of child laws of 2009 and education laws of 1978 in preventing child employment (under 18 employments according to Tanzanian laws) and advocating education provision to children. According to CHODAWU (2014), children of 15 years may be allowed to work in domestic work sector but they should be given the chance for further knowledge. The findings indicated that the average age of domestic workers were between 20 to 25 years followed by 14 to 19 years. Table 2 shows the distribution of respondents by age.

**Table 2: Age of Domestic Workers**

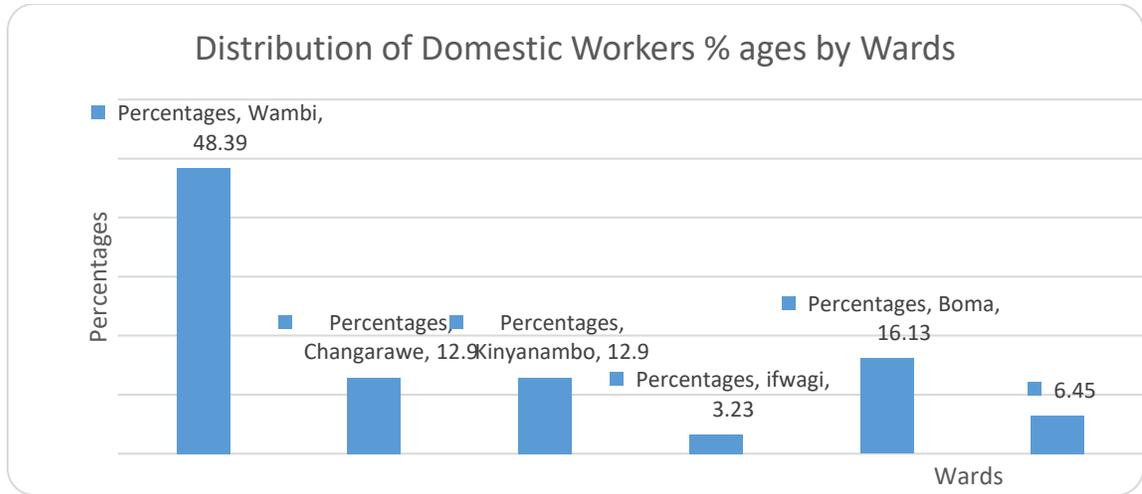
<b>Age</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
14-19	9.0	29.0
20-25	10	33.3
26-30	6.0	19.4
31-36	2.0	6.5
37-&	3.0	9.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>30.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Source:** Field Data (2019)

#### **Working Locations of Domestic Workers**

The study showed that 48.39% of respondents were from Wambi Ward, 16.13% of respondents were from Boma Ward, 12.90% from Kinyanambo Ward, 12.90% from Changarawe Ward, 6.45%

from Rungemba Ward and 3.23% of respondents were from Ifwagi Ward. This was due to the fact that most of respondents were from Wambi Ward because most of dwellers in Wambi area had the capacity to hire domestic workers as the area was populated and found at the heart of Mafinga as compared to other wards in Mafinga Town Council. In addition, the area had higher economic status because most of the economic activities such as petty business was taking place in this area. Figure 2, below shows the working locations of domestic workers in the sample.



**Figure 2: Domestic Workers Working Locations**

Source: Field Data, (2019).

**Distribution of Respondents by Education Level**

Table 3 below showed the percentage distribution of the respondents by their education level. The study revealed that about 56.6% of the respondents had primary education 40.0% holds secondary education and 3.3% had no formal education. There was therefore a possibility that over 87.1% of the domestic workers in Mafinga Town had local skills for performing their work in a proper way. The Education Law, (1978) states that children under 18 school including domestic workers had the right to attend primary and secondary. The study found out that the large number of employees with primary education was quite different if we draw a decade back when the number of domestic workers with primary education were more limited in the country; most of domestic workers back then had informal education, only few had finished standard seven. Due to the change of education policy i.e. free education up to secondary level, most of the children are given the chance to study at least on secondary education.

**Table 3: Respondents (Domestic Workers) Education Level**

<b>Education Level</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
None	1	3.3
Primary Education	17	56.6
Secondary Education	12	40.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Field Data (2019)

### **The Contribution of Education Policy to the Domestic Workers' Sector**

The employers had different observations on the trends and availability of domestic workers around their vicinities. First and foremost, employers commented that the contribution of the education policy (free education policy) had contributed much to the trickling down on the availability of domestic workers. The observations of about 53.5% of the employers in the study sample, were based on the contexts of availability, tolerance and wages demanded by the domestic workers. On the other hand, 26.15% of the respondents indicated that currently there was variation in domestic workers' levels of education as well as trust as factors that had altered the atmosphere in the sector and the rest 20.35% of the respondents perceived the consideration of human rights. The employers stated that that was the reason why to-date the media discloses a lot of cases, which in most cases they are assumed to be new in our societies; but the fact is not they did not existed previously to put light on the evils which were conducted against domestic workers. One of the respondents during interview said:

*'It is very difficult currently to find domestic workers, different from the previous time where it was easy to get them. Most of the girls after standard seven they proceed with Form One in community secondary schools'. (researcher- translation)*

This means that there had been a formal development trend in the domestic work sector because the domestic workers were decreasing as compared to the previous period of time where the domestic workers were many moving from their villages to town to find a jobs. One employer during the interview commented that:

*'Now days employers put order for more than three months in order to get a domestic worker. The situation is caused by the policy of free education to secondary level where most of children in the villages are send to secondary education and other vocational trainings'.*

Also, the study found out that previously the rate of employing domestic workers was low because many of house wife were not employed instead they were doing works in the house, but things

have changed women were working as men and this situation increased the high demand of domestic workers so as to take care for the house and children.

One respondent said,

*‘The availability of domestic workers is low now; I had to opt for day care center because no one is taking care of my family when I am at work.’ (Researcher-translation)*

The scarcity of domestic workers stimulated other employment opportunities as people started to think on opening day centers so that children could get the services formerly given by domestic workers while their parents were working. This might have relieved the childcare burden to families in Tanzania. The study revealed that previously domestic workers had no access to education as one respondent said;

*‘During the past time, most of domestic workers were not educated, even attending primary school education in rural areas was an issue but to-date we observe major changes where many domestic workers are standard seven leavers and also very few fail to get to secondary school education. This situation caused the scarcity of domestic workers.’*

This indicated that access to education has caused the scarcity of domestic workers, because currently children must attend primary and secondary education in urban and rural areas which according to the Tanzanian Education Policy, is considered as the basic education. There has been a shift in age of employment, that the transformation in education structures and systems has led to the young girls of fourteen years to be taken as domestic workers. The lowered age of starting primary school has also lowered the age of completion of primary school, thus with failure to join secondary school girls and boys at very young ages hold lots for economic independence. However, most of them see these changes and trends as the signs to enlightenment and economic recognitions. One of the house maids said,

*‘In the past most of our parents did not know the significance of education, things are different now where most of them understand and send their children to primary schools, sometimes even to secondary education.’*

This argument reflects the shortage of domestic girls as most of them are required as a matter of principle to attend secondary schools, making them unavailable for domestic employments. It was revealed during this study that majority of the employees in domestic work sector had finished standard seven and if they passed the national examination they were required to go further for secondary education.

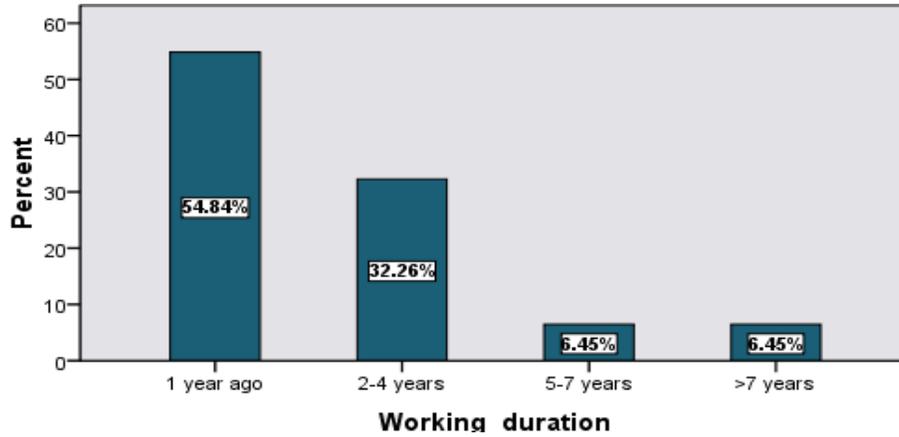
### **A Reflection on Social Change Theory**

From the development of domestic workers' sector in line with social change theory, the theory explained how the society changes from time to time. In 1970s, most of the domestic workers were not educated. At that time many employers used to take their relatives for home care but later the situation changed. The policy of free education now enables children to attend school up to secondary education level. From gender perspective, previously the domestic work sector was regarded as the work of females, that was why the large percentage of domestic workers were females, but nowadays, due to social change, people are educated, and they understand that domestic work is a work of both genders. This study revealed that 35.48% of the domestic workers were males. This is a reasonable percentage as compared to previous experience. It is predicted that years to come the percentage of males and females will be the same because of social change.

On the other hand, the study found out that free education policy had influenced the age of domestic workers. In 1980s to 1990s, most of employed domestic workers were between 9 to 18 but later things started to change where currently the appropriate age for employing domestic workers is around 15 up to 30 years depending on the nature of the work and the interest of the employer but legally 15 age is appropriate age for domestic workers (ILO, 2016). Through the policy of free education, most of the domestic workers attend their education up to secondary school level. Also, the sector is becoming more formal as people are being employed at age where they were aware and capable to enter into contracts with their bosses.

### **The Experiences of Domestic Work Sector in Work Setting**

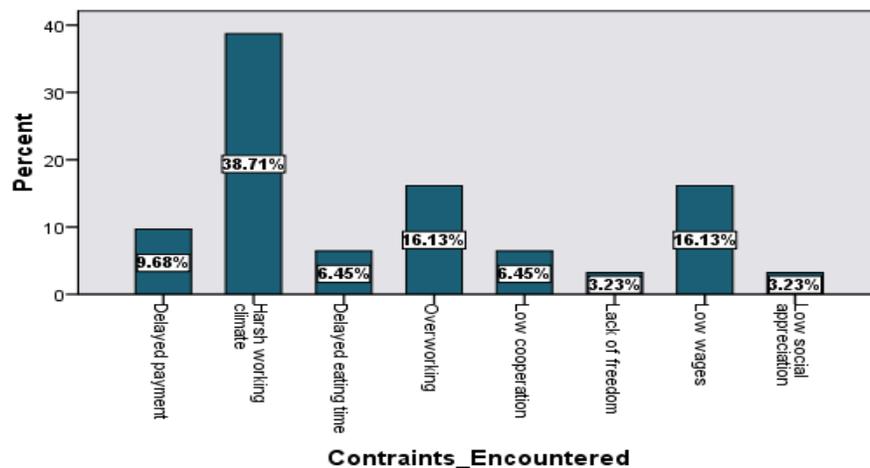
The study revealed that 54.84% of respondents had been in this sector for 1 year, 32.26% had worked between 2-4 years, 6.45% worked for 5-7 years and 6.45% of respondents worked more than 7 years. On the other hand, the representative from the workers' union revealed that domestic sector was facing the challenge of part-time workers mostly staying in a short time with little experience but in need of high salary. Therefore, for the domestic workers who stayed for a short time to the office it was a challenge to union membership because giving them contracts was unacceptable (CHODAWU, 2014). Therefore, from this study most of the respondents worked for short time say 1 year due to the nature of the work which they were doing. There was a possibility that sometime they found the works to be difficult for them to handle, that's why they worked for short time.



**Figure 3. The Duration of Domestic Workers at Work Station**  
Source: Field Data (2019)

### Challenges of Domestic Workers at Mafinga Town Council

The study revealed that 38.71% of domestic workers were working under harsh working condition, 16.13% were overworked, 16.13% encountered the problem of low wages, 9.68% suffered delay of payment, 6.45% said low cooperation stood as obstacle on performing their responsibilities, 6.45% experienced delayed eating time, 3.23% lacked freedom on their working areas and lastly 3.23% of domestic workers faced low social appreciation from the society. The findings were in line with the National Labour Surveys (2011) which reported the average hours of domestic worker reaching nearly 66 hours a week in Malaysia and between 60 to 65 hours a week in Tanzania to mention a few. Moreover, the findings are supported by (ILO Report, 2013) that many domestic workers were subjected to serious abuses including slavery, excessively long working hours without breaks, days or holidays.



**Figure 4: Domestic Worker Challenges at the Work Place**  
Source: Field Data (2019)

### **Challenges Facing Employers in a Course of Dealing with Domestic Workers**

The study revealed that 33.33% of employers in the sample were affected in dealing with domestic workers due to lack of trust, 16.67% were affected because of ruddiness of the domestic workers. Further, 16.67% were due to loneliness of workers, 16.67% due to failure to perform duties, and 16.67% of employers in the sample were affected because of big salary demand. Therefore, in this sector not only domestic workers were being affected but also employers were suffering from employing domestic workers. This happened because most of domestic workers when employed did not have any skill and some of them when employed failed to learn the gap between them and their employers. This study further revealed that trust was the cross cutting constraint affecting employers in the domestic sector.

**Table 4: The Challenges Affecting Domestic Workers in the Sector**

<b>Issues</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Lack of Trust	2	33.33
Ruddiness	1	16.67
Loneliness of workers	1	16.67
Failure to perform Duties	1	16.67
Big salary demanded	1	16.67
<b>Total</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Field Data (2019)

The study revealed that domestic workers were less valued and protected as their employers sometimes treated them in a way that they abused their rights and human beings. Domestic workers were not given the chance to prepare themselves from leaving the work station as a punishment after they made a mistake nor were they given salary or any other attached benefits which could help them to return home safely. Similarly, several studies (Jagori, 2004; Neetha, 2004; Nadasen, 2009; Mehrotra, 2010) have reported that domestic workers often had no specified working hours; further they did not get any rest during the day while others were not given proper food or living space. Non-payment of wages, no weekly leaves or holidays, verbal and sexual abuse were also reported. They had no option to any form of assistance when they face harassment in terms of verbal, physical or sexual and the fight for their remedies was upon their shoulders.

### **Potentials for Future Direction and Formalization of the Domestic Work Sector**

Two perspectives were noted in the study area, one from employers and the other from employees. Their views were as follows:

### ***Employers perspectives***

From the trends and experiences observed by employers, employers had arguments to pose in relation to future developments of domestic worker sector in the coming five years. About 86.5% of the interviewed employers claimed on the transformation of education sector in the country and general global awareness which affected the availability of domestic workers. One of the employers said;

*‘In five years to come, getting domestic workers will be a disaster, they will be much matured and they will be very expensive, and they will be part time workers coming morning and leaving at evening just as like other workers.’*

The other said;

*‘In five years to come people will decide to work on their own without hiring domestic workers because domestic workers will be expensive and difficult to hire due to their education level and economic status.’ (Researcher-translation)*

However, about 13.5% of employers interviewed believed that with increasing population and the unemployment rate among the skilled jobs, the skilled young personnel would be pushed to low paying jobs. Thus, there would be competition among unskilled young personnel towards domestic works and other low paying jobs.

### ***A Perspective from Domestic Workers***

During interviews, domestic workers shared their opinions and projections on the domestic work sector. Most of the domestic workers claimed that general global awareness and education transformation will foster competition as currently even the form four leavers were seeking for domestic work opportunities. They argued that in future, only educated people will be employed in domestic work sector. One employee commented,

*‘In five years to come, only God knows the situation of getting domestic workers because nowadays difficult life forces people to apply for any job for survival so it is very difficult to predict the future of domestic sector.’ (researcher-translation)*

However, about 23.5% of the interviewed domestic workers had different views that domestic workers will find ways to quit this sector because of low salary and poor protection. In addition, one respondent (welfare worker) was interviewed to provide the projection of the future domestic workers;

*‘I think in five years to come, the number of form four leavers will increase in Tanzania, and the situation will cause the employers to employ aged people above 18 years. The employment system will be more formal because people*

*with 18 years and above are allowed to enter into contracts; hence some of the challenges of domestic workers by that time will be reduced in high percentage'.*

CHODAWU (2014) reported that in five years to come, if the government would accept signing ILO convention 189 agreement, domestic workers would enjoy, improved salaries and other domestic workers' benefits. It is also expected that the laws and policies of the United Republic of Tanzania of 2004 and the guideline for civil servants would be complimented by ILO Convention 189. Therefore, the sector would be on the better position and domestic workers would be considered to do decent works just like in other sectors. The situation would create equal chance for everyone to work in this sector because people would change their wrong perception that domestic work sector is a sector for those with low level education.

### **Conclusion**

In mapping development trends in domestic work sector into recent times; the study found out that the sector has sustained pressure leading to potentials of formalization. To a greater extent the pressure is associated with reforms in education sector. As more primary school leavers transit to secondary education, potential employees has to spend four years of mandatory secondary education. This had led to a search for alternative source of employees where older members of community are engaged. The gender composition in the sector was also notably taking more males as opposed to female dominated setting in the past. This was attributed to the facts that there was limited availability of preferred girls leaving employers to consume what was available regardless of gender. This has consequently restructured work pattern at household level, terms of employment, conditions of engagements and to in several cases leading to life styles change at family level. Given an increased in education levels of employees in domestic work sector, there is possibility that potentiality to join the sector remains even after secondary education.

However, there were various challenges facing employers in a course of dealing with domestic workers. The study noted the lack of trust among the employees, ruddiness of the domestic workers, failure to perform their duties properly, and the employees demand of big salaries. Therefore, in this sector not only domestic workers were being affected but also employers were suffering from employing domestic workers. In addition, most of domestic workers when employed did not have any skill and some of them when employed failed to learn the gap between them and their employers. On the other hand, the relationship between CHODAWU and the group it represents was notably weak as participants in this study seem not to be aware of the basic information related to it including workers' rights in domestic work sector as much as it is in other sectors. The potentials for future direction and formalization of domestic work sector were expanding mainly from education reforms and other socio-economic changes in the society. According to the ILO (2016) and CHODAWU framework of operation, changing patterns in the domestic work sector gives potentials for its formalization. The average age of employees which

was seemingly increasing gives a room for legal contracts which was otherwise not possible in earlier settings where school dropouts and primary school leavers could not, at their entry time. Visibility of the sector and presence of CHODAWU operations as trade union forms a fertile land for the sector to grow. Gender dynamics were featured in activities re-organization in homes and societal re-organization resulting from socio-legal changes in the sector. The study recommends that formalization of domestic work sector should be enhanced by socio-economic developments in the society. Sector recognition matches other sector development, rules and operational frameworks, except the trade union settings under CHODAWU where domestic workers do not seem to engage and secure representation as the case was in other sectors. Domestic work sector seems to build on middle class growth in the society as employers which means its development depends on economic stability of this class. Furthermore, this study recommends that there was need to build a wider understanding of this emerging sector by studying and establishing an extensive knowledge, among others, likelihood that the sector to benefits from other policy unintendedly. There was a need as well to study the socio-economic impacts that developments in domestic work would potentially have on other sectors.

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